Race Problem - 1929

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Basic Industry.

Of the two discoveries which have most profoundly affected the life and progress of humanity, one has attracted universal attention while the value and far-reaching influence of the other have been appreciated by few.

Fire-making is so startling in its suddenness, so striking to the imagination by its resemblance to lightning, the weapon of the gods, that it has been clothed with divine attributes, and pressed into the service of religion in the symbolism of a sacred hearth or an eternal fire, or in the transmission of offerings by means of burnt sacrifices. But the provision of the daily bread of humanity, humanity's first and constant care, involves so much labour that the wonder of the beginning of agriculture has been lost sight of. Pramantha, the fire-stick, and Prometheus, who brought to mankind the divine gift of fire, are immortalised, but no thought is given to the primitive genius who, by showing that the seeds which were a staple food could be increased a hundredfold by casting them on upturned ground, invented agriculture, and relieved men of the labour of collecting the scattered seeds of the forest and plain.

The life of mankind was more deeply affected by this discovery than by that of fire-making. Assured of a constant and regular supply of the daily bread, men ceased to be fugitives and vagabonds on the earth; they settled in fixed habitations; the villages grew into towns; the tribes united to form nations; and the leisure born of an assured food supply led to the discovery and practice of the arts of civilisation. Men's feet were firmly set on the first rungs of the ladder of progress which they have never since ceased to climb.

In his presidential address to the Agricultural Section of the British Association Sir Robert Greig reminded his hearers that agriculture is still the most important of human activities.

> The true wealth of the world, the wealth which determines the standard of living of nations, is limited by the capacity to produce cereals, milk, meat, wool, cotton, hides, and other prime necessities arising from the soil. Agriculture is the one stable industry. Coal seams may come to an end, or the discovery of new sources of energy may change the values of coal, and so with other minerals. But agricultural wealth, the capacity to produce every year the food and clothing without which life ends, is, and always has been, the one great permanent industry, the one which is the foundation of all national, or, indeed, of world wealth.

Its Importance.

While agriculture is the most ancient it is still the most important of human industries. The lure of sudden wealth has set Europeans wandering to the ends of the earth in search of minerals, and led to the settlement of vast territories, but though they went out to dig for minerals they have stayed to dig for food. To the popular mind the mention of South Africa suggests gold and diamonds, yet the portion of the population there engaged in mining is less than one-seventh of those employed in agriculture. In Canada and Australia the value of agriculture is greater than that of minerals and manufactures combined. The value of the coal and manufacturing industries of Great Britain is so overwhelming that we have ceased to think of it as an agricultural country, and so, as Sir Robert Greig said, "it will be astonishing to some to learn that Great Britain, including Northern Ireland, produces more agricultural wealth than Australia, and four times as much as South Africa."

It is, however, in the tropical countries that the preponderance of agriculture and its possibilities of development are most evident. In India 72 per cent., and in Tropical Africa practically the whole, of the population is engaged in, or dependent on, agriculture. Yet enormous areas are still uncultivated. In India, the most extensively cultivated area in the Empire, one-third of the cultivable land lies waste. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of cultivated land to the total area of West Africa, but it is probably less than 40 per cent., and even that probably yields less than 40 per cent. of what it is capable of producing.

This estimate gives a faint idea of the vast possibilities and the enormous potential value of these countries. They are being opened up, but if agriculture, their principal industry, is, to use Sir Robert Greig's words, "the application of all the sciences to the cultivation of the soil," then their development has hardly begun. All that has been done is but clearing the ground. The sciences must be applied to the farmer as well as to the soil; medical science to increase his numbers, and educational science to increase his productive capacity. The farmer is the sturdy Atlas who carries the country on his back; everything depends on the quantity and quality of his produce. But the farmers, scattered over the face of the land and speechless, are apt to be shouldered aside by the vocal townsmen. Slow-moving and conservative, they will not seek the benefits of civilisation; these must be carried to the countryside by village schools and village dispensaries.

The establishment of an itinerant medical service, as suggested by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, will soon earn its cost a hundredfold in a larger and healthier farming population, while the village schools will yield equally large profits in increased and improved production.

W. F. H.

WHAT WE THINK.

COMMUNISM AND CAPE NATIVES.

Recent information from the Union leaves unfortunately no doubt in our minds that an active subtle agitation is ceaselessly at work to spread the poison of an anti-European propaganda amongst the great native population which exists in the sub-continent to the overwhelming proportion of five to one as far as the whites are concerned. Highly dangerous individuals of the Bunting type, whom to deal with effectively no other practical remedy exists except instant deportation or permanent imprisonment, are unhappily permitted to indulge in their mad activities which are long are bound to result in terrible incidents, the fatality of these will certainly react on the misguided natives in a measure not realised by them, and many of those acquainted with the true state of affairs on this subject in the southern sub-continent are, we learn, not forgetting their duty to warn the authorities in very plain language as to grave impending troubles. The *Eastern Province Herald* of Port Elizabeth recently emphasised the situation that, as a result of the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Bunting appeal case, it was now imperative the provisions of the Native Administration Act should be at once tightened up by Parliament. The native trouble should be viewed as an entirely non-party matter, and it becomes one of urgency in view of the report that Communists are planning an intensive campaign among the natives of South Africa. Communism is an insidious doctrine when preached among Europeans, but when it becomes the theme of firebrands in areas where the native is mostly found in a raw state, *it becomes a positive danger to the State in general.* If General Hertzog was at all sincere in the statements he made during the general election in regard to the natives, then he cannot hesitate in averting the danger which Communistic propaganda threatens to the whole country.

Republic of Liberia.

FUNERAL OF MR. JAMES SIBLEY.

("African World" Correspondent.)

The mortal remains of Mr. James Longstreet Sibley, Educational Adviser to the Republic, were interred near the site of the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute, near Kakatown, on June 29 last.

Many Government officials and friends, including His Excellency President Charles D. B. King, travelled by motor to Kakatown to pay their last respects to the beloved servant of the Republic. Owing to flooded streams and the floating bridges elevated 5 ft. above their original positions at the River Du, only a few were able to complete the trip.

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Front Row: (left) Miss Sarah C. Williamson, Principal, Suehn Industrial Institute, Hon. B. W. Payne, Secretary of Public Instruction, Rev. A. J. Curran, Lutheran Mission, Rev. Lewis P. Clinton, Teacher at Kakatown; (right) Mr. Travell, Chief Auditor, and Mr. J. C. Scanlon, Builder for College of West Africa.



A group of distinguished mourners at the funeral of Mr. James Sibley, near Kakatown, Liberia, on June 29 (See above for names).

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London Empire

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Correspondence.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
Cape Town, 8th July 1929.

Cape African Teachers' Association:
Resolutions passed by Conference

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Superintendent General of Education to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant with reference to the approaching retirement of Dr Viljoen from the headship of the Education Department.

He appreciates very much the kind feeling which has prompted the resolution passed by your Conference, and wishes to assure you that he will carry with him into retirement very pleasant and permanent memories of the happy relations that have existed between him and teachers of all grades. He looks upon it as a great privilege which he has enjoyed of being for so many years and so closely associated with the cause of Native Education in the Cape Province.

He will be thankful if you will convey his parting greetings to the office bearers and the members of your Association.

Yours faithfully,
(sgd) Eileen Kannemeyer,
Clerk to the Superintendent General of Education.

Mr. B. B. Mdledle,
General Secretary,
Cape African Teachers' Association
P.O. Lovedale, C. P.

LIBERIA GOING FORWARD FAST, SAYS DR. TAYLOR.

London, August 1—(Special Correspondence):—"If I were still a young man, with my way to make in the world, I should unhesitatingly go out to Africa" was the statement made to me by Dr. R. R. Taylor, Vice Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, the great Negro educational centre founded by Booker Washington. He has just arrived in London after a visit to Liberia and the Gold Coast. He received a special invitation from the President of Liberia to give the Negro republic the benefit of his experience and advice concerning the foundation of a Liberian 'Tuskegee,' for which a sum of $75,000 was recently left by the late Miss Olivia Phelps-Stokes, of the well known American family whose members have supported so many schemes for Negro progress.

"The International development of Liberia is proceeding fast" said Dr. Taylor. "There are larger appropriations for schools than ever before, and the late Mr. James L. Sibley, the American who is the Educational Advisor of the Government, whose tragic death has just occurred, had their complete confidence. These schemes, and the building of excellent roads, are now possible, President King explained to me, now that border problems and the hostility of the people of the hinterland are questions of the past. The activities of the 'Firestone' interests, who have already developed about 55,000 of the million acres assigned to them, have stimulated a number of the Liberian people to plant rubber also, and there is also agricultural development in other directions.

"There is great enthusiasm for the idea of a Liberian 'Tuskegee' among all of the three sections of the community, the Americo-Liberians, the natives, and the Europeans. I was able thoroughly to recommend the preliminary choice of a site at Kakata, situated on the fine motor road which is being driven through the country, at a point about 46 miles from Monrovia, the capital. It is thus easily accessible, and is in the centre of a thickly populated district, while it is also at a spot where the territories of three tribes, the Bassa, Pessch and Golas, meet. It is on rolling ground, is well watered and the soil is good and will do excellently for agricultural development and experiment. I have little doubt that the scheme will be approved by the advisory board in New York to which I am reporting."

Dr. Taylor also paid a visit to the Gold Coast, where he was entertained by Sir Ransford Slater, the British Governor. He is very much impressed with the progress being made at the Prince of Wales' Government College, at Achimota. "Principal Fraser and his staff have gained the complete confidence of both the Africans and the Europeans," he said. "The period of suspicion has been outlived, and most of this is due to the influence of the late Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, whose memory is revered throughout the community from the Governor to the smallest children. I was very much impressed too by the favourable attitude on the part of the Africans to the British administration, as well as the sympathetic attitude of the officials towards the Africans. I found there no word of bitterness or hostility. The Africans, too, all seem eager to learn, and the fact that they can own their own land gives them a self-respect which is most important."

An architect by profession, Dr. R. R. Taylor has been asked to draw up the plans for the Liberia college buildings when he gets back to the United States, if his recommendations are accepted.

SEEK COLORED MEMBER OF LIBERIAN LABOR COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(CNS)—An effort will be made to have a colored American appointed to the proposed international commission to investigate forced labor conditions in Liberia which will be appointed by the Liberian government, it is understood here.

The commission will be composed of three members, one Liberian, one American recommended by the United States Government, and a third to be recommended by the League of Nations, according to the present plan announced by the Liberian Government to the State Department recently.

Ever since the announcement of the proposed commission, speculation has been rife among colored leaders and politicians as to whether the American member recommended for membership on the commission to investigate conditions in the little Negro republic will be white or colored.

No names of colored citizens have yet been proposed to the State Department to date, it is claimed. Several are reported to be aspiring to membership on the commission.

Race Problem. 1929

Africa

NEWS
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

JUL 27 1929

Alabama Has a Governor

THERE are few crimes the commission of which so tarnishes the shield of a state as that of lynching. To be sure, it is by no means exclusively, or even predominantly, a Southern crime, as recent outrages in the North have demonstrated. For lynchings are the result of mob passions, and mob passions arise wherever human beings let their feelings transform them into raging beasts. However, two wrongs do not make a right, and the fact that lynchings occur North as well as South does not in the least diminish their heinousness.

We have noticed with feelings of appreciation and admiration the forthright fashion in which Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama has upheld the dignity of that state, by nipping in the bud attempts to lynch a negro criminal.

The offender was charged with grave crimes, with the murder of a young white man and the rape of his girl companion. He was tried, and the verdict was about to be delivered by the jury which had the case in hand. There were many threats of mob violence, threats that the negro would be promptly hanged if the court should order his release.

Governor Graves took prompt and decisive action. He ordered out two units of the Alabama National Guard. They were to protect the negro "at any hazard." In the event of the negro's conviction, the state troops would escort him back to Kilby prison. In the event of his acquittal, they would see him safely out of the community. Bibb Graves announced "there will not be a lynching in Alabama if I can prevent it." And he meant more than a pious gesture. He backed up his words with force.

All honor to Governor Graves! It has been said that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Maybe he is. Maybe he is not. But his action in this matter proves that Bibb Graves is determined to keep Alabama's escutcheon clean from the tarnish of lynching. Alabama has a real governor.

Comparisons are invidious. Tennessee recently had a lynching. Doubtless our governor could not have stopped it. Doubtless the mob gathered quickly and speedily wreaked its wrath on its negro victim. But no action, so far as we know, has been taken by the state authorities to bring the lynchers before a bar of justice.

The Tennessee commission on Interracial Relations dispatched a telegram to the governor urging him "to take vigorous steps to stop lynchings." According to the announcement of Dr. James D. Burton, of Harriman, secretary of the commission, who sent the telegram, "Gov. Horton has made no acknowledgement of this message."

Pictures of the Crockett county lynching are being sold at Alamo at 10 cents apiece. The photographs show the mob's victim swinging from the limb of a tree, with a note attached to the rope warning all comers that his body must not be disturbed until a certain time had passed. At the inquest over his body, the report was made that he had come to his death "at the hands of unknown parties."

For a long time Tennessee has been free from lynchings. But now this record has been marred, and a shadow has been cast across the state. No action has been taken, so far as we know, to bring the lynchers into the custody of the law.

JOURNAL
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

JUL 25 1929

Calling Militia to Insure Legal Justice in Alabama

Alabama's sincerity of effort to prevent crimes of race violence is attested by the elaborate precautions taken by the governor to assure legal processes following a revolting crime in Barbour county. The decrease of lynching in recent years has been largely due to the progress made in the swiftness and sureness of legal justice. Members of both the white and negro races have realized this and leaders of both have contributed to insuring legal processes. The swiftness and sureness of punishment have likewise been prime factors in lessening the crimes which cause men to lose their reason and take the law into their own hands.

It is difficult not to feel that there may be some connection between this latest revolting crime in Alabama and several of similar nature which have recently occurred in the South and the intemperate, ignorant and brutish mouthings of a negro congressman whose shallow mind is undone by sudden notoriety. The manner in which DePriest came into this notoriety is in itself one of the most unfortunate race incidents of recent years. Of all the members of the negro race it is lamentable that two members so wholly unrepresentative of the best thought of the race should have been placed in position where the public must listen to what they say.

DePriest is doing injury to his race which will require years to heal. His appeal is to the ignorant, the vicious, the lawless, the victims of inferiority complex. Those who harken to him are of a kind with that negro tried for his life in an Alabama court house surrounded by national guardsmen. With resentment so intense among intelligent members of both the white and negro races over the incendiary and atavistic utterances of DePriest it is especially praiseworthy that the authorities in Alabama have taken steps to insure that this resentment shall not take the form of personal vengenace but instead that such crime shall be dealt with by the laws made and provided.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News
III

WE propose this week to deal with the economic side of the racial question in Africa, and will thus be reviewing the third division of Mr. FARMER'S article. The writer referred to the report of Mr. KEIR HARDIE (who was the founder of the present Socialist or Labour Party) after a visit to South Africa when he advocated equal pay for white and black in South Africa and the admissions of the natives into the Trade Unions of South Africa. 8-3-29

Although up to the present his suggestions have not been put into operation, it is however safe to say that stabilised economic conditions will only exist when in the field of labour whether skilled or unskilled, merit is made the determining factor.

Economic questions have a great attraction for us, as the future of this Colony depends to a great extent upon a sane solution of the many difficulties which present themselves. As a trader, the Sierra Leonean has lost his position, and industrial undertakings afford some means of independent livelihood. The circumscribed area and the localised demands however control possibilities of industry. Mr. FARMER advocates teaching of pottery, basketry mat-making and wood-carving. These are no doubt excellent industries, and we agree that Africans might excel in them; but the question is, if economic reasons are the influencing factor, is it possible to create such large demands in these industries as would provide employment or livelihood for a large number of people? We are afraid this cannot be answered in the affirmative. The market is flooded with many of such commodities, and whilst it would be an encouraging movement for these industries to be taught on proper lines, they must be in addition to those which are the key-industries of the world. In West Africa, these are engineering and agriculture. Engineering in all branches is necessary for the improvement of West Africa. The country itself must be developed, means of communication must be improved and extended. In all these, the African cannot be dispensed with. As Mr. FARMER wrote:—

> "Africa is the Continent of the future. It will differ from anything the world knows to-day. . . . . The European powers have established posts all round its coast and are stretching tentacles into its depths. We shall exterminate its ravenous beasts, abolish malaria, build houses cooled by electricity and freed from the million insect pests; but we cannot exterminate the African—he is a vigorous being and on the increase. Railways, roadways, airways are being made, and even the Sahara will be conquered. But what are we to do with the Africans? They are beginning to ask for admission to our political, social and economic system, and we can see nothing else to do but to admit them."

These are the words of a progressive European, and although they do not convey the opinion of the majority of Europeans, yet we are convinced, that just as it has come about that the few who over a century ago regarded slavery as a wicked institution, have grown into a large majority, whose views have permeated the whole world, so within a few years this opinion of political, social and economic equality will prevail universally. Already there is on foot a scheme for Colonial development, and the drainage of Sierra Leone has been earmarked. Since this scheme was established for the purpose of relieving unemployment in England, it is but reasonable to expect that a good number of Europeans will be sent out here on this work.

That situation has to be faced: but on the other hand, it is our duty to bring before the Government the fact that we have unemployed, and something should be done for them. The principle, which in England made it necessary for several million pounds to be spent for the purpose of providing employment for many, should be made applicable also by our Government.

Freetown Sierra Leone

The revenue is undeniably down, but the effect of Mr. HORNELL'S report on fishing reason is that the number of employed will be lost unless government take a hand persons capable of purchasing imported goods and give some initiation to it. As far as the is small, and since the sale of imported goods people are concerned, the scarcity of very few can to some extent regulates the price of produce, will act as a deterrent; for ver the economic circle must necessarily wane. afford the capital necessary for such a project But besides this, we are of the opinion that and co-operation does not seem to be forth- certain industrial schemes like fishing and coming. We would therefore urge on the farming need not only government investi- Government to take the matter in hand and gation, but active co-operation and financing. initiate the scheme, when we feel certain the

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devote attention to farming. We are not convinced that sufficient encouragement has been given to the people to devote their attention to the land, and in view of the difficult economic conditions ahead, that is desirable.

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Alabama Has a Governor

THERE are few crimes th commission of which so tar nishes the shield of a stat as that of lynching. To be sure, it is by no means exclusively, or ever predominantly, a Southern crime, as recent outrages in the North have demonstrated. For lynchings are the result of mob passions, and mob passions arise wherever human beings let their feelings transform them into raging beasts. However, two wrongs do not make a right, and the fact that lynchings occur North as well as South does not in the least diminish their heinousness.

We have noticed with feelings of appreciation and admiration the forthright fashion in which Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama has upheld the dignity of that state, by nipping in the bud attempts to lynch a negro criminal.

The offender was charged with grave crimes, with the murder of a young white man and the rape of his girl companion. He was tried, and the verdict was about to be delivered by the jury which had the case in hand. There were many threats of mob violence, threats that the negro would be promptly hanged if the court should order his release.

Governor Graves took prompt and decisive action. He ordered out two units of the Alabama National Guard. They were to protect the negro "at any hazard." In the event of the negro's conviction, the state troops would escort him back to Kilby prison. In the event of his acquittal, they would see him safely out of the community. Bibb Graves announced "there will not be a lynching in Alabama if I can prevent it." And he meant more than a pious gesture. He backed up his words with force.

All honor to Governor Graves! It has been said that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Maybe he is. Maybe he is not. But his action in this matter proves that Bibb Graves is determined to keep Alabama's escutcheon clean from the tarnish of lynching. Alabama has a real governor.

Comparisons are invidious. Tennessee recently had a lynching. Doubtless our governor could not have stopped it. Doubtless the mob gathered quickly and speedily wreaked its wrath on its negro victim. But no action, so far as we know, has been taken by the state authorities to bring the lynchers before a bar of justice.

The Tennessee commission on Interracial Relations dispatched a telegram to the governor urging him "to take vigorous steps to stop lynchings." According to the announcement of Dr. James D. Burton, of Harriman, secretary of the commission, who sent the telegram, "Gov. Horton has made no acknowledgement of this message."

Pictures of the Crockett county lynching are being sold at Alamo at 10 cents apiece. The photographs show the mob's victim swinging from the limb of a tree, with a note attached to the rope warning all comers that his body must not be disturbed until a certain time had passed. At the inquest over his body, the report was made that he had come to his death "at the hands of unknown parties."

For a long time Tennessee has been free from lynchings. But now this record has been marred, and a shadow has been cast across the state. No action has been taken, so far as we know, to bring the lynchers into the custody of the law.

JOURNAL
MONTGOMERY, ALA.
JUL 25 1929

Calling Militia to Insure Legal Justice in Alabama

Alabama's sincerity of effort to prevent crimes of race violence is attested by the elaborate precautions taken by the governor to assure legal processes following a revolting crime in Barbour county. The decrease of lynching in recent years has been largely due to the progress made in the swiftness and sureness of legal justice. Members of both the white and negro races have realized this and leaders of both have contributed to insuring legal processes. The swiftness and sureness of punishment have likewise been prime factors in lessening the crimes which cause men to lose their reason and take the law into their own hands.

It is difficult not to feel that there may be some connection between this latest revolting crime in Alabama and several of similar nature which have recently occurred in the South and the intemperate, ignorant and brutish mouthings of a negro congressman whose shallow mind is undone by sudden notoriety. The manner in which DePriest came into this notoriety is in itself one of the most unfortunate race incidents of recent years. Of all the members of the negro race it is lamentable that two members so wholly unrepresentative of the best thought of the race should have been placed in position where the public must listen to what they say.

DePriest is doing injury to his race which will require years to heal. His appeal is to the ignorant, the vicious, the lawless, the victims of inferiority complex. Those who harken to him are of a kind with that negro tried for his life in an Alabama court house surrounded by national guardsmen. With resentment so intense among intelligent members of both the white and negro races over the incendiary and atavistic utterances of DePriest it is especially praiseworthy that the authorities in Alabama have taken steps to insure that this resentment shall not take the form of personal vengenace but instead that such crime shall be dealt with by the laws made and provided.

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News
III

WE propose this week to deal with the economic side of the racial question in Africa, and will thus be reviewing the third division of Mr. FARMER'S article. The writer referred to the report of Mr. KEIR HARDIE (who was the founder of the present Socialist or Labour Party) after a visit to South Africa when he advocated equal pay for white and black in South Africa and the admissions of the natives into the Trade Unions of South Africa. 8-3-29

Although up to the present his suggestions have not been put into operation, it is however safe to say that stabilised economic conditions will only exist when in the field of labour whether skilled or unskilled, merit is made the determining factor.

Economic questions have a great attraction for us, as the future of this Colony depends to a great extent upon a sane solution of the many difficulties which present themselves. As a trader, the Sierra Leonean has lost his position, and industrial undertakings afford some means of independent livelihood. The circumscribed area and the localised demands however control possibilities of industry. Mr. FARMER advocates teaching of pottery, basketry mat-making and wood-carving. These are no doubt excellent industries, and we agree that Africans might excel in them; but the question is, if economic reasons are the influencing factor, is it possible to create such large demands in these industries as would provide employment or livelihood for a large number of people? We are afraid this cannot be answered in the affirmative. The market is flooded with many of such commodities, and whilst it would be an encouraging movement for these industries to be taught on proper lines, they must be in addition to those which are the key-industries of the world. In West Africa, these are engineering and agriculture. Engineering in all branches is necessary for the improvement of West Africa. The country itself must be developed, means of communication must be improved and extended. In all these, the African cannot be dispensed with. As Mr. FARMER wrote:—

"Africa is the Continent of the future. It will differ from anything the world knows to-day. . . . The European powers have established posts all round its coast and are stretching tentacles into its depths. We shall exterminate its ravenous beasts, abolish malaria, build houses cooled by electricity and freed from the million insect pests; but we cannot exterminate the African—he is a vigorous being and on the increase. Railways, roadways, airways are being made, and even the Sahara will be conquered. But what are we to do with the Africans? They are beginning to ask for admission to our political, social and economic system, and we can see nothing else to do but to admit them."

These are the words of a progressive European, and although they do not convey the opinion of the majority of Europeans, yet we are convinced, that just as it has come about that the few who over a century ago regarded slavery as a wicked institution, have grown into a large majority, whose views have permeated the whole world, so within a few years this opinion of political, social and economic equality will prevail universally. Already there is on foot a scheme for Colonial development, and the drainage of Sierra Leone has been earmarked. Since this scheme was established for the purpose of relieving unemployment in England, it is but reasonable to expect that a good number of Europeans will be sent out here on this work.

That situation has to be faced: but on the other hand, it is our duty to bring before the Government the fact that we have unemployed, and something should be done for them. The principle, which in England made it necessary for several million pounds to be spent for the purpose of providing employment for many, should be made applicable also by our Government. The revenue is undeniably down, but the reason is that the number of employed persons capable of purchasing imported goods is small, and since the sale of imported goods to some extent regulates the price of produce, the economic circle must necessarily wane. But besides this, we are of the opinion that certain industrial schemes like fishing and farming need not only government investigation, but active co-operation and financing. initiate the scheme, when we feel certain the

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devote attention to farming. We are not convinced that sufficient encouragement has been given to the people to devote their attention to the land, and in view of the difficult economic conditions ahead, that is desirable.

Home Industries For Natives

(By Professor G. Papo.)

There is much discussion about the necessity and advantage of homecrafts for Natives in South Africa. But actually very little is done.

There are two extreme opinions in this country. One holds that in the present age of machines it does not pay. The other party has overestimated the hopes with regard to the earning capacity of home industries. The truth lies in the middle course. As long as the Native is satisfied with 1 to 2 shillings profit daily, village crafts for the Native community is strongly recommended.

The most suitable home industries for the Natives are spinning and weaving; basket making; and pottery. In these lines I merely emphasise that mentally, morally and materially the above mentioned types of work are excellent for the Natives, to be carried out in their own locations.

I have thoroughly investigated this question and gathered experience, especially with spinning and weaving in the Union.

The raw materials used in the weaving are wool, cotton, silk, flax, hemp, jute, ramie, artificial silk and artificial wool. Of these we have wool, cotton, flax and silk in the Union, but very good wool for every purpose must come first. Before we can use these materials for textiles, we have to make a yarn of them. The process of making the yarn is called spinning. The work itself is very simple, but it is rather slow.

The wool is spun either in grease, or after it is washed. In both cases it has to be combed first, to secure, as far as possible, an even and smooth yarn. In washing, the wool loses 35 to 50o/o of its weight, with the washing & spinning, the value of the wool can be raised from 100 to 200o/o and higher, if it is dyed, either with vegetable (plants, roots, barks etc.) ani in-dyes.

A Native spinner combs and spins 1/2 lb. of grease wool with the spinning wheel in 8 hours. If the wool is long and heavy, or angora goat hair that could be brought up to 1 lb. in the same time. As there is not enough demand except for knitting in the Union for homespun yarn, it must be worked up into finished articles.

This second process by which many articles are produced from the yarn, is called weaving. In comparison with the spinning the handweaving is quicker and much more interesting.

The learning of the spinning for a Native under proper supervision, takes 2 to 4 weeks. The weaving from 1 to 3 years. But once the craft enters the kraals, the very youngest can pick it up from their parents, without much schooling.

The quickness of the weaving depends on several circumstances: width of the material, thickness of the yarn, the right setting up of the loom, good implements etc. But a native weaver can make 1 to 3 yards of woollen material of 1 yard width a day, less from the cotton. It would take too much time to detail the work, but we can take it for granted, that the average worker can produce in a day from 1/- to 3/- worth of material. But whether he can cash this value depends on the market. To organise the market forms the main problem. There are 4 possibilities. (a) The things made at home, can be used in the home, or made for members the family, thus saving expense.

GLEN GREY TITLES.

It would appear that the question of the proposed change by Government of the land titles hitherto held under the Sir George Grey system of tenure, to the new Glen Grey code is seriously agitating the minds of the Ciskei Natives concerned. In spite of the definite undertaking given by the Secretary for Native Affairs on his last visit to Kaffraria that the Government would allow the Natives ample time to submit suggestions that may lead to a solution satisfactory to both parties, there are strong rumours, founded or unfounded, that the officials appointed to investigate the land titles are quietly carrying out the change in question. Needless to say if that be true such procedure would lead to a most undesirable state of discontent leading possibly to litigation. Natives have occupied their present holdings for years inmemorial, and whether the occupation has not been legalised by constant changes of the title deeds, the fact remains that such land has been handed down to the present occupiers by devolution or legitimate purchase. No individual claims to be the legal owner of such lands in competition with the Natives. It would appear grossly unfair to pronounce such lands derelict merely because the title deeds cannot be produced, and thus render thousands of occupiers homeless. Our people are clamouring for more land; to dispossess former occupiers for the sake of providing land to landless Natives is an unjust way of solving the question, and to further accentuate the problem by perpetuating a system which superficially appears as brazen land-grabbing. We are sure no one desires such a construction to be formed in the minds of the Natives. The recent happenings in Durban, Natal have had their unpleasant repercussion in the Native mind in the Ciskei, and coupled with mismanagement in certain local council elections which evidently obtains the sanction of those at the head of affairs, we could not be considered as alarmists or pessimists in seeing trouble not too far ahead.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE COLLEGE.

Further extensions are now being made to the South African Native College at Fort Hare. The new buildings now being erected comprise a large building for the accommodation of 300 students, with games and reading-rooms and a clock tower, as well as a residence for the secretary of the Student Christian Union. The new buildings are the combined gift of the Y.M.C.A. of the United States and Canada. The contract for the new buildings has been divided between Mr R J Allison of King William's Town and the Lovedale Building Department.

AFRICANS IN U. S. ORAGNIZE NATIVE UNION

Oppose False Reports of Homeland

By THORGUES SIE

New York.—This is the first time in the history of the native Africans abroad who have left their homeland and come into the United States as traveling students that they have organized themselves to such a unit known as the Native African Union of America.

It is very important to know that there are Africans of Africa and Africans of the western hemisphere, both Americans and West Indians, who are thinking seriously about the economic and commercial redemption of the new Africa, their native home.

There has been a misunderstanding of Africa for the past 2,000 years. Africa has been presented to our western brothers or Africans abroad as merely a mythical home or a land of Utopian. This misunderstanding of Africa has caused our western brothers to withhold their interest and attention for the country from whence came their great-grandparents to the western world some 300 years ago. To elucidate this false representation and misunderstanding, and in order that proper information about Africa and Africans might be given clearly to those who are interested in Africa and African affairs, is what brought abut the organization of the Native African union. Our program is very important and everyone who leaves Africa and its people should take a part in this great program which the Native African union is engaged in.

The union has established branches in some states in the Union, such as Indiana, Michigan and Florida. Thus it is important that our good wishes and sympathy should be given to this organization. The union has a ladies' auxiliary functioning in such a capacity that needs comment. This auxiliary gave a social tea at the residence of Mrs. Addie Williams, its president. There were more than 60 guests present. The president of the Union, Eli B. Nyombolo, spoke eloquently and outlined the program of the union. Thorgues Sie, vice president, also spoke on the work of the auxiliary and what was expected of each member to do for the union. T. A. Hebbans, the treasurer of the union, spoke briefly on the work and program of the union.

URGE AMERICANS TO JOIN RANKS

The door of the union is wide open to all our well thinking brothers of the western world. Come, let us reason together for the economic and commercial redemption of Africa, the home of our great ancestry.

The names of the officers of the Native African Union of America and its auxiliary are as follows: Eli B'usabe Nyombolo, president, South Africa; Chester A. Dames, first vice president, U. S. A.; Thorgues Sie, second vice president, Liberia, W. C. A.; General Franklyn A. G. Jackson, secretary, Sierra Leone, W. C. A.; J. Idou Thomas, financial secretary; Hulaine Jack, corresponding secretary, U. S. A.; T. A. Hebbans, treasurer, U. S. A. Ladies' auxiliary: Mrs. Addie Williams, president, U. S. A.; Mrs. Mattie Harding, vice president, U. S. A.; Miss Leona Peterson, recording secretary, B. W. I.; Mrs. Virginia Ferracho, corresponding secretary, U. S. A.; Mrs. Florine Dames, financial secretary, U. S. A.; Nora Saunders, treasurer, U. S. A.

The ladies' auxiliary entertained the Baltimore teachers, friends and Morganites who are attending summer school here at the Oriental tea garden Friday, Aug. 9. The union invites you to its meetings every Sunday at 4 p. m. at the Unique Colony circle, 254 W. 135th St., New York city.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

SCHEME FOR PROTECTORATE EDUCATION.

By the Director of Education.

Continued from our issue of 16th February.

II Central Schools.—When a sufficiency of pupils in any one chiefdom, or in neighbouring chiefdoms which can conveniently be grouped together, has completed the elementary training at the Day School, and when enough are found desirous of going further, and able to pay the higher fees involved, there should be established a Central School where pupils can be boarded. These might be conducted by Government, or by Missions, but in either case no pupil who has not passed through a Day School with its vernacular grounding should be admitted. This is vital. Without rigid insistence on this rule everywhere it will not be possible to carry out that true education which it is agreed must be built up on the basis of understanding through the known.

Broadened Curriculum.—At these Central Schools, which should as much as possible be Boarding Schools, besides providing for some of the more conventional standared education, but with special emphasis on the understanding and use of correct English, the curriculum should be broadened to include practical training in essential industries, such as Agriculture, Carpentry, Building, and the like. Every boy should have a thorough, habit-forming, training in local agriculture with an eye to improvement and with a widening realization of its potentialities. For those who would seek employment there should be some preparatory training which would enable them to take their part in those services of the community which require something more than the unskilled labourer. The development of the resources of the Protectorate demands an increasing supply of such progressive-minded, trained workers. The academic standard to which such schools should attain is a matter for experience to settle, but, in general, and bearing in mind the great need for as broad a curriculum as possible, this probably need not be beyond Standard VI. Practice in the vernacular should not be dropped, and exercises in self-expression in the mother tongue should constantly be given.

x x x x

Girls' School—Though I cannot profess to have looked closely into all the Girls' Schools in the Protectorate, I have visited most of them, and have discussed their working with Mrs. R. R. Young, who, in her capacity as Supervising Teacher, has spent sometime in each of them.

Three Stages of Girls' Education.—As with the boys, there are three stages to be catered for :—

I The first approach to education in or near the home, town or village, practically all of which should be in the vernacular.

II Standard education, mainly in English, with a gradual widening to include a general preparation for the duties of life. This will necessitate boarding schools.

III Training as teachers, and community workers.

Village Day Schools Teaching in Vernacular.—As to I, I am in agreement with the views expressed by Mr. A. J. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr in his letter of 19th November, 1925, see extract marked (33). A steady development of village schools is needed for children of both sexes. They would attend as day scholars from the hours of 7 to 11 a.m Instruction would begin entirely in the vernacular, and every lesson should be based on familiar happenings of the home environment. I am of opinion that such teaching would appeal far more to parents and children alike than that at present given at many of the schools, where English is taught from the first, and where even though explanation be given in the vernacular, the atmosphere, by reason af the English, and the English books, is foreign and artificial.

Advantages of Day Schools and Vernacular Teaching.—Some of the advantages, especially applicable to girls, of a general system of Day Schools with vernacular teaching are that :—

(*a*) the dislocation of home-life would be reduced to a minimum ;

(*b*) the girl would live at home, and be under her mother's care at all times except during actual school hours ;

(*c*) the language used, and the subjects taught, would be known to the parents who would, in consequence, take more interest in the schools ;

(*d*) the anxiety of a parent for an absent child reported sick, or of a child for a parent reported sick at home, both disturbing influences, would be avoided;

(*e*) the operation of this new feature in a girl's life, her introduction into schooling, would be seen and known, by the parent who would feel more reconciled to the change, and so become accustomed to the spectacle of girls being educated as well as boys ;

(*f*) mass education of both sexes would become general, and at the lowest plane of cost ;

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Vernacular Should be General.—In most Protectorate schools there are girls on the roll, though usually very few. The present suggestion would involve little change in procedure except in the matter of the vernacular, which in some schools is already in use, but which to succeed must become general. More schools will, I believe, be required, and in every case where there is a demand, or where the response is not unfavourable, a Day School should be opened, and girls received as well as boys. A beginning might be made at the Government rural schools, by admitting day girls where only boys have hitherto been accepted.

Vernacular Education up to Standard III.—In the Gold Coast, primary education is carried on in the vernacular, with oral English later, up to the third standard. This for the greater number of pupils, especially girls, is probably sufficient. If the instruction has been based on home transactions and activities, the average girl will have received an insight into the values of education, using the term in its broadest sense, which, besides helping her considerably to an improved outlook on life, should also have made her more ready, when her turn as a mother comes, to send her children to school.

Native Voters' Protest.

The president and assistant secretary of the Cape Native Voters' Convention have issued the following plea on behalf of the Cape Natives, to be adopted in part or in its entirety by the various branches of the convention:—

The president of the Cape Native Voters' Convention (Prof. D D T Jabavu) was in East London during the critical period when the Premier introduced into Parliament his new Bill designed to disfranchise the Cape Natives,

Inasmuch as the general public and especially the Native voters concerned have not been given a chance to see and study the new Bill before it was brought before the joint sittting of Parliament, the President together with some of the leading members of the East London Native Voters' Association, realised that the extreme emergency that has overtaken the cause of the existing Native franchise can only be met by a series of protests to be issued by the various branches of the Cape Native Voters' Convention.

For the guidance of the branches the following items of protest are offered, and it is hoped that in whatever manner they may be paraphrased to suit various branches, nevertheless, the substance and the general spirit therein contained shall not be lost.

Further, it is urged that each branch should forward its protest with the utmost speed to its parliamentary representative, and also make as much use as is locally possible of the European Press, making special application to Reuter to disseminate their protest :—

1. On behalf of the Cape Natives, the president, together with certain members of the Convention, expresses regret that the Prime Minister has neglected the procedure of previous consultation with Natives generally and with Cape Native voters particularly inasmuch as the present Bill now placed before Parliament for the first time aims at the deprivation of their franchise rights which have been established as a beneficial tradition in the Cape Province,

2. The franchise right has been enjoyed by the Cape Natives for over 70 years without misuse or abuse as a privilege granted to them on terms of a citizenship that is placed on a common basis of equality with all British citizens obtaining throughout the British Empire without distinction of race, colour or

joint sitting of the Senate and the House of Assembly.

New represents the combined view of all intelligent Natives of the Union of South Africa

We have a complete mandate in that the present Bill is as unacceptable as the original Bill introduced in 1926 and also that our

Race Problem - 1929

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3. Inasmuch as any cancellation of the civil right of the franchise in all warrant any change in the principle of historical precedents has if the present Cape Native franchise has been made out to no case Assembly.

4. We have a complete mandate in always been associated with the present Bill is as penalty for treason or rebellion, we section of the citizens of the Union as the original Bill humbly submit that in all the Prime of South Africa being degraded in 1926 and also that our Min ster's apologia for his present the manner now proposed by the drafted in

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, March 12.

The Socialists and the Congo.

Two of the most interesting recent events were, from the Belgian colonial point of view, the lecture delivered on the 16th ult. at the Brussels Union Coloniale, by Mr. Wauters, brother of the former Socialist Minister, and the speech last week in the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, by Mr. Jules Mathieu, Socialist M.P. for Nivelles. It is impossible, owing to lack of space, to do more than refer to these speeches, but they testify to the growing interest and sympathy for the Congo amongst the Socialists.

These two remarkable speeches also indicate that the Socialists are now leaving the colony outside home politics, and are viewing colonial problems under their true light, namely, that of the facts. And for their efforts towards this Messrs. Wauters and Mathieu (likewise the former Socialist Minister Wauters) deserve the gratitude of the Colony.

Trade between Belgium and the Congo.

According to our Foreign Office, Belgium imported, last year, from the Congo products to the value of 905.281.000 frs. (against 461,914,000 frs. in 1927), and exported to her colony to the extent of 611.351,000 frs. (514,963,000 frs. in 1927). The considerable increase in the imports from the Congo is due almost entirely to the fact that the Oolen copper refinery being in working order, the Union Miniere shipped to Belgium 58,546 tons of copper for electrolytic refining here (compared with only 13.549 tons in 1927).

Apropos, it is interesting to note that in the course of the last six years the Congo has purchased from Belgium 250.000 tons of rails and sleepers—that is to say, a fourth of the Belgian output. Further, the locomotives, wagons, and boats at present commissioned in the Congo were built in Belgium. The construction of the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway brought to Belgium orders for a total amount of 170.000 tons of stock and supplies.

Banque Commerciale du Congo.

On the 2nd of February the Banque Commerciale du Congo, a subsidiary of the Banque du Congo Belge, opened at Kigali, Ruanda, its thirty-fifth African office.

Antwerp Colonial University Burnt Down.

On the 1st inst. a fire, resulting from a short circuit, broke out at the Antwerp Colonial University, of which the main building was wholly destroyed, several valuable collections sharing its fate. Thanks to the instructions previously issued by Lieut. Laude, Rector of the University, no life was lost. Indeed, Laude had ordered that in case of fire all the students were to assemble at once in front of his own residence. When the call took place two students were missing, but they were discovered peacefully sleeping in their rooms in spite of the alarm and noises. They were rescued in time.

The Air Lines.

Mr. Tony Orta, manager of the Sabena in the Congo, stated the Brussels "Eventail," that by July, 1930, the air line Brussels-Congo will be working.

The Sabena informs me that in January last it transported in the Congo 111 passengers, 720 kilograms of freight, and 2,040 kilograms of mail. The distance flown totalled 18.240 kilometers, which were covered in 152 hours, the services having been maintained with the utmost regularity.

Apropos the air lines, I much regret to chronicle the death here, after a long illness, of Major Nélis Nélis, who passed away in the night of the 2nd-3rd inst. He was the creator of the Congo air lines, and was also the first Belgian military airman. At his funeral, which was attended by a very large crowd, General Swaegers, A.D.C. to His Majesty, pinned on the coffin, on behalf of King Albert, the cross of the Order of Léopold, our great national order, a well-earned distinction.

New American-S. African Service.

The Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime" announced on the 9th inst. that the San Francisco-South African Dispatch Line will inaugurate, in June or July next, a two-monthly service between Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay, Durban, Lourenço Marques, Beira, Mombasa, Madagascar, Mauritius, India, the Straits Settlements, and Japan, wherefrom the motor-liners to be commissioned on this line will return direct to the American Pacific ports.

Lower Congo-Katanga Railway.

Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and Colonial Minister, stated in the Chamber of Representatives on the 21st of February that it was necessary shortly to extend the Lower Congo-Katanga Railway from Port Francqui, its present western terminus on the Kasai River, down to Kinshasa, on the Matadi-Léopoldville Railway.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

LATEST CONGO NEWS.

(From "La Tribune Congolaise.")

Ruanda and Urundi.

The Belgian Government has transmitted to the Secretarial Department of the League of Nations its reply to the questions of the League relating to the economic equality of Ruanda and Urundi as held under mandate, and also to the question of trade in alcoholic liquors in these two territories.

Kilo-Moto Gold Mines.

The monthly output of these gold mines averages 280 kilos, an amount which will be exceeded to a considerable extent a few months hence, owing to the installation of new crushing machines. Two new mills are already erected, and will soon be in going order, each one capable of treating twelve tons of mineral, resulting in the production of five kilos of gold a month. It is estimated that within the next three years, when the number of these mills attains a score, that the yearly output of the mines will be about 5,000 kilos, as compared with the present figure of 3,400

Cie Maritime Belge.

The dividend of this company for 1928 is raised from 75 to 100 francs. This is due to transport increase. In the month of May next the new steamer, the "Leopoldville," will be in service, replacing the "Albertville," which is to be overhauled, and in July the "Anversville" will also be in dry dock for repairs and improvements.

Colonial University.

Mr. Louis de Lannoy, Advocate of the Brussels Court of Appeal, gave a highly interesting lecture on the subject of judiciary instruction in the Belgian Congo to the professional staff and students of the Faculties of Political and Administrative Sciences at the Colonial University.

The Word "Native."

[By F. H. M. Zwide.]

Sir,

There appears in the "Imvo" of the 5th inst. Mr. Nazo's protest against the use of the word "Native" as a racial designation of the black races of South Africa among the races of the world.

I entirely agree with him. It is high time we told the other world races that we belong to Africa and are therefore Africans. But will Mr. Nazo believe me when I tell him that because of the stupid docility and gullibility of our people to-day they do not want to know they are any thing else other than that taught and told them by the white man, politician missionary or trader? Such docility is suicidal to race consciousness to-day and it is no wonder the Hertzogian element of the Dutch dreads our acceptance of European civilisation, for once having embraced that civilisation we will be self assertive.

At present it may interest Mr Nazo to know that our people are not prepared to claim their racial and geogra-phical and ethnographical designation African. At the teachers' conferences I fought very hard against a determined opposition of what I regarded as enlightened men in advocatting the use of the generic term African and the specific one Bantu for local purposes.

To my utter dismay in one of these conferences and during this discussion one of the most prolific Bantu writers told the conference he was quite satisfied to be called a Kaffir!!

Need I say more? Anyway at Queenstown, determined not to give in, I carried the day and we now know our association as The Cape African Teachers' Association.

In conclusion, believe me that so long as our people show timidity and hesitation in claiming what is their own by a God given right, just so long will they have to endure the humiliating stigma such as has been hurled on them by their so-called Father Hertzog, and you'll have to invoke more shades of Tutankh—amen!

Border Farmers.

The editor of the Farmers' page in the "Daily Dispatch" recently toured almost every farm in the Border. His reports in the Farmers' Page formed interesting reading as to the progress in the farming of improved grade of stock, large and small and up-to date homesteads. One looked in vain for any mention of Native farm hands without whose labour farming in this country would, in many instances, not be a paying proposition. It is hoped this omission will soon be rectified and a word be said as to the conditions of their service as it is feared that their conditions of labour are far from being satisfactory. They live from hand to mouth with no prospect of putting by for the proverbial "rainy day," and that their conditions of service are far from giving security which is everything in service. We hope in his next tour the Editor may visit the Native reserves and his views contrasted with those of border farms would be very interesting. We would sketch his itinerary. Start at the Ama-Ndlambe in East London district, and then to the Imiqāyi near Mount Coke, to Mnyanda's, Qugqwala, and the Imidushane which include Tamara and Ntsikizini; ama-Ntinde, from Buffalo Ford and up that narrow strip of land wedged in between the former settlement of Breidbach and the Municipality of "King" to Balasi and Peelton, and then ama Toise and Ama Hleke and all the reserves along the mountains, and then to locations below Ntaba ka Ndoda, Ama Gqunukwebe, Burnshill, Ngcwazi and all the Native reserves in Victoria East, Peddie and Fort Beaufort and to Kamastone, and Herschel. Such a visit may provide a solution towards reducing the poverty that exists through want of raising the Native people in the reserves and which is causing their constant migration into towns.

Transkeian Scholarships.

We are officially informed by the Secretary of the Transkeian Bunga that the following scholarships dating from 1929 have been awarded by the above Councils to the following students:

By Transkeian Territories General Council, all tenable at South African Native College, Fort Hare.

Solomon Rajuli, Matatiele.
Mildred Mvambo, Willowvale.
Ntibane Bulube, Butterworth.
Sam Phooko, Matatiele,
Archibald Jordan, Tsolo.
Jeremiah Moshesh, Matatiele.
Martin Canca, Mt. Ayliff.

By Pondoland General Council, tenable at South African Native College, Fort Hare.

Reginald Cingo, Flagstaff.

By Pondoland General Council, tenable at Clarkebury.

Joseph Ndondolo, Tabankulu.
Gilliard Mdikiza, Libode.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Medical Training.

Committee's Report

A Committee was appointed two years ago by the Government to enquire into the question of the training of Natives in Medicine and Public Health. It was composed of four well known medical men and two laymen, one of the latter, Dr Loram being Chairman.

Star of Bouteloua 25-15-29

The Committee was given the following questions:—Is it advisable to establish a Medical College for Natives in the Union?—If so, where should it be located and what would it cost? Also, what sort of certificate should be given its graduates?

The Committee's answers are that "it is advisable to make provision for the training of Natives as medical practitioners," that the standard of training and examination should be the same for Natives as for Europeans, that the first or pre-medical year of the course should be taken at Fort Hare as at present and the other five at Johannesburg in a non-European branch of the existing Medical School. The initial cost of this branch would be £70,000. £60,000 for classrooms laboratories and equipment, £5000 for a hostel and £5000 for "additional clinical facilities at hospital." The annual expenditure is estimated to be £5,500. (£4000 salaries of additional staff, £1500 materials.)

The Cape Town University was also willing to take the Native Medical Course under its wing and offered a set of discarded classrooms but had not enough Native patients for clinical teaching. The Johannesburg University was therefore preferred. The Committee states that neither University has the legal right to refuse any matriculated student on the ground of colour. Neither, however, is prepared to admit Native students to their ordinary classes or even to allow them to use the same classrooms or laboratories at different hours from the white students. A separate outfit of classrooms and laboratories and a group of special teachers would therefore have to be provided.

The Committee recommends the creation of a special Government Medical Service for Native areas with whole-time medical officers (European and Native) assisted by a class of men to be called Health Assistants and by nurse-midwives. The suggestion is that the Health Assistant students might be taught in the same classrooms and housed in the same hostel as the medical students. Their standard however would be much lower as their entrance standard would be only standard six. It is reckoned that £15,000 of the £60,000 for classrooms and laboratories might fairly be debited to the account of the Health Assistants.

The Committee recommends a loan of £50 a year for five years to each medical student taking his course at Johannesburg and, sending the establishment of the Johannesburg school, a similar loan to each Native student taking his course overseas, supplemented in the latter case by a bursary of £75 a year for four new students every year. In view of the fact that whatever scheme is adopted, there must necessarily be some delay in establishing a complete medical curriculum for Native students in this country, the recommendation just quoted is probably the most practical and practicable in the whole report. Native students at present are labouring under a most unfair disadvantage in being refused admittable to the two existing medical schools. which are subsidized out of general revenue, to which the Native people contribute a round million in direct taxation. The least the Government can do is to give help to those students who are thus compelled to go overseas for their training.

The Committee proposes "to charge all the costs of the training of Natives against the direct taxation of the Natives." If the scheme for a Native medical service materializes, the Committee consider that the salaries of the doctors, health assistants and nurse-midwives should be a charge against the general revenue of the Union, while the cost of erecting, equipping and running hospitals for Natives should fall upon the Provincial Administrations. This allocation follows generally the terms of the Act of Union; and if given effect to would make possible the comprehensive scheme of medical relief outlined by the Committee.

Seeing that the whole of the contemplated expenditure upon medical training is to come from the Natives themselves by direct taxation, it becomes a question for the Natives to consider whether this is exactly the form that they would like their Medical College to take. The technical aspects of the scheme are matters for the experts and this Committee consisted in part of these experts. Now that they have stated their conclusion and given their reasons for coming to that conclusion, the broad issues can be considered and the proposals weighed by the lay mind. These issues are not such as to be entirely beyond the comprehension of many of those who are to be called upon to pay for, or of those whose children are intended to benefit by, the scheme.

The Committee says: "There is no reason to suppose that Natives would meet with any more disagreeable treatment there (i.e. in South African Universities) than has been their lot on occasion at Overseas Universities." If this be true, why not allow the Native students to attend classes with the White students as they do at Overseas Universities? But both Universities have declined to allow this, "in view of the strong prejudice of the community;" as the resolution of Rand University puts it. This is the situation and it must be faced. Separate classrooms and laboratories are to be provided and even separate museums and Anatomy Department facilities The teaching work is to be duplicated, with a separate set of five whole-time lecturers and certain unspecified clinical teachers. In passing, it may be questioned whether teachers of the stamp required that is men prepared to sacrifice personal ambition in order to assist a backward race, would not be more likely to be attracted to a College whose whole raison d'tre was the medical training of Natives.

The central theatre and assembly hall is to seat 80, which allows for 16 students on an average in each of the five years. The classrooms and their adjuncts are small in proportion. The impression one gets is that, while technical experience is evideneed in every item, the buildings as a whole are conceived on the theory that there will be little development, that the Native Medical Department for many years to come will be a small affair, in the position of a poor relation to the Witwatersrand University.

Yet the Committee, in another section, has a vision of the possibilities of the institution they are planning. They say: "It would probably be to the economic advantage of the Union, and it would redound to its scientific credit, if arrangements were made with the various administrations in Central Africa, and on both the East and West Coasts, by which Natives might be received from these areas for training as medical men and health officials." And on the Committee's own showing, the requirements of the Native population of the Union itself are at the very least 900 additional doctors, preferably Natives. One feels that the notable service to Africa that is to be looked for from a medical school for Africans could not be rendered by an institution, dependent and subsidiary, whose output is planned and expected to be meagre.

The Committee did not seriously consider any other place than the two existing white medical schools for the reason that the establishment of a Medical Faculty in connection with the South African Native College should, in its opinion, be regarded only as a last resort on account of the large expenditure required. On the basis of Cape Town and Johannesburg, it appears that if an entirely new medical school were erected in a new centre, a minimum expenditure of £150,000 for buildings and equipment and of £20,000 per annum for maintenance and salaries would be required in order to provide facilities comparable with modern requirements in medical teaching." Would the case not be met if £25,000 were set aside annually for six years, during which period students qualifying themselves could be given the loans and bursaries already mentioned to enable them to proceed overseas?

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THE COLOUR PROBLEM IN AFRICA.

A Criticism of the Hertzog Policy.

The controversy over the treatment of natives in Kenya was the chief topic that emerged at Monday's conference on the East African Commission's report, which was held by the Anti-Slavery Society in the Central Hall. Several Kenya settlers were present, and replied resentfully to certain remarks made by Lord Olivier, and the new High Commissioner for South Africa in London (Mr. Louw) took the unusual step of replying to some criticisms of General Hertzog's native policy.

Lord Meston presided over the conference, and the criticisms of the Society were summarised in the following resolutions moved by Lord Olivier and carried:—

Seeing that no individual native and no native tribe as a whole in Kenya Colony has any right to land which can be recognised by the courts, any settlement of the land question must provide for:

(a) Reserves both adequate and secure in title.

(b) Elasticity of boundaries to provide for expansion of population.

(c) The unrestricted right of natives, either collectively or individually, to purchase land outside the reserve areas upon the same terms and conditions as those which apply to the immigrant races.

(d) Seeing that the interests of natives have been declared to be paramount and entitled to precedence, no further alienations of land should be made to Europeans until the lands already alienated to them (now averaging 7½ square miles for each settler) have been effectually colonised.

(e) That in the interests of justice and of economic progress all artificial restrictions imposed with the object of preventing natives from growing exportable produce on lands occupied by them should be removed as rapidly as possible.

That no final solution of the East African political situation can be satisfactory which does not provide for:

(a) Ultimate full citizenship, regardless of race, sex, creed, or colour.

(b) A civilisation franchise test common to all subjects in any given colonial area.

(c) A franchise under such civilisation test of an equal value for all subjects.

That pending the full association of all subjects in legislative responsibility in the East African territories:

(a) Any form of nominated membership should be based upon consultation with native councils in order that any such nominated membership, whether of immigrant or native race, should accord as nearly as possible with the desires of the native inhabitants of the territory.

(b) Such nominated membership should be limited to a period of three years, with the right of renomination.

LORD OLIVIER.

Lord Olivier, in moving these resolutions, after paying a tribute to the work of the Commission and the general advocacy of continuity of policy, said that the whole crux of the position with regard to the natives, the whole source of danger and difficulty with regard to the relations of black and white, centred in the Union of South Africa. It was satisfactory that there was now emerging in South Africa a powerful public opinion hostile to the colour-ban policy of the Government. Lord Cranworth in the House of Lords had stated that the question of continuity of policy did not affect East Africa alone, and that we must have regard to the policy of South Africa. "We," said Lord Olivier, "are going to have regard to the policy of South Africa by making a solid block of British policy right across Africa which will prevent the South Africa policy from spreading."

Fears had been expressed by the Commissioners lest the principles which were being put forward in South Africa should spread north into the East African territories. Southern Rhodesia formed a buffer State between South Africa and the three territories, and it was credibly stated that one of the chief reasons why Rhodesia was not willing to join the Union was their dislike of the Union's native policy. They had hoped that British principles would not have been ignored in East Africa and Kenya to the extent that they had been. In Kenya the flank had been turned already to some extent. The policy was openly advocated of making the natives' reserves so small that they should be forced to go out to labour on the plantations. That was an open and declared policy.

Forced Labour.

They had managed to check it a good deal, and get the principle established of leaving ample native reserves. They had seen with astonishment the adoption of forced labour on private estates not only advocated by the settlers but embodied in a law which the Colonial Office fortunately did not permit to be put into operation. There was in Kenya a good deal of Government pressure to get work out of the natives which they did not want to do and to force them by taxation and in other ways to work for employers. It was necessary to fight for the principles which were contrary to those which had been making themselves felt in South Africa, and it was most important to get a declaration from the British Parliament of the principles which should govern the treatment of the native races in the Empire in the future as they had operated in the past throughout our possessions.

Sir Robert Hamilton, seconding the resolution, said he regarded the report as a great starting-point which might be of vast importance for the whole Empire.

Mr. Norman Leys remarked that experience had shown that the only possible policy for British possessions was that of equal rights. That policy was enforced in the most prosperous parts of the Empire now. Unlike Lord Olivier, he failed to find in the report that the Commissioners themselves adopted and believed in that policy. In fact, they referred to it briefly as "extreme." The report was the first British document which had laid down the assumption that in some way the future of the African was to be different from the future of the European. That was the keynote of the whole report, and it was founded on the belief that in some way the African was subhuman. That he simply denied. To act upon that theory must ultimately result in a disaster.

A DISPUTE ON THE FACTS.

Mr. Macdonald, who said he had visited many plantations in Kenya, denied Lord Olivier's statement that forced labour existed in the plantations. No one wanted it, and there was no need for it. All the white men in Kenya were as anxious to do the right thing by the black man as anyone at home. Kenya was one of the most prosperous of our colonies, and he expressed resentment of the criticisms of the settlers.

Mr. J. H. Harris drew the attention of this speaker to a statement in the "East African Standard" by a settler who said he had been supplied with sixty labourers, and that owing to the way they were continually running away his headman had flogged them.

Lord Olivier said that it could not be denied that the principle of forced labour had been introduced into Kenya. It could not be denied either that it was the policy there to restrict the reserves so as to force the natives to work on estates. He had never accused the settlers of ill-treating the natives.

Mr. Louw, the new High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London, also replied to Lord Olivier. He complained of his rather casual and sweeping criticisms of General Hertzog's policy. It was far too sweeping to say that that policy abolished the political rights of the natives. While certain changes were made in the Cape, there was no suggestion of destroying the political rights of the natives, and political rights were actually being extended to the three provinces were they had not existed. It was a gross exaggeration of the policy of the Government to say that they wished to brand the native as an inferior being. The contention was that the native must develop on his own lines and in accordance with his own traditions. General Hertzog recognised the principle of trusteeship for the natives, and he was making an honest and sincere attempt to solve the question not by palliatives as in the past, but thoroughly and in the best interests of all the races.

Mr. Charles Roberts, the President of the Society, said the report raised the central question whether the time had not come to see our immense Empire in Africa as a whole, and to work out the principles for its future development. After full deliberation both in Africa and at home this matter should be submitted to a joint committee of both Houses of Parliament, which should consider all conditions and hear the views of all the races affected with a view to formulating the principles which would govern the relations of all the races in Africa.

A resolution urging the appointment of a joint committee was carried.

A WARNING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

An important group of residents in the Cape Province (says a Reuter message) has published a manifesto appealing for support against the Government's proposals in the matter of native representation in Parliament, which they contend constitute a grave menace to peace and order in South Africa and contain the seeds of serious trouble for future generations. The appeal is addressed to all parties, to all who uphold the principles of justice, right, and statesmanship.

The manifesto is signed by the Archbishop of Capetown, by the late Chief Justice, by two former Ministers, and by lawyers, clergymen, and other leaders of thought in Capetown.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF KENYA COFFEE.

What the Coffee Planters' Union is Doing.

Specially written for "East Africa."

By Major Charles Caitskell,

Secretary of the Coffee Planters' Union of Kenya and East Africa.

It is notorious that a shoemaker's children are badly shod and that a doctor's children are usually in a chronic state of colds in the head. It is equally well known to those connected with the trade that it is usually difficult to get a drinkable cup of coffee in those countries in which coffee is grown.

This was brought forcibly to my notice some few years ago when I was accosted in one of our principal streets in Nairobi by a perfect stranger with the words: "Say, you are the man who knows all about your coffee, aren't you?"

Without giving me any time to admit that there might be just one or two minor points on which my knowledge had not yet reached finality, he continued: "I've just come all the way from the United States, and all the trip I have been looking forward to tasting your coffee. I arrived at Mombasa yesterday and had some; it was bad! Yesterday and to-day I tasted it in the Railway refreshment rooms; it was worse!! I've just had a cup in this city; it was —— !!!"

Countering American Criticisms.

I seized him by the arm and dragged him to my office, where my learned staff brew and imbibe coffee from 8.30 a.m. till after 4 p.m. As frequently happens, I had a few recently roasted and ground samples of coffees from various districts of the Colony. We sat down and tried each in turn and conversation became more genial. I found that my visitor was interested in a large retail grocery business in the United States of America and he took a keen interest in noting the difference of flavour in the coffees from different districts. He left me with some samples for his friends on board ship, and a better appreciation of the virtues of our product.

A few months later I received a call from a partner in a firm of coffee importers who do a large business in the United States. It was he who told me that from personal experience he found that coffee is seldom well made in the country of production, the reason he gave being that the preparation for table is usually left to the Native cook and that little trouble is taken with it.

These visits set me thinking. The tourist traffic to Kenya is increasing annually, and possibly hundreds of visitors leave our shores firmly determined never to drink Kenya coffee again if they can help it.

Catering for Visitors to Nairobi.

The Council of the Coffee Planters Union took the matter up with the managers of various hotels and also with the catering department of the Railway; as a result, during the last two or three years there has been a distinct improvement in the quality of the liquor supplied, though in some places there is still room for further improvement.

At the Nairobi Agricultural Shows in 1927 and 1928 the Union ran a café in conjunction with the Coffee Section. Any visitor to the Show could, on introduction by a member of the Union, obtain as much free coffee as he could drink. Samples from various districts were supplied and the difference in flavour could be noted.

An amusing incident occurred in this connection at the 1927 Show. We started the café with coffee grown in the neighbourhood. This coffee had kindly been provided ready roasted and ground by a neighbouring estate so that there should be no delay in opening.

When the judging was completed it was found that the prize for the best district exhibit of coffee had been won by a district far away in the blue. I therefore provided the café with some of this coffee and exhibited a notice: "We are now drinking coffee from the district which won the District Coffee Cup." Within five minutes the lady who ran the café rushed up to me saying that everyone was complaining about the flavour of the coffee served! Being early in the day, most of our visitors were local people and used to the flavour of the coffee grown near Nairobi: the highly acid flavour of the coffee from the winning district was strange to them. It was then that we decided to have brews made from different districts.

Our efforts at those two Shows enabled any visitors from overseas to form a correct opinion of our coffee. Incidentally, they were of educational value to our own people as to the best way of serving coffee.

However, the vast majority of tourists do not reach us when such a Show happens to be on.

Coffee in the Cup and on the Estate.

Large ships now visit Mombasa bearing tourist parties of several hundreds from the United States of America and Canada. These tourists come up to Nairobi, tour the neighbouring country in motor cars and dash back to the ship. The Union now makes arrangements whenever possible that such parties shall, at some period of their visit, sample our coffee under the best conditions.

Early this year we had such a party. Half the ship's passengers left Mombasa one evening, arrived at Nairobi at noon next day, after lunch took a motor drive, witnessed a Native dance at an hotel in the suburbs—here we provided the coffee—caught the train back at about 5 p.m., and reached Mombasa early next morning: in their spare time those interested were conducted round a coffee plantation and had the working of the estate and the preparation of the bean explained to them. The other half of the shipload did a similar trip two days later. And, lest it be imagined from the foregoing that the Americans are a slow, lazy nation, it should be explained that those who did not come up to Nairobi the first day sailed for Zanzibar and did that island—and so for the second party.

THE ELEKO CASE AT LAGOS.

[By our Nigeria Correspondent.]

With the limitation of the Eleko's Habeas Corpus application to an inquiry as to whether Native law and custom demanded the removal of a deposed Chief, the likelihood of the writ being issued became a small one, but popular interest in the case remained as great as ever, for the ex-Eleko's supporters are determined that it shall be but a stage in a sustained campaign for justice. On behalf of Prince Eshugbayi, four witnesses were called, and sought to show that Lagos was not a part of Yorubaland, that deportation was not a customary mode of disposing of Chiefs, and that in any case the Oba was in a place by himself, and was removable only by his own volition or by civil war. Needless to say, counsel for the applicant did not stress the evidence of his witnesses claiming that Eko was a distinct language from the dialects usually called Yoruba, and the chief evidence was therefore that in regard to the other points. It depended for its weight upon Chief Oluwa, against whom a suggestion of disloyalty was raised in cross-examination because he had opposed the water rate, and because he took action against the Government in connection with his Apapa lands. This curious official view of "disloyalty" is somewhat upset by the fact that Chief Oluwa was supported in his opposition against the water rate by a number of "loyal" gentlemen, while his "disloyalty" in regard to Apapa has been supported by the "disloyal" decision of the Privy Council!

The connection of the Lagos people with the remainder of the Yorubas was easily proved, for both Yoruba and English historians were in agreement on the matter, although a difference in custom in land-ownership between Lagos and Oyo gave an opportunity to Mr. Wells Palmer to contend on behalf of Prince Eshugbayi that there was no generally understood customary law throughout the Yoruba peoples. With regard to the deportation of deposed Chiefs, the witnesses were almost unanimous that before the coming of the British the practice was for an unpopular ruler to poison himself or to flee, and a long series of instances known to history were quoted, ending with the exceptional case of the war-Chief Ashogbon, whom Eshugbayi himself deposed for the intrigue against him that led to the burning of the Iga Idunganran in 1913. Ashogbon, it is interesting to note, was saved from death through British influence, but would have been deported on Prince Eshugbayi's request had the legal machinery for the purpose then been in existence. As it was he remained in Lagos, where he is still living, but the circumstances seem to be somewhat unusual since no successor has been appointed. The evidence of Obadiji, head messenger to the Alafin, showed that the first hint of unpopularity that a Chief would receive would be the cessation of visits from subjects and claimants, and if that had no effect songs would be sung containing more than a hint that he would do well to go, while if this proved useless he would be attacked by a body of disguised subjects and killed. Very similar evidence was given by a judge of the Oyo Court, and by the Alafin of Oyo himself, although it was admitted that in some circumstances Chiefs might be allowed to withdraw to their farms, or, as did two Chiefs near Lagos, to retire to another part of the town. The general custom was to commit suicide by poisoning, however, a fate which in the past befell every Bale of Ibadan after three years in office, and a custom which has the support of some of the older generation to-day. The Ibadan practice was perhaps due more to some concept of the divinity of kings than to expediency, but in Lagos suicide was evidently regarded as a matter of commonsense policy.

In regard to the statement that the Eleko, as Oba of Lagos, could not be deposed without civil war, it seems clear that this must be so, for it would be hardly natural for the head of an army to give up his powers without recourse to force if there were the slightest hope of success. Before the arrival of the British there was only one important case of an Oba leaving Lagos, and then the ruler in question,—

Adele,—made a successful [illegible] into his kingdom, and reigned until his death some two years later. Another Oba, Idewu Ojulare, became unpopular ostensibly because he had no son, and asked for the help of the King of Benin, but received in reply a skull and a sword. The symbolism, although sinister, is not very clear, but Idewu poisoned himself shortly after receipt of the message. It is interesting to note that although the Attorney-General quoted these facts from Prince Losi's history of Lagos, his opponents omitted to notice that it was also recorded there that Idewu chose death rather than flight because, he said, he would not look like "a common Chief,"—a phrase which supports to some extent Mr. Wells-Palmer's contention that an Oba was a ruler apart. Other points in the evidence bearing on the matter were Chief Obanikoro's assertion that the Eleko was as important to Lagos as was the Alafin to Oyo, and the emphatic statement of the Alafin and of his messenger Obadiji that the deposition of an Alafin was unthinkable.

The closing addresses in the case threw little new light on the evidence, the Attorney-General merely claiming that it was amply proved that Lagos had similar customs to the rest of Yorubaland, and discounting the value of the witnesses produced by the applicant. It was obvious, he thought, that the British occupation had modified the death or flight custom into one of deportation, so that the ex-Eleko's present situation was a normal and legal one.

It will be noticed that this view ignores the fact that British rule has provided no substitute for the Eleko's ancient power of fighting for his position, nor can any court decision prove that his deposition is in accordance with the popular will. Mr. Wells-Palmer's case was that Lagos customs were not those of Oyo, for whereas in the latter place all land was owned by the Alafin absolutely, in Lagos it was held in trust by a number of Idejo Chiefs. Moreover, now that it suited them, the Government claimed that Lagos was part of Oyo, whereas during the Apapa land case they had been equally sure that it was part of Benin. He emphasised the fact that in olden times the Obas had fought, died, or fled,—they had not been deported.

In his review of the evidence, Mr. Justice Tew urged the futility of trying to prove Lagos distinct from other Yoruba areas, and said that while customs were not necessarily preserved intact, an ancient deep-rooted practice founded on commonsense was most likely to exist until to-day. However the custom regarding unpopular Chiefs was regarded, it was evident that the fundamental object was removal, and he was satisfied that Native law and custom demanded a move to a distance depending on local circumstances, the old attitude of die or flee having been modified by Christianity and other modern influences. He found that an Oba was a paramount Chief, and stated that had Chief Oluwa been a more trustworthy witness, his evidence that an Oba could only be removed by civil war would carry considerable weight, but it was damaged by his assertion that before the arrival of the British a king would not have been called upon to leave Lagos. In the circumstances, he found that peaceful removal had taken the place of more forceful methods, and that the machinery for this had been provided by the Deposed Chiefs' Ordinance, under the provisions of which the applicant had been removed to Oyo.

Lagos, May, 1929.

THE TWO SIDES.

THIS week has seen a remarkable quartette of British West African gatherings in London. One is tempted to say of them that the Elder Dempster and Bank of British West Africa meetings represent the material and the Gold Coast and Nigeria dinners the moral side of West African development; but of course such a remark would be at most partly accurate, since the work of Government, where it is at all successful in realising the aims of the best minds concerned in it no more disregards the homely, practical basis than the real leaders of industry disregard the human needs and aspirations of those whom they lead. At all events, whatever the precise extent to which the speaking at the dinners represents the less material and that at the company meetings the more material elements, both of which are indispensable, the broad deduction is that affairs tend again to shape reasonably well in that vast, wonderful area which we call British West Africa. If at the social gatherings Sir Matthew Nathan and Sir John Eaglesome tended to dwell upon the conditions and the men of their day in West Africa they deserve thanks, because the pace there is now so rapid that such surveys have the value of historical records, made by men who themselves played leading parts in great chapters; while Mr. Richmond Palmer reminds us that whatever the rate of progress the keeping up of the human touch is still the aim and the need, and of Mr. Flood's remarks it may truly be said that his remark about giving the West African child a better chance in life states the duty of Governments of the Coast Colonies almost in a word.

Lord Kylsant perhaps felt in the atmosphere of the Nigeria dinner and the instant response of the audience to every call to high effort, indirect yet real endorsement of the optimism of his review of West African conditions and prospects, made at the Elder Dempster meeting the day before. That review touches upon the material life of British West Africa at every important point of it; and the fact that the shrewd minds directing the great British shipping enterprise which for two generations has met and has had to anticipate the cargo and passenger needs of the West African Colonies have decided upon and indeed are far ahead with the construction of a new express passenger liner and eight new cargo motor ships speaks more convincingly than anything else could speak of the faith that is in them regarding West Africa's prospects. The decision to name one of the new vessels after Achimota and the other eight after British and West African men and women who have won the name and fame of true leaders is one of the happiest instances going to show that business ability and genuine sentiment can go hand in hand. Noteworthy also is Lord Kylsant's hint to the Empire Marketing Board of the steps which might be taken to increase the use of palm-kernel cake by British cattle farmers. Experience of the spirit in which the Board works warrants the belief that Lord Kylsant's suggestion will be examined carefully and sympathetically. But indeed, the speech is full of that rarest kind of criticism, the constructive kind, and not least in its reference to port charges in this country which represent a severe handicap upon British trade, in West Africa as elsewhere.

The 35th annual general meeting of the Bank of British West Africa, held on Thursday, and fully reported elsewhere in this issue, will certainly tend to strengthen hopeful feelings in regard to British West Africa. The chairman, the Earl of Selborne, paid a tribute in felicitous terms to the late General Manager, Mr. Leslie Couper, C.M.G., who, to use the chairman's words, "had devoted his life with conspicuous success to the service of the Bank." Mr. Couper's many friends in the City and West Africa will be grateful to Lord Selborne for this graceful reference to a man who was in truth a staunch friend of West Africa and West Africans, and no finer epitaph could be desired by any man than the striking words of Lord Selborne in his reference to Mr. Couper's character—"He was a man of much ability, and of consistently wide outlook; absolutely straight and dependable, without taint of intrigue or underhand dealings; honourable and upright in all his goings-out and comings-in."

The accounts of the Bank for the year ended March 31, 1929, show that the business has been maintained and strengthened, and this in the face of what West African traders as a whole will generally agree has been a difficult year for trade. Lord Selborne did well to emphasise that, in West Africa, where the Bank's main field of operations lies, the prosperity of the African inhabitants, and of those engaged in trade, depends largely upon the condition and prosperity of Europe, and that when the long-delayed and eagerly-looked-for improvement in international trade materialises, the effects will be reflected in the West African Colonies, as the welfare of the African inhabitants so largly depends upon the market at Home for the products of the soil which they cultivate and harvest.

The serious drop in the value of cocoa during the Bank's financial year—the price was approximately £20 a ton lower on May 31 than it was at the same date in 1928—has resulted, of course, in a decrease in the spending power of the African farmers, which in consequence must be reflected in a lower demand for manufactured goods and other commodities which British merchants supply to the West African Colonies. Recent happenings in the West African trade, for example: the rationalisation of two great leading concerns, the Niger Company and the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, now merged into the United Africa Co., Ltd., provide evidence, if such were needed, that trade between this country and West Africa has its own special problems.

It must, therefore, be a source of satisfaction to the Board of the Bank no less than to the merchant community which for well over a quarter of a century has come to regard the Bank of British West Africa, the pioneer bank in the West African Colonies, as an indispensable adjunct to their business, to know that they have in the new General Manager, Mr. David W. Paterson, one who has been with the Bank from its inception, who by experience knows West Africa and its problems, and who was, to use Lord Selborne's words, "the intimate personal friend and trusted colleague of the late Mr. Leslie Couper." From the earliest days the policy of the directors of the Bank has been to provide banking facilities, in advance if necessary, of trade requirements, as an inducement to merchants to develop trade and to the people of the four Colonies to acquire the indispensable habit of thrift. The establishment during the last year of a branch at Maiduguri, an outpost of Nigeria over 350 miles from the nearest railhead, is evidence that the Bank's original policy is being steadily pursued.

The South African Outlook.

The policy which General Smuts described as a "devilish policy" has won in South Africa. Fortunately it is not a complete victory; for to carry out his electoral programme General Hertzog needed a sweeping majority. As it is, he has made the native problem into an election cry and returned to power with a majority of eight over the other parties. The native franchise in the Cape is old-established and has worked well. The facts and the electoral statements of the Nationalist party are at variance. There is no imminent prospect of the white voter being swamped by the black. Out of a total electorate of 170,000 in the province 15,000 natives are qualified by property and education to vote. It is clear that, even if the economic position and the education of the Bantu improve rapidly, it will be many years before his vote becomes of comparable size to the white's. In fact, from a purely white point of view, the native franchise is an excellent insurance. The Bantu outnumber the whites by more than three to one; they serve the whites, and on terms of free service their relationship is possible. On terms of hostility and bondage it is in the long run impossible. The Bantu greatly prizes the chance of qualifying as a full citizen: it is an admission of that ultimate human equality which the missionary has taught him and which the white man's domination generally denies him. That he is not now equal in power, wealth, or civilisation is obvious. The franchise is his one guarantee that as he gains education and improves his economic position he will not be prevented from sharing in the government of his country and from working to remove grievances which daily press upon him. To deny the Bantu that guarantee is to arouse his deep suspicion, if not his enmity. The ultimate results of that policy must prove disastrous.

Race Problem — 1929

Africa

GOLD COAST COCOA STATISTICS.

The February exports of cocoa from the Gold Coast were 30,219 tons.

A cable dated March 4, from the Director of Agriculture, Accra, states :—

"Cocoa prospects end of February.—The increase of price encouraged growers to dispose of their remaining stocks and business has been good all round. It may be assumed that practically all the crop is now disposed of. The exports for February from the Gold Coast confirm the forecast of the extra 75,000 tons. It is too early to comment on the minor crop but data are being collected."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Some time ago the United States Agricultural Department sent Mr. Schwartz out to the Gold Coast for the purpose of obtaining certain information regarding the cocoa industry, and we believe he is to remain in residence until about April of this year.

In addition to the inquiries he is making we are informed that parcels of cocoa beans, intended for the States, and shipped by the direct boats, are being examined before shipment, which procedure obviates examination upon arrival on the other side, with the consequent fear of rejection.

Mr. Schwartz has lately cabled to the United States estimating that the present main crop will exceed that of last year by 35,000 tons, and this information has been broadcast on the New York terminal market.

It is of course, impossible to state how or where Mr. Schwartz obtains his estimate, but we are of opinion that such estimates should only be given out publicly if they are authentic and based on a reliable foundation, as otherwise they are liable to cause a wrong and harmful impression.

From inquiries we have made from time to time, which have been exacting and thorough and carried out on the spot, we estimate that it is impossible for the present main crop to exceed that of last year by more than 17,000 tons, the Gold Coast Government estimate being an excess of 15,000 tons only.

Personally we are of opinion that the Gold Coast Government should invite Mr. Schwartz to give an explanation as to how he arrived at his estimate, in an endeavour to avoid similar estimates in the future which might easily harm the Colony and more particularly the Native farmer.

We certainly think the different cocoa markets of the world will remember Mr. Schwartz's first estimate if similar attempts are made in the future, and possibly judge them at their real value.

Yours faithfully,
For and on behalf of
United Products, Limited,
S. AYLES,
Managing Director.

46, King William Street, E.C.4,
March 6.

European Bantu Conference.

Native Opinion South Africa 3/4/29

THE discussions at the European-Bantu Conference, which closed at Cape Town on the 9th inst. resulted in the unanimous adoption of a number of important resolutions, among which are the following:

Administration of Justice

(1) The conference is of opinion that, in view of the appreciable number of instances where the verdicts of juries have aroused deep dissatisfaction in cases where Europeans are charged with crimes of violence against Natives the Government should be asked to appoint a Commission to investigate the operation of the jury system in such cases and to make such recommendations for the future as may be expected to remove all grounds for suspicion or discontent.

(2) The conference is further of opinion that there is room for considerable improvement in the general administration of justice in so far as it affects the Native population especially with regard to the following matters, which it feels should be fully gone into, either by the Commission referred to in paragraph (1) or in some other adequate manner:

(a) Interpretation in the courts; the status and qualification of interpreters; language qualification of police.

(b) Special difficulties of procedure affecting Natives.

(c) Disproportionate sentences in Magistrates' Courts, especially heavy fines.

d. Indiscriminate or unnecessary arrests.

e. Unnecessary rough handling of natives accused or witnesses by police.

f. Failure to release accused as soon as possible after acquittal.

g. Lack of adequate and sympathetic arrangements for the handling of native juveniles, especially first offenders.

h. Arrangements for defence of accused persons unable to engage legal assistance.

3. The conference requests the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice to receive a deputation, which shall present these resolutions; the deputation to consist of: Sir J Rose-Innes, Sir Clarkson Tredgold, Mrs Spilhaus, Professor E H Brookes, Professor Roseveare, Adv. Ramsbottom, Mr J Malangabi, Mr T M Mapikela, Sir W E Stanford, Rev Dr Flint, Mr Howard Pim, Rev H Booth Coventry, Professor du Plessis, Rev A Mtimkulu, Professor Jabavu, Mr R W Msimang, with power to add to their number. Adv. Nixon to act as secretary and convener.

4. The conference appoints the members of the deputation mentioned in the preceding paragraph as a Vigilance Committee to continue in office until the next conference, and take such action as they may deem advisable within the terms of reference.

5. The conference recommends that every local Joint Council or Welfare Society should closely watch the administration of justice in its own area, and communicate important facts to the Vigilance Committee through its secretary, Adv. Nixon.

Industrial Organisation

Resolutions passed in connection with industrial organisation were:

"This conference is of opinion that the best interests of South Africa will be served by the adoption in industry of the following principles:

1. Recognition of the fact the native must be given a permanent place in industry with the same legal and economic rights as the European by

"a. amending of the Industrial Conciliation Act to provide for the inclusion of pass-bearing natives under the provisions of the Act;

"b. removing of natives thus brought under the Industrial Conciliation Act from the operation of the masters and servants laws and such portions of the Recruiting Act as would be in conflict with the amended Industrial Conciliation Act;

"c. repealing of the 'Colour Bar Act.

"2. Organisation of native workers in trade unions.

"3. Representation of native interests on industrial councils and conciliation boards through such unions, or, where no such unions exist, through especially appointed representatives, with the right of appeal to the Wage Board if native interests are not adequately represented on industrial councils or conciliation boards.

"4. Use of the Wage Act in those occupations in which the industrial Conciliation Act is inoperative, particularly where native wages are unduly low.

"5. The Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act must not be used for the exclusion of natives and other non-Europeans from industry."

THE NATIVE BILLS.

Native Opinion South Africa 24/4/29

What has been the chief topic of all political organisation in South Africa for the last two years, Gen. Hertzog's Native Bills, has now strangely turned into a closely-guarded secret of the Prime Minister, known only lately to members of parliament. Natives, needless to say, have not been consulted of the latest changes.

We are indebted to the "Cape Argus" for the following summary of which the Bills are said to consist—"Two Bills—the Natives' Parliamentary Representation Bill and the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill—were laid on the Table of the House yesterday afternoon and will be considered next week at joint sittings of the Assembly and Senate.

Their main provisions may be summarised as follows:

Natives outside the Cape will not be entitled to elect any representatives to the House of Assembly or the Provincial Councils, but will at first be allowed to elect two Senators through the medium

of local councils, advisory boards and chiefs.

After ten years, provided the system of local government by Native councils and advisory boards develops in a way to justify the change, the number of Senators to represent them will be increased to four.

CAPE CHANGES.

In the Cape material changes in the existing position are to be made. Although it is not proposed to deprive existing Native voters of the franchise, the Prime Minister's scheme is to prevent any more Natives coming on the ordinary voters' roll once the Bill is on the Statute Book.

Instead, a separate Native roll is to be kept and future Native franchise rights are to be restricted as follows.

(1) As soon as the existing number of Native voters is not more than one-fifth of the number registered at the commencement of the Act, the persons on the separate Native roll will be entitled to elect jointly two Senators who must be Europeans.

(2) Similarly, when the number of existing Native voters falls by one-fourth of the figure at the commencement of the Act, the Natives on the separate roll shall be entitled to elect one European member for the House of Assembly to represent them; two members when the number has fallen by a further one-fourth; and three members when the existing number has decreased by more than three-fourths.

The above Senators and M.L.A.'s will be additional to the personnel of both Houses provided for in the Act of Union and shall have all the rights, powers, privileges and immunities enjoyed by other members.

The Prime Minister proposes in addition to allow Natives on the separate roll in the Cape to elect one representative in the Provincial Council when the existing number of Native voters has fallen by half the present figure and two representatives when the existing number has been further reduced to not more than one-fifth of the present figure.

COLOURED PERSONS' BILL.

The Coloured Persons' Rights Bill provides for the election of an additional member of the Assembly to represent coloured persons outside the Cape Province.

After ten years these coloured voters, who will be registered on a separate roll, will be entitled to come on the ordinary voters' roll if a resolution of both Houses is passed to that effect. Boards will be set up a t the outset to frame lists of coloured voters.

The qualification for a coloured voter includes an ability to read proficiently the form of claim for registration and to write legibly, thereon, and without assistance, his full name, age, occupation. and address and sign his name on the form.

He must also possess the usual property or income qualification. The man elected by coloured voters outside the Cape must be a European.

At first sight coloured persons in the Cape and Natal appear to be unaffected by the provisions of the Bill, but an important provision appears to make it very difficult for them to secure a vote once the Bill is passed.

Once the Act is promulgated coloured persons in these province who claim the vote must make written application to the registering officer of the electoral division in which they are domiciled. The procedure, then, is that the registering officer will transmit such application to the district magistrate, who will then in turn submit it to the Minister, who will "cause the application to be considered by a board appointed in that district."

The applicant will then be notified to appear before the Board in person and "if it appears to the Board after inquiry that the applicant is a coloured person the chairman shall endorse a certificate to that effect on the application of such applicant and transmit such application to the registering officer concerned thereupon the said application shall be deemed to be a form of claim under and shall be delat with according to the provisions of the Electoral Act."

RIGOROUS PROVISIONS.

Even more rigorous are the provisions govering a claim to a vote by any person born of mixed parentage after the passing of the Act. He may "petition the Governor-General to be declared a coloured person for the purpose of this Act" and the Governor General shall then refer such petition to a Board consisting of a Judge of the Supreme Court and two other persons. This Board shall ony recommend the granting of the application if it is satisfied that the applicant is "a person of repute who is held in good public esteem in the locality where he resides and by his associates; is proficient in one of the official languages of the Union and is by reason of his intellectual attainments more akin to a European or coloured person than to a Native; and conform in regard to his standard and habits of life to the standards of European civilisation.

If he succeeds in satisfying the authorities in all these things, the coloured person of the future has then to wait until the Board's recommendation is confirmed by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament until he knows whether or not he is a coloured person "for the purposes of this Act."

Native Administration Act

This act which was recently passed by the legislature is one of those acts which embrace so many bad and good phases of Native life that to many it is bewildering and hard to understand. In a recent issue we dealt with it as it affects Native marriages. To-day we intend dealing with it as it affects Natives in the reserves who hold quitrent titles to their allotments. Places like Fort Beaufort, or to be more correct Healdtown, Victoria East (excepting Upper Tyume) Burnshill, Marela's, and the two Mgqwakwebe's have titles under Sir George Grey's survey, which entitles the owner and his descendants to be possessors of land in perpetuity, and the Natives could dispose of their holdings at pleasure. That was highly prized by the Natives, as what they held was their own; and it was for that reason that they were so prejudiced against the Glen Grey system which only gave them right to the land whilst they were in actual possession; and should they remove they forfieted the right to it. Now the Native Administration Act which is being introduced piecemeal, is about to be enforced as regards the registration of Native land. The holdings must be transferred to the present occupiers, and further Natives must only occupy one allotment. This clause will hard hit and pauperise many Natives. Most of these garden lots are three morgen in extent where as in the Transkei they ordinarily consist of 5 morgen or ten acres. How in the name of common sense can any man with a family be expected to make a living out of 3 morgen under these drought conditions which seem to have come to stay. It is to be hoped that before the clause dealing with the transfer or registration of lands becomes operative Native Commissioners may summon indabas and explain matters, at the same time bringing before the notice of the Minister of Native Affairs the urgent necessity of apportioning more land to Natives than is provided for under the Act. It has been said that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," but it could easily be seen that introducing the transfer and registration clauses with the principle of "one man one garden lot," would be a distinct hardship, and it is why we appeal to Native Commissioners to arrange for adequate provision before introducing the Act.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

DEATH OF THE PROPHET HARRIS.

"Black Elijah," Who Won Thousands to Christianity.

10-9-29

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London has received news of the death near Cape Palmas, Liberia, of William Wadé Harris, known as the "Black Elijah," a preacher of wonderful power, who began in 1915 a tour of the tribes of West Africa, especially on the Ivory Coast, telling them to burn their fetishes, believe in one god, buy Bibles, and await the coming of the missionaries.

Clothed in a loose white calico gown, with a roughly woven cross hanging from his neck,



Harris tramped through the western part of the Gold Coast Colony on his self-imposed mission. In one hand he bore a bamboo cross, held aloft, and in the other a tattered Bible. He asked for nothing and he accepted nothing, except it was the submission of those whom he had brought to accept Christianity. He refused to join any existing Church, and he was equally firm in refusing to become the founder of a new one. All he did was to bid his converts join any Church they pleased if only it preached the gospel of Christ.

Most of his preaching was done in the open air, for no building was large enough to hold the thousands who flocked to his call, and at the end of each sermon the natives would cast away their idols and accept baptism at his hands.

Suddenly Harris announced that he must return to his native country, and passed on to the Ivory Coast. For twelve months he preached and laboured there with undiminished zeal, converting the natives by the thousand as he had done in the Gold Coast Colony.

Sceptics said that Harris's influence would go with him, but it did not. He had bidden his converts to build churches, and they built them—150 churches of stone—with their own hands, and furnished them with pulpits and Bibles. Harris had told them that the Gospel would be made fully known by teachers who would be sent in God's own time. So they waited, meeting in their churches twice every Sunday, singing hymns, praying, and exhorting each other to continue in the better life.

For ten years they waited for the fulfilment of Harris's promise, and in 1926, when the Rev. W. Platt visited the Ivory Coast, he was hailed as the promised teacher by crowds of men, women, and children, who led him to the churches they had built against his coming and flocked to hear him. His tour was a triumph; 22,000 converts were received as catechumens.

Meanwhile nothing had been heard of Harris; the "Black Elijah" had passed into obscurity, but in the autumn of 1926 he was found living in poverty at Cape Palmas by M. Pierre Benoit, a French Wesleyan missionary. Harris had aged, his body had grown feeble, but the flame of his zeal still burned within him. His work was taken over by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which also provided for the simple needs of his old age.

Native Administration Act

The visit of the Minister of Native Affairs to King Williamstown on the 8th inst. for the purpose of meeting Ciskei Natives in connection with the carrying out of investigations by Native Commissioners into their land titles cannot be said to be a complete success. The bone of contention was the question as to whether the new titles the government proposes to issue in substitution of the old titles had the effect of robbing Natives of rights enjoyed in the conditions of the old titles. At the indaba the Natives, as was reported in last week's "Imvo," seemed to have succeeded in proving the deprivation of rights in the process; but for the pitfalls exposed by the Natives, the Minister made the concession of promising to alter the regulations to suit Native wishes, and even to this end the Minister made it clear that it should not be assumed that all objections by Natives would be rectified. With his reservation the Minister seemed to be covered against any future attacks on his regulations. We were not in the least surprised at hearing this, when we remember that there were certain phases of the regulations that were controlled by the letter of the act itself. The discussion on the act was not allowed, the Minister intimating that parliament only could deal with that. Mr. Jansen was not aware that Natives knew fully well that it was the duty of the Minister to lay on the table of the House any amendments to an act that concerned his department. It was clear therefore that the Minister had resolved to entertain no suggestion to amend Act 38 of 1927. It was equally clear that the Natives were awake to the fact that the evils inherent in the act gave birth to the obnoxious regulations that are calculated to deprive them of vested rights enjoyed for many years. The investigations by Commissioners into Native land ownership were authorised under section 8 (1) of the Act, and Natives were then left with no other alternative than to attack the law itself, and begin to inquire into its capacity to make such drastic inroads into land occupation, (involving prescriptive and Commonage rights etc), the collateral relation of such occupation with their privilege to retain and obtain the vote in the future. The right of the act to disturb native land occupation and registration by titles, and for that matter, to divorce Natives as a class from the constitutional law courts of the land to remove individual Natives or Native tribes from any where to anywhere in the Union regardless of legal rights enjoyed by Natives, will now have to be investigated thoroughly. A test case will probably be forced as the Natives will refuse to hand in their titles. It is only right we think that the burden of prosecuting should be thrown on the government, rather than for the Natives to prosecute government after being coerced to submit what is their property. The Native Administration Act will be put to the test of the courts of law, and the position clarified as to whether an entrenched clause in the Act of Union protecting Native political rights may be subordinated to an ordinary act of the Union Parliament. This test will also clarify the position of Native rights indirectly taken away by the Liquor Act, 30 of 1928. It will be interesting and satisfactory to all concerned to have a clear cut decision from the superior courts.

Threatened African Soviet Revolt Ends In Anti-Climax

Hundreds of Police Raid Native Compounds, Arresting Thousands Who Had Failed to Pay Poll Tax, But Blacks Treat Affair As Huge Joke.

BY FRANK BURTON.

Special Cable to the Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal.

CAPETOWN, Nov. 16.—Shortly after dawn today 500 European and 200 native police, armed with rifles, machine guns, revolvers, and tear gas bombs, crept silently on three native compounds for the purpose of arresting those who failed to pay their poll tax. But if they expected opposition they were disappointed, for the only sign of annoyance the natives displayed was at being dragged from their beds so early in the morning.

Chief Commissioner of Police Col. J. P. Devilliers was in charge of the police, while Minister of Justice Pirow was also present. By 9 o'clock more than 500 natives had been arrested and more than 3,000 searched. The prisoners were marched through densely crowded streets the police using tear bombs to clear a passage. Special courts had been arranged in which the natives were brought and ordered to pay the tax or go to prison. Many paid.

It is stated that the arrested natives seemed to regard the whole business as a huge joke, grinning and laughing as they were marched away.

One reason for the police demonstration was information in possession of the authorities that direct communication had been held by the natives with the Third Internationale at Moscow and an unlawful demonstration had been planned for Dingaan's Day, which was selected for the zero hour.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES.

As stated in our last Editorial, we have now made a survey of the Rural District with a view to ascertaining the mind of the Electors. Both candidates namely Messrs. TUBOKU-METZGER and HYDE are very active in their public meetings, and the difficulty of gauging correctly the mind of the people as to a definite choice is increased by the frequent changes in their decisions after hearing the candidate. We have made no reference to Mr. JONES of Benguema, who after having failed so ignobly at the last Election has the temerity to even conceive of the idea of contesting it this Election, for our report is that no serious minded Elector of the Rural District is considering him. From all that could be gathered in the Rural District, some report had been circulated that Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER had not properly advocated the claims of the Rural District in Council. Whatever else may be his faults, we are in a position to say that he has been strenuous in putting their cause before Government, and at least, on two important occasions, namely the Public Offices Building Scheme, and the Cemetery Bill, he took the precaution of circulating the different villages, obtained their opinions and laid them before Council. A more zealous member of Council could hardly be found, for despite his distance from the city and his age, his attendance at the meetings of Council, and the Select Committees is higher than any other Unofficial Member of Council for the five years. If experience of the deliberations of Council counts, and if the Rural District require a man highly respected by all, and who is in a position to render useful service in their cause they have such, a one in Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER.

Of Mr. HYDE'S service we could write scarcely anything, for the reference to Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER is a commentary on his work in the Legislative Council. No doubt Mr. HYDE claims that, if elected, he will be able to render better service than his opponent; for otherwise there will be no reason to seek to displace him. We cannot positively state whether he would prove a better Rural Representative, hence the great difficulty of the men on whom the choice of a representative is vested. Their duty is to weigh the position carefully before making a decision and acting on it, since there will be no means of retracting once the vote is recorded.

Our advice therefore to the Electors of the Rural District is, to forget sentiment, put afar off all claims of relationship and friendship, and consider the relative worth of the two men, and then ask yourselves the question—"which of them is more likely to render service to us?" and then decide.

In the Urban District, matters are approaching a head when we may safely say that all opposition is vanishing into thin air, and the chances of re-election of the two Urban Members are increasing very rapidly.

The Public Meeting at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall which was reported in our last issue, had a drowning effect, for the speakers took the opportunity of informing the Electors of the services they have rendered in Council, and out of Council.

And as far as we have been able to gauge of the result of this meeting, the chances of any other candidates displacing these men are particularly nil; so strong is public opinion in their favour.

SAYS REDS INFLAME AFRICANS TO REVOLT

Minister of Justice of South Africa Pictures Native Unrest at Danger Point.

SEES SPREAD TO RHODESIA

Revolutionary Instructions by the Third International Quoted—Riots and Lynch Law Feared.

PRETORIA, South Africa, Nov. 20 (Canadian Press).—Widespread and serious native unrest, fanned by numerous organizations, in many cases closely allied, and in all cases in touch with the Communist party, and directly and definitely instructed by the Third International, faces the Government of South Africa, said Oswald Pirow, Minister of Justice, at a meeting here last night. He was making his eagerly awaited statement on the recent raids by police on native communities at Durban.

It was a "significant fact," Mr. Pirow said, that native unrest was not confined to the Union of South Africa, but was beginning to extend into Southern Rhodesia, and it was agreed on all sides that native unrest in the Union had reached a dangerous stage. The police were satisfied that matters had reached a point where, unless checked, they would in twelve to eighteen months' time lead to rioting on a large scale by the natives, with consequent reprisals by Europeans and the introduction of lynch law.

The organizations promoting the unrest, Mr. Pirow declared, claimed to have industrial aims, but were conducting propaganda calculated to provoke violence. As typical of what was happening, he cited a meeting of natives under Communist auspices at Johannesburg on Nov. 10, when his effigy had been burned and anti-government speeches delivered.

Mr. Pirow also quoted definite instructions by the Third Internationale to its friends in South Africa. He described the Third Internationale as "the power behind the Bolshevik movement, the avowed apostles of world revolution by all means, fair or foul, so unscrupulous in its methods that the Soviet Government formally disassociated itself from its activities."

Some of the Communist instructions quoted by the Minister of Justice, which he said were received in writing and acknowledged in writing, were:

"Wage a struggle against the native bills and all other forms of oppression, not through petitions but in a revolutionary manner. On Dec. 16 militant demonstrations are to be conducted under the slogan 'Long live the native republic.' The mines are to be penetrated by all possible means and a partial stoppage of work will be called for Dec. 14. All available organizations will be utilized for this purpose."

Mr. Pirow said that the organizations directly and indirectly implicated in the communications with the Third Internationale were the Communist party, the African National Congress, the Natal Industrial and Commercial Workers, the League of African Rights and the League against Imperialism and for National Independence.

He added that President Gumede of the African National Congress had recently been elected a member of the general council of the International and that at present he was awaiting the arrival of money for his fare overseas and intended to take with him the leader of another big native organization.

Several other native leaders, the Minister of Justice said, were graduates of a Communist school at Brussels and he asserted that the government had written proof of these facts, that being the justification for the decision to force the poll tax issue and the demonstrations when police raided the compounds and rounded up tax-evaders. The object of the demonstrations had been fully achieved, but he was aware that the lull was merely temporary and the government would now, by amending the Riotous Assemblies act, very soon deal with the agitators who were at the root of the trouble.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

AFRICAN COMMERCE IS OFTEN BARTER

Copper Wire, Brass Rods, Tacks, and Needles Have Purchasing Power

By A. W. RANFIELD

COQUILHATVILLE, Belgian Congo.

TRADE among the natives in the interior of Africa still goes on largely by the simple system of barter. The man, for instance, has corn and wishes to have a hoe. He goes to the blacksmith and exchanges with him corn to the value of a hoe. What is simpler than that? Except that he will most likely have to wait till the blacksmith makes the hoe, for how can a man work if he does not have food to eat? All labor is paid for in kind, such as food, house, wife, protection, etc.

Necessarily such people live a very simple life, and their needs are few and easily supplied. Furthermore, all land belongs to the community or tribe, and is inherited or granted by the village chief. Land may not be bought or sold, but gold pieces may be obtained by a present or bribe to the chief.

While traveling in one part of Africa I was in need of a riding horse, so went to the chief of the village where there were many horses and asked him to sell me one. The horse I chose was worth about ten English shillings, so I counted ten out and gave them to the chief. He was greatly astonished at the brightness of the silver pieces, and examined them carefully one by one, and then passed them round to his sub-chiefs to examine. When they were returned to him he tried to bite them, and finding that they were not edible, handed them all back to me saying that as he could not eat them they were of no use to him. Had I possessed foodstuff or trade goods, I should have secured the horse without any difficulty.

The only places in Africa I have been in where a purely native currency was used are the Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo and the Cameroons. In the Congo copper has been mined by the natives for many generations. There also they used a rough copper cross about nine inches long, which they cast in the ground. The value of one of these copper crosses was about two shillings and sixpence. They were used solely to pay the dowry price for a wife. In another part of the Congo iron spears about six feet long were used for the same purpose. In the Cameroons iron arrowheads about five inches long are still in use, and are valued at 100 for threepence. These mediums are fast disappearing.

Perhaps the commonest form of currency introduced into Africa by Europeans is the cowry shell. This is a small white shell, not found in Africa—else it would have no value in the country. In the early days these shells were first offered to the natives in exchange for local products or labor, and were strung and worn as ornaments about the body. They are so worn today. Later on they became so plentiful that they were used as a medium for buying all kinds of articles, and soon became the currency of large sections of Africa.

These shells vary in value according to their proximity to the coast, where they were valued at 4,000 for a shilling. In the far interior, a shilling would buy only 1,000 shells. A woman would take a sixty-pound load of yams on her head to the market, and return home with a forty-pound load of cowry shells.

Most European governments stopped the importation of cowry shells into their African colonies at the beginning of the present century, and introduced their own currency. Cowry shells have now almost entirely disappeared from the native markets.

Copper wires and brass rods were introduced by the white man and are still in use in the Belgian Congo. Originally these were about eighteen inches long, but now, owing to the high cost of living in those parts and the native discount on European paper money, the wire and rods have shrunk not in value but in length, so that they are only nine inches long, and yet have the same purchasing value.

Brass tacks and needles are still in use, though their value has greatly decreased. Only lately when traveling in the Cameroons I used fish-hooks to buy food for my men and pay the carriers who assisted me on the road. At this very time of writing I have just seen in Angola natives buying foodstuffs with ordinary safety pins. Some of the people carried considerable wealth of this kind in their hair and when they wished to make a purchase they would release a few pins and give them to the other party.

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ON the French Ivory Coast and in parts of Southern Nigeria manillas are still widely used. Manillas are the shape of a horseshoe and are in two sizes, about three inches and six inches in diameter. They are cast in a very base metal and are worth a penny and twopence each. These were originally introduced by Europeans and sold to the people to be worn as bracelets.

Salt is often more valuable than money, and will always buy more in markets off the beaten path. On one occasion while traveling in the Belgian Congo, I took bags of salt along with me to pay my carriers and purchase native foods for myself and men. There being no staple money in the country I was passing through, I paid my men a cup of salt a week. At one village I sent my cook to the market for a fowl, which he was able to buy for a teaspoonful of salt. In many parts of the country there is no native salt, and the people will give anything for European salt. To them it is as great a treat as sweets are to children. They prefer salt to sugar.

In 1900, when Northern Nigeria was taken over by the British Government, English silver money was introduced into the country. Often the value of a piece of silver depended solely on the newness or brightness of it. I have often polished old shillings before taking them to the market, otherwise I would not have been able to buy anything with them. When the natives learned that Queen Victoria had died, they refused to take any money with her head on it, saying, "This woman is dead, how can she pay me?"

The African is a born trader; he dearly loves buying and selling, and the longer it takes to strike a bargain the more it pleases him. Like the traders of Eastern countries, he has no set price for his goods. To him a set price is an abomination and gives no pleasure in trading. Furthermore, he may be able to sell an article for a much higher price to a "tenderfoot" than he would get if the price were fixed and plainly marked on it. But rest assured, he will never part with an article for less than it cost him.

Nyasaland.

COTTON CULTIVATION DOWN BUT BIG INCREASE IN TEA.

During the past ten years cotton cultivation in Nyasaland has decreased from 18,141 to 1,046 acres, while tea has increased from 4,433 to 7,596 acres. These facts, which apply to European cultivation only, emerge from the report for 1928 of the Department of Agriculture.

In the year 1928 as compared with 1927, tobacco and cotton fell by 2,527 and 1,499 acres respectively, while tea and sisal increased by 526 and 1,581 acres.

In 1927 the European tobacco crop was the largest on record for Nyasaland, but in 1928 the area under cultivation fell from 25,000 to 22,475 acres and the production from 97,647 to 81,355 cwt. The total European and native exports fell from 15,466,032 lb. in 1927, valued at £780,964, to 11,632,447 lb. in 1927, valued at £496,561. Last year the average yield per acre was 405 lb.

Native Production.

Native production of tobacco in 1927 reached the record figure of 3,484 tons, but this was more than the local market could absorb, and in the following year the figure fell to 2,414 tons. The development of the native industry is best realised when it is mentioned that in 1924 only 525 tons were produced. The Government has a native tobacco board supervising growing, and general instruction is given in the best methods of culture and curing. In 1927 legislation was passed prohibiting the planting of seed not issued or approved by the Board, and there has been a steady improvement in the quality of the tobacco grown.

Cotton is the one other commercial crop to which the native devotes his energies, and while the European-grown crop of last year was valued at £58,264, a total sum of £43,603 was distributed to native growers by the British Cotton Growing Association, who control the buying by agreement with the Government. In 1927 this agreement was renewed for a further period of three years, after having been in operation since 1922. There was considerable opposition to the granting of the concession when it was first proposed, but the country and the native have benefited by it. The average yearly production over a period of five years prior to the agreement was 349 tons; in the five years of the agreement it was 1,658 tons.

The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation have two experimental stations, at Makwapala and Port Herald, where varieties and strains are tested and work done on rotation crops.

Since 1923 there has been a steady annual increase in the acreage under tea and the 1928 record of 7,596 acres cultivated gave a production of 1,407,728 lb., valued at £73,599. New gardens are being opened up and a determined effort made to increase the yield of the old by the introduction of new jats, the checking of soil erosion, and a more general use of fertilisers.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Weekly Times
V. 9 - 28 - 29
Freetown Sierra Leone

THE return of His Excellency the Governor has naturally created keen interest on the burning subject of unemployment in the Colony, and at the risk of repetition we are continuing our contributions on this subject.

We desire first of all to impress upon the Government the real presence of unemployment to an unprecedented extent in the community, and our apprehensions for the future, unless something is done soon to stave off this monster.

The scheme for Colonial Development has come just at the time when the moment required the undertaking of such works which would have the result of improving the country, reducing unemployment in our midst and, by the requirement of materials manufactured in Britain would also keep employed many of those in Britain who are numbered amongst the unemployed.

The scheme as outlined by the Hon. J. H. THOMAS, Lord Privy Seal, contemplated the employment of local labour in the different colonies, and so long as we have skilled men competent to undertake whatever may be decided upon, we think it would be wrong in principle to import others.

We take this opportunity of indicating some of the projects we have been treating in our past issues.

They are, road development in the Colony and Protectorate, so that both may be linked up; drainage in the Colony and Protectorate; street-making in the Colony and Protectorate (not omitting the villages and Bonthe. Sherbro District); Harbour Improvement and Extension, Agriculture, gardening and fruit-trees cultivation in the Rural Districts, fishing, mineral development, public buildings and other works of a public nature.

The formation of a Committee of Europeans and Africans, as we have suggested in our last two issues would if constituted be a valuable means of giving useful advice to Government on these matters.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION.

It is a trite saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," and at no time is this more exemplified than the expressions of the people as to their views on the forthcoming Legislative Council Election.

The first indication of the mind of the Urban Electorate was at the Public Meeting in October last year when, after hearing the report of the Elected Members as to their work in Council, the meeting unanimously passed a vote of confidence on them. A vote of confidence based on an intelligent understanding of the situation; a vote actuated by considerations of the magnificent efforts by the representatives of the people to champion the cause of their constituents. The local press vied with the people in expressing their appreciation to the Elected Members, and acclaimed their work in Council as historic and worthy of the noble cause. The *Aurora*, was most articulate in condemning the nominated Unofficial Members for their attitude towards the representations of the Elected Members, and eulogised the latter for their courageous stand in the cause of the people.

At no time during their term of five years was there anything but approval of the actions of our representatives in the Council, and it is an evidence of distorted vision, and unpatriotic influences, that at the time when sober and conscientious reflections should be the guiding rule, personalities, ill-feeling, spite and other uncharitable qualities should be invoked to cloud the issues, and to detract from the undeniably useful services of the representatives. Next in the order of historical events as pourtraying the clearly decisive mind of the people, was the formation of Election Associations in which Electors in different Wards of the City, of both the Christian and the Mohammedan elements with one accord manifested their resolution to support the re-election of the Honourable BEOKU BETTS and the Honourable BANKOLE BRIGHT. Practical proof was given to these resolutions by the issuing of a document on the 7th August last in which the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the different Associations and the representatives of the Mohammedans pledged themselves to support the re-election of the two members.

A deliberate attempt has been made to misrepresent the motive of the men in recommending the two members to the Electorate. In some quarters it has been given out that it was an attempt to prevent a contest, and many have been the vilifications which have resulted from this most constitutional step on the part of men who conscious of the requirements of the moment have rallied together to indicate merit, and to exercise their right of saying that in their opinion a change is not desirable. The fact that in their "manifesto," they appealed to the electorate for their "votes" on behalf of these men is a direct contradiction of the unreasonable inference that no contest was desired.

We interpreted the document as a warning to those whose ambition may prevail over their sense of discretion, that they may know and be forewarned of the mind of the members who number the majority of the Electorate, before they offer themselves as intending candidates. We take it that the warning has had its due effect, and the other candidates who are contesting the seats of the present representatives have counted the cost and are consequently fore-armed for the contest.

WHITE FARMERS AND NATIVES

The question as to whether Natives were ripe for trade union principles or not was the topic of an interesting discussion at the Transvaal Agricultural Union Congress, Pretoria last Wednesday. Whatever dissenting views we hold regarding the speeches of some of the delegates thereto, we cannot help admiring the white farmers of the Transvaal for the courage of at last tackling the inevitable problem in a statesmanlike manner that is worthy of being emulated by the ministers of the Crown. Congress adopted resolutions that (1) "this congress considers that the Natives are not ripe for trade union principles" (2) "this congress is of opinion that better results would be obtained by co-operating with the Native Councils than with the Native Affairs Department" (3) "this congress urges that steps be taken to stop all seditious propaganda in connection with the Natives."

During the discussion, Major R. D. Doyle, in our opinion uttered words of wisdom and incontrovertible truth when he opined that "the handling of the Native question needed statesmanship." "If we say we will not bother about them (meaning Natives) and go our own sweet way, it will lead to perdition." Mr. John Duff stated an unchallengable fact in saying "the sooner the Natives were properly controlled the better it would be for farmers. It was bad policy to ignore the Natives."

The coming into existence of trade union organisation among Natives, and subsequent misguided leadership into Communism, and the preaching of seditious doctrines is the direct result of non-recognition by big employers of labour and by the State departments of representations by the long existing Native political bodies for the betterment of their economic position. How the government failed to meet the demands of the Johannesburg postal Native employees in November last by opposing Mr. Madeley's generous offer provided a singular example as to how the government, and the Native Affairs Department in particular have proved incompetent to deal with the economic needs of the Natives. It is gratifying to note that white farmers have realised this and re-iterated the fact that "better results would be obtained by co-operating with the Native Councils than through the Native Affairs Department." The opinion has often been expressed by leading Transvaal Natives who stated that this government department has now come to be looked upon by Europeans as the machinery whereby European wishes could be steam-rollered to the detriment of the Natives, in addition to its being a taxing bureau. The question as to whether Natives are ripe for trade union principles or not is one that may not be adjudged by the employers of labour themselves, but by some other impartial authority after taking into consideration the feasability or otherwise of the demands made by Native trade unions. Native local councils consist of the rural class of Natives who have no knowledge of economic problems that the urban Native has daily to contend with. The exclusion of urban Natives from participation in local councils by regulations controlling such councils again shows the weakness of the Native Affairs Department in failing to grasp the importance of the intellectual class in the self-government of Natives. As a result of this class having no channel of ventilating their grievances, whatever attempt they make in that direction is labelled "agitation," "sedition" and all kinds of infamous nomenclatures. The suggestion of the Secretary of Native Affairs that "responsible Natives could be brought into the discussion, and the whole question of Pass and Masters' and Servants' Laws thrashed out" seems to be the nearest approach to soundness in the present circumstances.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Fundamental Problem.

What an easy world to live in it would be if it were not for that troublesome member, the belly. If we could follow the example of the boa constrictor and take one meal in six weeks or so, what a number of life's problems would be solved. Unfortunately, we are not built that way; the human stomach demands replenishment at least once in every twenty-four hours in order to keep the bodily machinery fit for its work. Every living organism is subject, in varying degree, to the same rule; it must periodically take in a fresh supply of sustenance, and so the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain for food. Civilisation tends to mask this fundamental problem, burying it under a mountain of conventions, but, still, the real incitement to all its activities—art, literature, politics, commerce—is the securing of the daily bread. If we look round this marvellous city of London—the greatest metropolis the world has ever seen—and ask the reason for the vast buildings, the wide thoroughfares, and the traffic that floods them, the answer is, to enable the millions who swarm and toil within its precincts to earn their daily bread; to obtain the means of filling their bellies and the bellies of their dependents. This is the eternal and urgent problem. Food is the prime necessity of life and until it is assured men can attend to nothing else. Only when there is a surplus of food can a favoured few enjoy leisure for thought and to develop the higher activities of the human mind.

Communism.

The Communistic social systems of the West African peoples recognise this fundamental problem and are framed to meet it. They recognise that the welfare of its members is the first care of the community. The objects of the society are subsistence and defence. For the first purpose the land on which the group is settled is common property and inalienable. It is the site of the dwelling-place and the source of food, the common store-chest from which all the members supply their wants; therefore each has the right to a portion whereon to dwell and to grow his food. It is the common property and cannot be alienated because the sale would deprive the group of its source of maintenance; in the words of the late John Mensah Sarbah, the leading authority on Fanti Customary Law, "They who are born and they who are still in the womb require means for support, wherefore the family lands must not be wasted or squandered." Indeed, in primitive society the possibility of selling land probably does not enter into anyone's mind. As the supply is so great in proportion to the demand, and as its use is restricted to members of the group (who cannot transfer their rights to outsiders), it has no commercial value. It is only when population within an area becomes sufficiently dense to cause competition for dwelling-room, or economic cultivation makes the soil yield a profit, that land becomes an object of barter. Until then it is a necessity of life, like the air, and is of no more commercial value. The members of the group were bound to the land by their need of protection and of the daily bread; the defence of the common heritage was their chief social duty to the group of kindred. There was also on each member the burden of collective responsibility, which I believe to be inherent in the conception of the family as a social group. To make an analogy with European legal ideas, it is a partnership with unlimited liability which presents itself to the world as a corporate unit, the world not being concerned to inquire what are the mutual relations of the members. If the corporation, or any member, made default, any member who might be available could be seized and made to answer for the group. While the individual member could be held thus responsible for the group, the whole group was also responsible for, and owed a duty to, each member. One of the duties of the heads of a group was to allot to each member a portion of the common land to provide shelter and food. In this way every member was ensured a sufficiency; there were no enormous fortunes, but, on the other hand, there were no unfortunates sunk in destitution, no paupers to be a burden on the State.

A Return to Communism.

Two things strike a thoughtful West African in England—that the British are a landless people, and that there is so much poverty—amounting to absolute want of the necessaries of life—in the country which he has been taught to believe is the wealthiest and most civilised in the world, and to regard as the model for his people to strive to reproduce in West Africa. He naturally connects these two phenomena as cause and effect because he knows that the right to a portion of the common land makes such destitution impossible in his own country. Another fruit of civilisation which strikes him is that, while the duty of the citizen to the State is strictly enforced, it is only recently that it is being realised that the State owes a duty to the citizen. One of the results of the Industrial Revolution was the doctrine of individualism—everyone for himself and the Devil take the hindmost—the fruits of which were slums, abject poverty, destitute sick or disabled workers, and other flowers of civilisation which lurk in the mean streets, and sometimes come out at night to flaunt their misery in the haunts of fashion and pleasure. But the national conscience has been awakened; the voices of the prophets of social reformers—Dickens, Carlyle, Ruskin, Charles Kingsley and their followers—have been heard in the land. Intelligent West Africans have been watching with interest the social legislation for the benefit of the under-dog during the last twenty years. Two branches of this legislation especially interest them—the growing facilities for the acquisition of land and houses by the people who live in them, and the provisions for assisting workers in sickness, unemployment, and old age. In these they see a recognition of, and return to, the guiding principle of their traditional Communistic system: that it is the duty of the community to ensure the well-being of all its members, and to provide that they shall not lack their daily bread. They hear Englishmen say, "We are all Socialists to-day," and Socialism is a stage along the road to Communism.

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(b) That taxation in Dependency territory shall be imposed in proportion to the wealth of the people concerned, and that direct taxation imposed upon the native races shall be spent in native areas, especially upon medical services, education and improved communications.

(c) That it shall be an obligation of the Administration in the Colonies to reserve and provide the natives with adequate land for their subsistence and economic advancement, and that no restriction shall be placed upon the economic products which the natives wish to raise upon the lands assigned to them without the express sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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To promote an improved standard of photography in Kenya is the aim of a new society known as the Photographic Society of Kenya. The programme of the society will embrace lectures, discussions, a library, exhibitions, etc. Col. M. Maxwell has been elected president.

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Foundation on Federal Lines.

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The programme includes a minimum wage of 10s. a day for all white workers, national housing, State insurance, the voluntary system in military training, free education, a forty-hour week, nationalisation of the medical services, and State hospitals.—The "Times."

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There are men and women among many African peoples who enjoy books in their own language and who are also capable of writing books in their own tongue. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures desires to help and encourage such people in their efforts, as it is the pride of every nation to possess a literature in its own language.

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4. Five separate prizes will be given every year in five different African languages. The languages chosen will vary each year.

5. One prize only will be awarded in each of the chosen languages, either a first prize of £20 or a second prize of £10. The prize-winner will also receive the medal of the Institute.

6. The Institute will appoint a board of judges in Africa for each language, i.e., a help of a mission or educational authority.

7. Manuscripts must be sent to the Institute in London, and all manuscripts received for examination to the award of the Institute will be based on the report on the manuscripts submitted to them, each manuscript remains the property of the author. The Institute does not undertake to publish the manuscript. Arrangements for this must be made by the author, who would be able on request to obtain the names of African and Europeans who are able and willing to judge the work.

8. The manuscripts must be written legibly, preferably typewritten.

9. For the year 1930 prizes are offered for manuscripts in the following five languages:—Xosa, Swahili, Hova, Kongo, Akan (Twi or Fante).

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Fundamental Problem.

What an easy world to live in it would be if it were not for that troublesome member, the belly. If we could follow the example of the boa constrictor and take one meal in six weeks or so, what a number of life's problems would be solved. Unfortunately, we are not built that way; the human stomach demands replenishment at least once in every twenty-four hours in order to keep the bodily machinery fit for its work. Every living organism is subject, in varying degree, to the same rule; it must periodically take in a fresh supply of sustenance, and so the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain for food. Civilisation tends to mask this fundamental problem, burying it under a mountain of conventions, but, still, the real incitement to all its activities—art, literature, politics, commerce—is the securing of the daily bread. If we look round this marvellous city of London—the greatest metropolis the world has ever seen—and ask the reason for the vast buildings, the wide thoroughfares, and the traffic that floods them, the answer is, to enable the millions who swarm and toil within its precincts to earn their daily bread; to obtain the means of filling their bellies and the bellies of their dependents. This is the eternal and urgent problem. Food is the prime necessity of life and until it is assured men can attend to nothing else. Only when there is a surplus of food can a favoured few enjoy leisure for thought and to develop the higher activities of the human mind.

Communism.

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AN AFRICAN PRESIDENT OF THE LAGOS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—All true patriots and lovers of our race will no doubt be highly gratified at the news, as reported in your issue of the 12th instant., of the election of our countryman Mr. Peter J. C. Thomas to the Presidency of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber is composed mainly or largely of European mercantile interests, and the election which, I understand, was made on the nomination of the outgoing President and seconded by another European member, was unanimous.

This is the first instance in which an African has been elected to this post, and the fact that Mr. Thomas has been thus honoured and that mainly by members of another race, and at such a critical period of trade depression is incontrovertible testimony by those most competent to judge, of his high business integrity and efficiency and the great esteem in which he is held by his commercial colleagues.

Mr. Thomas, like the late Dr. Aggrey, is a profound believer in Inter-racial Co-operation. He believes and constantly preaches and practises the doctrine of co-operation between black and white for the attainment of the best results for all concerned. He is a tremendously hard worker and a man of decided opinions and firm convictions which he expresses frankly and fearlessly—but in the best language he can command—and without any respect of persons, race or colour. This has naturally caused him to be misunderstood at times by our own people on the one hand, and has brought him to grips with members of the white race on the other. Mr. Thomas is a Race-man and is very proud of being a Negro. One of the main objects of his life is to demonstrate what the Negro is capable of achieving. He believes and preaches that as a race and people, we have, with the help of God, to earn our salvation by dint of hard work, honesty and the exercise of our thinking faculties; that we shall progress much more rapidly by co-operating with the white man and observing and assimilating all that is good in his civilization, systems and methods than otherwise,

The honour thus conferred on him is a substantial token of appreciation of his worth and of the principles for which he has always stood.

Another thought. What Mr. Thomas has attained and achieved any one of us can attain and achieve, provided that one works as hard and is guided by the same high principles and ideals as have inspired him. The honour conferred on him reflects on us all and goes to the credit of our race.

Mr. Thomas is honoured, not because he is a favourite or a fawning sycophant, but because by dint of hard work and lofty principles he has compelled the respect, admiration and esteem of men of another and that the dominant race.

Lastly, Mr. Thomas is a deeply religious man, has abounding faith and trust in God, and labours incessantly for the glory of God and the good of mankind. those who know him intimately are not surprised at this unique honour conferred on him for "Them that honour me will I honour."

We most heartily congratulate him and wish the Lagos Chamber under his régime a very prosperous and sucessful career.—I am, Yours, etc.

AN ADMIRER.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS—URBAN DIVISION.

By L. O. W. TAYLOR.

Monday the 4th instant, will be Polling Da at three centres in the city of Freetown from 8.3 to 12 noon and from 1 p.m., to 5 p.m. It wa interesting to note that in connection with thes Elections there is only one Constituency, com prising the inhabitants of the city and those wh by law are entitled to vote. As early as th month of June last, intending Candidates hav begun propaganda work. The two Honourabl Members who are now completing their first fiv years in Council, signified their respective inten tion to return, if the Constituents believe they ha done their best, and are satisfied with their effort during their term of office; and if so, whether they would send them back, not as novices, but as me who have learnt and understood the proceeding of Council. There was nothing against them: i there was anything at all, it was agains ourselves, that is to say, we are always passive i matters affecting the public when such matters are being dealt with in Council: we show n appreciable interest, as if ignorant of what is going on, or otherwise, as if they were matters in whic we have no concern.

However, that may be, the two Honourable Members having offered themselves as Candidate for re-election, the matter became the subject of discourse and for consideration by the several Wards' Associations and other organisations for several weeks. There was no intimation of any other candidate in any shape or form. But in September, when meetings and consultations began to assume a public character there was agitation in some quarters and one or two persons were approached by some citizens asking them to offer themselves as candidates and with a promise to give them their support. The great majority of the constituents welcomed the movement and awaited the developments, but the activities of these intending "candidates by request" were rather slow and obscure. There was no public meeting in certain centres, and the public, taken as a whole, was ignorant of any move in that direction.

Let it be understood that so far as this Election goes, the two out-going Honourable members of Council did not beg or solicit or otherwise use certain private measures to enlist the favour and goodwill of the constituents. It was barely an appeal to the consciences and judgment of the people, and if there was objection the matter would have ended quietly. If it were not so, I would have been the very first person to expose them; but I say without doubt, that their speeches referred to our own will and mind, if we agreed or if we disagreed, and certain of their remarks did not appear, and were not coaxing words helping the situation. They were plain, blunt words; there was neither coaxing nor begging.

I say so, emphatically; because there are some persons who are entitled to honour and respect, but deprecate the idea of the return of the two outgoing Members on the ground, that there are others in Town who might go; that ten years in Council is too long, that we do not want harshness and recriminations and levying of abuses in public streets etc., and that this return is by coaxing, fine talk etc., etc. These are some of the remarks of men who, of themselves are competent enough for all intents and purposes to offer themselves as candidates, but who, nevertheless, would not do so, but content themselves with idle gossips and slanderous conversations, sitting down all the time doing nothing excepting talking nonsense.

Nobody is perfect: the complaint is not that the two Members are incompetent, but that they are imperfect. And who is perfect? We have to be careful of what we say.

We would have liked seven or eight candidates for this election, but where are they? We hope the time will come when it will be so; there will then be more interest, more life and more activity.

Our friend Mr. J. D. Oldfield must be commended for his stability of character and for his courage. I do not expect him to succeed this time. Sherbro does not know him in this matter nor South-Central Ward; I do not know about other places. He began so late, but I am not a seer nor a prophet. Strange things do happen. Even if he fail, please note that "Failure is the next step to success." Better attempt and fail than not attempting at all. He may some day be a Government Nominee, there is a precedent. Commonsense is an asset in the solution of life's problem. Education or book-learning is one thing, commonsense is another thing.

I conclude by saying, let there be no ill-feeling in this Election matter. It would be wrong to make the subject a personal one and for personal attacks, and for anyone to use another as an object for abuse or ridicule. I do not know if it is common to do so in England: I have not been to England; England is not Sierra Leone, and Sierra Leone does not like and would not encourage such behaviour.

If I do not vote for you, do not hate me. I am not only a free born but I was born free. Let this matter be not one for hatred, malice and all uncharitableness, but let us go to the poll, all agape and agog, and with one heart and mind to our duty for the benefit of ourselves, our country, our King, and our God.

THE AFRICANS AND THEIR RULERS.

IV.

THE importance of maintaining the best relations between the Africans and their Rulers has been realised by some of the Leaders of South Africa, where the colour bar is strongest in Africa. In a very historical memorandum signed by the Archbishop of Capetown, an ex-Chief Justice of the Transvaal and other leading Statesmen, the signatories in dealing with the question of Native Franchise stated as follows:—

"The importance of this issue transcends all party considerations."

The memorandum continues as follows:—

"Equality before the law, freedom for any man to perform any work for which he is competent, and equality in the exercise of electoral powers by all who have satisfied a uniform standard."

These are certainly the basic principles on which society is founded, and it is the neglect of them which is perhaps responsible for the maltreatment of the natives of South Africa. It is realised that it is impossible to keep the natives down by force for ever, unless South Africa is to be turned into a military ground. There was, further, the admission that force has never proved a lasting remedy in preventing persons from asserting their rights, The history of the world abounds with instances of its failure at critical moments, and the ultimate triumph of right over might. This historic memorandum further emphasises the fact that as right must in the end prevail, so it is incumbent on the South African Government to be the moving factor in according to the African their rights as citizens. This document lays down three essentials to the full realisation of the duties of trusteeship by the British Government. They are:—

(1). Native rights in land and native industrial policy. This subject deals with the preservation of the lands of the natives for their use, the removal of unreasonable barriers, their acquisition of property.

The second is the removal of colour bar, and the recognition of industrial freedom, the third is the determination of the period of tutelage, and the putting into force of the declaration of the Duke of DEVONSHIRE in the year 1923. That,

> "the interests of the African Natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."

These are grand principles, and such as if put into universal practice will revolutionise the relationship between the Africans and their Rulers.

General SMUTS, the ex-Premier of South Africa, in a measure suggested the principles enunciated in this Memorandum when he said in London on his arrival a few weeks ago that:—

> "The Native Question cannot be settled by such heroic measures (referring to the unpopular native Bills of the present Government). My party has always pleaded for settlement by consent away from the bitterness and prejudices of party politics. . . . . .
>
> Meanwhile the natives are becoming ever more disturbed over their future, and relations between white and black are far from happy."

In West Africa, the relations are not of the best, but we are of opinion that the conditions are greatly influenced by external causes, and the indirect influence of South Africa Native Policy, cannot be ignored. We are convinced that our relations will improve for the better, if the great standing question of the relation of the Africans and their Rulers in South Africa is properly settled.

Race Problem - 1929
Africa

EAGLE

MAR 8 1929

South Africa's Negro Vote.

Roughly speaking, the South African Union of the Cape of Good Hope, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal has 1,500,000 Caucasian population and 5,500,000 native population. Yet under the terms of the Constitution no man can be a member of either branch of the Union's Legislature who is not of "European descent." As for voting, the Cape province makes no distinction of race; Natal permits a few Africans to vote; the Transvaal and the Orange Free State allow no native suffrage. However, as between white candidates of different parties, the natives are said to hold the balance of power in twelve Cape constituencies. In a general way the Negroes in this part of Africa have about the same sort of participation in government as the Negroes in Mississippi or South Carolina. Africa, it is held, must be made a white man's country.

It was to meet friction arising from these conditions that Prime Minister Hertzog, by no means a friend of the natives, tried to push through his "Natives' Rights" Bill, which would have ended by segregated representation the balance of power in those Cape constituencies. The Africans would have been permitted to vote by themselves and choose five white men to have seats in the lower house. In each of the other three provinces Africans voting separately would have sent three delegates, all white, of course. So, altogether, the whites chosen by natives would have numbered 14 out of a total of 135. Hertzog was beaten by the followers of Smuts. He deserved to be beaten. The title of his bill was misleading and hypocritical.

NATIVES RETAIN BALLOT AS VOTE BILL IS BEATEN

Parliament Lets African Folk In Cape Province Hold To Franchise

Cape Town, Africa—The native parliamentary Representation Bill, providing for separate voting by the native population and special representation for them in the Parliament of the Union, will not become law. The two-thirds majority necessary to amend the Constitution was not obtained to-day when the bill was given a vote of 75 to 69 at a joint Parliament sitting Monday, February 25.

The Bill provided that the franchise would be taken from the natives in Cape Province, the only province where it exists.

Members of the South African Party, led by Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, vigorously attacked the bill as an infringement of the rights of natives in Cape Province.

Election Day in Liberia.

MAY 7TH.

Liberia Times 5-9-29

On the 3rd day of May the Loyal members of the Great Whig Party were ordered to assemble at the Court house to be qualified by the Commissioner of Election to be Judges, Clerks and Sheriffs of the various Polls. The order was obeyed and on the above date the court house was filled with these gentlemen who were duly qualified by the Commissioner of Election. On Saturday the following day these Gentlemen were all found leaving their wives and children notwithstanding they were not altogether satisfied, because their pockets were not laden with what is called Election fees, to fill their respective assignments. The writer however and three other gentlemen were assigned to the Poll at the Settlement of Cheesemanburg. Reaching Brewerville Saturday evening the party decided that they would spend the night in that Township. The next day they commenced their journey, reaching Cheesmanburg about 6:30 p.m. that evening. The place became very long and wearisome because the roads were altogether different to those which we had left in the City of Monrovia.

Monrovia, Liberia

Cheesemanburg is a Settlement which was settled during the Administration of the late President James J. Cheeseman about the year 1894, by some immigrants from the United States of America and was named after him. These immigrants being very anxious to establish homes for themselves and their children rushed to their newly homes without being acclimated to this climate, it being far different to the one they had just left; and they suddenly died out one by one. These early Settlers were very industrious as one can see from the ruins of the old coffee farms that if they had been spared to carry their aims through, perhaps today Liberia would have been far more advanced in her products of exports. Nevertheless the survivors are striving their very best to continue the object of farming. Coffee is its chief product. The Natives are very active and they also have large coffee farms. But the inducement offered by the merchants are so discouraging that they feel that its hardly need of them enduring the hardship of trying to keep the farms in a healthy condition.

It is a place or home of insects of various kinds. At night when persons who are not accustomed to these insects are about to rest, they can be observed crawling on the walls, and some times make it quite uneasy for the visitor to rest. The insects are Thousand-legs, Ear-wigs and many others. They perhaps are some of the Plagues which were sent to Pharaoh in the days of Moses, when he was commanded to go to Ezypt and tell old Pharoah to let the children of Israel go and he refused. And God sent the ten plagues in that country.

The Election was conducted exactly as the law prescribed. And I am quite sure that the opposite party have nothing to say this time.

Cape Mount is to be commended for the manful stand she took in that she elected those persons whom she thought would Legislate Law for her and who seek the interest of the County. Whilst its regrettable that the former senator could not be returned, yet the County Chairman or any of the Officials of the Whig Party of that end could not be held responsible as he should have so lived with his constituencies that when the question came of his re-election he would have been unanimously supported and there would have been no opposition whatever. Our Elective friends must not forget that they can't grow higher than their constituencies as those are they who elect them to enact laws for them to be governed and not in very case can the National Chairman or Standard Bearer pull them through an election, notwithstanding the aspirants may be the bosom friends of these great leaders.

The County of Grand Cape Mount has broken the Record and it bespeaks the awaking of those who have been appearingly sleeping. I see afar off the coming of the Great Campaign of 1931 when it demands the loyalty of such Partisans of the County of Grand Cape Mount who will not go out of the Party and fight on chaff, but remain therein and fight manfully. To my mind if the Whig Party is to maintain its position as the leading party, which it has held for the last fifty years, it has to be maintained by just such persons and not men who are afraid to speak when certain measures are to be launched but grumble in the lukes and corners of the streets and at home. And when they are queried for not taking a stand they usually say "Ah man, my job."

Congratulations are extended to the competitors who succeeded and to those who failed, I say be mindful of this fact "that he who fights and fail lives to fight another day."

OBSERVER

TRANSVAAL GOLD MINING ESTATES, LTD.

RESULTS ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY NATIVE LABOUR SHORTAGE AND DECLINE IN YIELD.

The thirty-second ordinary general meeting of shareholders was held in Johannesburg on August 22, Mr. W. H. A Lawrence presiding.

The Chairman said: Compared with the previous year, the working profit of £10,529 at the Central Mines recorded a decrease of £15,510, but, on the other hand, the working profit of £13,256 at Elandsdrift was larger by £5,568, while that at Vaalhoek increased slightly to £1,941, due entirely to the proceeds of the clean-up made after the closing down of this mine early in November, 1928. On balance, the working profit of £25,725 from mining operations showed a shortfall of £8,338. The profit of £13,472 on wattle plantations and net sundry revenue of £4,851 both reflected small decreases, with the result that the total net profit of £44,048 for the year was £12,597 less than the corresponding figure for the preceding year.

With the unappropriated balance of £132,198 brought forward at the beginning of the year, there was a total of £176,246 to be dealt with. As shown in the directors' report, this amount has been disposed of as follows: The two dividends, totalling 5 per cent., which were declared during the year, absorbed £28,599, and a further small amount of £81 was paid in respect of claims for dividends that had previously been forfeited in accordance with the company's articles of association. Government and Provincial taxation absorbed £2,308, while £12,436 was spent on prospecting and a net sum of £6,515 on capital account, chiefly for additional tree planting. The unappropriated balance carried forward to the current year's accounts was £126,307, of which £55,120 was represented by stores, materials, and other cash assets, and the remaining £71,187 was net cash, after allowing for all liabilities. These liabilities included the balance of £32,096 standing to the credit of the mine development suspense account, also represented by actual cash.

Owing to the continued monthly working losses being incurred at the Vaalhoek Mine, and owing also to underground conditions there having altered for the worse to such an extent as to leave no hope of re-establishing the mine on a profitable basis, mining was stopped at the beginning of November, 1928. The final clean-up of the reduction plant was completed by the following February, and the useful plant, material, and stores transferred to the company's other mines. You may be interested to know that, disregarding the value of these latter items, the working profits earned by the venture since it reached the production stage in the year 1910-1911 exceeded the working losses which were recorded at times, and the net capital expenditure incurred, by £33,056.

Result of Operations.

The results of the year's operations at the Central Mines were disappointing. Although the tonnage of ore milled was only 2.2 per cent. less than for the previous year, the yield per ton milled was 0.24 dwt. lower and working costs increased by 1s. 1d. per ton milled. In consequence, the working profit recorded a decrease of £15,510. Owing to severe shortage of native labour, the development footage accomplished was reduced from 51,637 ft. in the preceding year to 38,725 ft., and this increase was largely responsible or a drop of about 7 per cent. in the tonnage of the ore reserve, which, as recalculated at March 31, 1929, totalled 440,292 tons, averaging 7.2 dwts. per ton over a milling width of 25 in.

The ore supplied to the reduction plant has to be drawn from a large number of small mines, dotted over a wide area around Pilgrims Rest, and you will appreciate that it is only by close and continuous supervision that a satisfactory standard of efficiency can be maintained at each of these scattered units. The difficulties to be overcome were greatly increased during the past year, owing to the very wide fluctuations that occurred in the native labour supply.

A factor having an important bearing on working costs is the general decrease that has taken place in the widths of the reefs which are being mined. In past years, large tonnages of high-grade ore were won from comparatively wide and cheaply operated ore-bodies, but to-day few areas of wide reef are left. The extended use of machine stoping has, further, resulted in a reduction of stoping widths, increasing the cost per ton mined. In illustration of the change in the position, I may point out that, comparing the ore reserves at March 31, 1912, and at March 31, 1929, the proportion of the total tonnage in areas containing reef of an average width less than 9 in. has risen from zero to 8.5 per cent., the proportion in areas containing reef of an average width between 9 in. and 20 in. has risen from 3 per cent. to 42.8 per cent., and the proportion in areas with reef over 20 in. wide has correspondingly declined from 97 per cent. to 48.7 per cent.

I have already indicated that close control of mining operations is essential in the Central Area. The closing down of the Vaalhoek Mine has slightly increased the cost of this necessary supervision, through the consequent transfer of certain overhead charges to the Central Mines, but, on the other hand, it has reduced the load on the Belvedere power station and has thus made a greater margin available to meet the power demands of the Central Mines, which show a tendency to increase as the mines extend into deeper and more difficult ground and as the haulage distances get gradually greater.

Work at Elandsdrift Mine.

The outstanding features of the past year's work at the Elandsdrift and Horseshoe Creek Mines were the resumption in June, 1928, after difficult reclamation work in the previously submerged area at Elandsdrift, of stoping from the ore reserve there and the establishment, at about the same time, of the Horseshoe Creek venture on a profitable stoping basis, by means of selective mining methods. The result was that regular monthly profits were earned from then onwards, and the working profit for the year at £13,255, was nearly double that for the previous twelve months. The total ore reserve, as recalculated at March 31 last, showed a decrease of 18,216 tons, mainly due to the progressive exhaustion of the payable ore remaining in the Elandsdrift Mine, which is definitely limited through the loss of the pay chute below the 6th level. The consulting engineer points out in his report that there are reasonable prospects of additional payable ore being developed during the current year in the Horseshoe Creek Mine, to the north and to the east of the present workings.

In face of the closing down of the Vaalhoek Mine and the steady decline in the ore reserve at the Elandsdrift Mine and the "Blow," special importance attaches to the results of our continued endeavours to locate fresh payable zones in the company's extensive mineral holdings. Large areas remain to be explored, but, as the work progresses, those which are still left for investigation are most scattered and further afield, and the reefs which have not yet been tested are mostly those that lie at greater depths or in more inaccessible positions. The fact that the prospecting footage accomplished during the past financial year decreased to 10,643 ft., and the expenditure on this account fell to £12,436, is partly accounted for by the prolonged scarcity of native labour, but is chiefly due to the discouraging results obtained in various directions, in view of which the work of exploration has been concentrated on the more promising areas in the vicinity of the Central Mines. Attention is being turned in an increasing degree to the possibilities of the Portuguese Reef horizon. The areas in which that reef is found are often waterlogged, and its gold content has hitherto proved erratic, but there are indications encouraging the hope that further payable zones may yet be opened up on this horizon.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

Republic of Liberia.

CONDITIONS IN LIBERIA.

Dr. Lyon Replies to Faulkner's Allegations.

In the course of an official statement issued to the American Press, Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul-General at Baltimore, U.S.A., refers to the attacks made on the Liberian Government by Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner, a naturalised Liberian, who was defeated by President King at the last Presidential Election, and has since made allegations of widespread corruption and forced labour, amounting to slavery conditions, as now existent in Liberia.

Ordinarily, no importance should be attached to these news articles referred to by either the Liberian Government or its citizens, says the Consul-General. It is too well known that governments and their administrations are never free from unjust attacks and drastic criticisms by dissatisfied and disappointed persons, and Faulkner seems, from the character of his interviews, to be related to this group.

Well informed people will seriously doubt the loyalty and patriotism of any citizen who employs his time in a foreign country in giving out interviews intended to cast a stigma upon the administration of the affairs of his own country.

No worthy motive can be assigned for this impolitic and ungenerous procedure, since this country has no jurisdiction over Liberian political and domestic affairs, especially when represented by a private citizen of the country criticised.

The place to air these irregularities, if they exist as alleged, is Liberia and not America, which has no more jurisdiction over Liberian political affairs than Liberia has over American political affairs.

Liberia is a sovereignty and is responsible to its citizens for the conduct of its political affairs, and Faulkner should have known the impropriety of his approach to the Washington State Department with his private matters.

However, the charge that slavery and peonage exist in the republic possesses humanitarian features, and Liberia is too sensitive to attacks of this nature to allow it to pass without official notice.

In a recent cablegram I am assured that the Government will go to the bottom of this charge and is appointing an international commission to consist of one American, one Liberian and another to be chosen, it is hoped, by the Secretariat of the League of Nations upon the request of the Liberian Government.

The Liberian Secretary of State, Edwin J. Barclay, authorises the announcement that this commission will be furnished with wide powers to inquire into conditions which have led to the persistent reports of the existence of slavery in Liberia encouraged by the Government and practised by leading citizens. It will also inquire into the question of alleged forced labour conditions. This inquiry will finally put at rest any uncertainty on the questions raised.

I give this out as an official statement, authorised by the Liberian Secretary of State, Edwin J. Barclay.

League of Nations and Inquiry.

In reply to an inquiry by Mr. John H. Harris, acting on behalf of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, requesting the name of the delegate appointed by the League of Nations to the Commission which is to investigate the question of slavery in Liberia, and to whom evidence of slavery and forced labour in Liberia should be forwarded, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations states :—" In reply to your inquiry, I can only state that no member of such a commission has been appointed by the League of Nations."

The matter therefore assumes a different complexion, in view of the formal statement made by the Liberian delegate during the proceedings of Commission Six, when he stated quite categorically that such an inquiry would take place.

Race Problem - 1929
Africa

ANCIENT MINES REVEAL A SECRET OF AFRICA

A German Expedition Finds Proof of a Culture of Pre-Christian Times in a Region Now Teeming With a Newly Implanted European Life

A GERMAN African expedition, under the leadership of Leo Frobenius, Professor in the University of Frankfürt and President of the Africa Institute, has been exploring the southeastern section of the African Continent, in the territory of the Zambesi and Mozambique. The article which follows is the second contributed by Professor Frobenius dealing with researches into the ancient cultures of Africa.

By LEO FROBENIUS.

EIGHT previous expeditions into Africa have taken us northward from the Congo to the Sudan, the Sahara and the Mediterranean; that is, through the home of the genuine negroid cultures to the places where the old African culture comes into conflict with Islamic influences. Our present and ninth expedition covers South Africa to the equator, where the cultural problems are entirely different, for in South Africa the Asiatic-Islamic influence has decreased during the last centuries—if, indeed, this influence was ever of any importance. We may doubt whether European culture, carried by English, Dutch and German element, met this Asiatic-Islamic influence at all; it probably came into decisive contact with the original cultures themselves.

The European infiltration came with the high pressure of youth. The climate of the great tableland is healthy; there are none of the tropical diseases so dangerous to Europeans, not even maleria. There is also that great and powerful magnet, underground treasures. Rich mines, whether they yield gold or platinum, precious stones or copper, coal or zinc, have been the greatest attractions at all times for new cultures.

The European Invasion.

There may have been hard fighting, as there was in the East against the Kaffirs and in the West against the Hottentots or the Hereros, but the victory of the European impetus was never in doubt. The old hunter, nomad or half-nomad cultures (Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffirs) were doomed to defeat. The victorious civilization was like a new seed in the soil and the defeated fell into servitude, which is by no means the same as ruin. On the contrary, the fact of the existence of a lower native culture, sharply separated by race from the upper, is bound to have a quiet but all the more powerful influence on the development of any civilization.

This influence of the people below on the mind of the white people seems to be the same in the whole of the South African tableland.

When one first sees Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, it is difficult not to form at once the impression that here we have a homestead of European culture—a homestead from the beginning. Nobody particularly notices the black element. Of course, it is there.

Young South Africa is pressing forward toward a culture of its own. One can say that it is growing up toward it. It will be the first new culture born of the new period of world economics, as first inaugurated by Britain. To be able to watch such a development from a near vantage point is of the profoundest interest. There may be many a difficulty, many a serious crisis in store for this young country, but the throbbing strength of youth will be always here to help to surmount it.

Changes of a Century.

To me, traveling for the first time from Cape Town to Pretoria, many questions presented themselves. It seemed hardly possible that it is but a hundred years ago that the conical-shaped huts with dome-shaped roofs were the only human settlements; that wild Kaffirs and Hottentots alone lived here and under the acacias huge flocks of zebra, eland, giraffes, hartebeeste, gnu and all the others wandered. Today sheep, asses and cattle graze, and people in European dress predominate, while houses are square and white and even the small huts and cabins are built in northern style, though degenerated into primitiveness. It is amazing that seventy-five years have effected such a metamorphosis and with these reflections there is apt to come over one of my profession a sense of apprehension.

Has the south of the continent really been stripped of all its essential characteristics? Is Africa no longer an enigma in the south? Has it ceased to be the home and last retreat of a past that everywhere else has already died and disappeared? Such thoughts became disquieting, even on the first day, and at night they grew stronger with every glance from the window over the veldt, on small farms, big and little cattle enclosures, motor roads and stations.

Passing through the famous goldfields of Witwatersrand, in the midst of which Johannesberg lies, was an absorbing sight, which became more fascinating the further we traveled into the colored evening. The vivid picture of modern development, teeming with strength, obliterated by its very vigor my troubled queries regarding the past. A coincidence recalled them to my mind with increased intensity. A man by my side who had been looking out of the window turned to me for a friendly talk.

"Lucky, wasn't it," he said, "that the Portuguese did not have our knowledge in the Middle Ages, else they would have got away all the gold from here as they frequently did up North."

He went on to tell me about the old mines of Central Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia. As it happened to be one of the main purposes of my expedition to explore the old mines, I took care to extract from my companion all the information he had. I obtained a quite excellent summary of the views held by modern experts concerning the old workings which are to be met with so frequently in Transvaal and Rhodesia. Opinions vary greatly. Some suppose the mines to be of Portuguese origin, dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth century; others think that the mines were dug about 1300 by native tribesmen invading the country from what is today the English colony of Kenya.

"Some time ago," the man concluded, "people even believed that the mines were relics of antiquity and that the country was the Ophir of the Bible. Anyhow, any one who knows the negroes thoroughly will realize that they could never have planned and worked these mines."

When I reached Pretoria there was a large number of invitations awaiting me. Among the offers to show me curious ruins, rock drawings, quarries where ancient stone tools had been manufactured, &c., were those of two mining companies. I accepted one that called me to Rooiberg, a big tin-mining place in Central Transvaal.

Ancient Mines Visited.

So, some days later, I began the train and motor bus journey to this mine, taking with me two of my comrades, Dr. Jensen and Lutz, the artist. The whole excursion was supposed to take only two days, but we stayed in Rooiberg for close on a week, because we were able to secure a vast amount of interesting evidence. These old mines—they cover an area of several thousand square feet—have been explored by first-class engineers, like T. G. Trevoir, Max Baumann and Dr. Wagner, from the technical miners' point of view, but never, I understand, by any archaelogist.

Until 1906 this mining area of Rooiberg was unknown. When Europeans began to work the district the engineers found everywhere old pits and galleries which had been carefully and effectively stopped. As these old workings were followed up it was found that although the miners of those early times had often started their workings in places where a vein of sheer metal was on the surface, they had, in other places, with astonishing skill, sunk pits to get at the tin below, sometimes reaching a depth of about fifty feet. There are two other features to be noted—the mineralogical knowledge of these old-time miners, especially the earliest, and the manner in which the pure material was "picked out" from the mountain, for the work was done with an admirable precision and ability.

I made the most important observation of all in a mine to the south. Here, for once, a gallery had not been stopped up artificially. The shaft had a depth of 311 centimeters and was filled in with sand washed in during wet weather. Each rainy season had deposited a layer of sand, separated from that of the previous year by a thin, brown intermediate layer, which is accounted for by the falling of dust during the dry season. The brown color has its origin in the greasy particles deposited by bush fires, which are common in the dry season.

Two different periods of deposition could be distinguished in the sand. The older part showed signs of a disturbance. It consisted of 710 layers. Some shock (earthquake) had caused a conical hole, in which there were 235 new layers, deposited in later times. So at least 945 rainy seasons had passed since the filling in by sand of the gallery entrance had first begun. On the other hand, it could not be stated definitely when this process had ended. Therefore the working of this mine ended at least 1,000 years ago. And this mine is one of the second period.

It was most important for us to establish the fact that the oldest of these mines are not of Portuguese origin and were in disuse long before the Middle Ages. They are mines of the pre-Christian bronze period. The mining district is definitely a very ancient one.

The information which the old mines gave us is valuable enough to help in lifting the veils which still hide the secrets of Zimbabee, and on the return journey from Rooiberg I felt some amusement at my own expense for doubting earlier the invulnerability of the conservative soul of Africa.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS. MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST URBAN MEMBER.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I send the enclosed with a request that you be kind enough to publish it in the next issue of your journal.

I desire to state that I welcome the contest which has been foreshadowed as it will afford the Electorate an opportunity of passing judgment on the policy pursued and the method adopted by me during my membership of the Council.

I sincerely hope that the contest would be conducted in a manner that will reflect credit on us as a people and would be free of vilifications which sometimes are adopted as detracting methods by the opponents of candidates.

I desire this letter also to be published. Thanking you. I remain, Yours etc.,

E. S. BEOKU-BETTS.

Freetown,
August 24, 1929.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE URBAN ELECTORAL DISTRICT.

Fellow Countrymen,—I take this opportunity to inform you that I am offering myself as a candinate for re-election to the Legislative Council at the forth-coming Elections, and to appeal for your votes and your support.

My appeal is based on two grounds namely:—

1. My record of service during my five years membership of the Legislative Council; and
2. My record of Public service other than as a member of the Legislative Council.

As regards No. 1—My record of Service in the Council,—I desire to state that from the date of my last election I realised that my duty was one of persevering endeavours to fulfil the great responsibility imposed upon me. My task was to avoid the perilous extremes of either servile compliance in order to gain Government patronage and favours, or unreasonable opposition with the object of winning wild popularity with the people.

To what extent I have succeeded in keeping within the mean of these extremes, and in combining circumspection with vigour, the debates and publications of Council will testify

I have made it my duty of persistently putting before Government every conceivable grievance of the people, and no phase of the public interest has escaped my attention.

My attitude in the debates on bills in the Council has been always dictated by the desire to safeguard the Constitutional rights and liberties of the people as British Subjects; and, in association with my colleagues, (the other Elected Members) no effort has been spared in opposing bills which in their nature appear to be oppressive or a breach of the inherent rights and privileges of the people as British Subjects.

Furthermore in order the better to fulfil the duties of the office to which you elected me, I have on several occasions by motion in Council and by questions, elicited informations on matters of public concern. The finances of the Colony, being the sinews of Government, have always received my careful consideration. Schemes which would increase the revenue of the Colony and the volume of trade have always received my ready support. As regards the present high rate of duty, the debates of Council will show that I have strenuously advocated from time to time for the reduction of the present abnormally high rate of import duty, and, the removal of the export duty on produce as detrimental to commerce. I need hardly state that if re-elected I will continue to press for both matters to receive the favourable consideration of Government. All schemes for the Educational advancement of the people have received and will always receive my support. And I state most unambiguously that I am opposed to any measure which directly or indirectly would tend to lower the standard of education or would vest in any Director of Education absolute power to control Education in the Colony or Protectorate or would interfere with the successful establishment or functioning of any private school.

I believe that Agriculture, Fishery, and other similar industries, will materially assist the present situation, and that Government assistance to further these objects by private individuals is necessary, and no effort should be spared to obtain this. I desire through this medium to state that the condition and status of the Civil Servants have always received my attention and in order to advance these, the policy that I (in association with my colleagues) have pursued is that of equality for white and black in the Service, and I make bold to say that no case of unfair treatment has ever escaped my attention. And I state without fear of contradiction that the influencing motive in my so advocating the cause of the Civil Servants, is to ensure the universal application of those principles of just treatment which have distinguished the British Empire throughout the world. I make this special appeal to the Civil Servants, that if they are satisfied that I have endeavoured to serve them with the sole object of discharging my public duty and that my efforts are dictated by considerations for their best interests, and further if they are satisfied that the five years' experience gained by me would enable me to render better service in the future, then I request that they support my candidature by their votes and influence. For I can faithfully promise, that as I believe that every subject of His Majesty should receive his due reward, so I will regard it as my duty to continue to advocate for such increase in status and salary of both Europeans and Africans in the service as is commensurate with the ability of each officer irrespective of colour or creed.

My second ground of appeal is My Record of Public Service Generally.

I claim to have associated myself with every public movement formed for the good of the country, and I have never begrudged my services in any cause that would tend to improve the people and country.

As Secretary, and now as one of the Vice Presidents of the National Congress of British West Africa, I may state that I have identified myself with this movement from its incipiency because I am convinced that it is the greatest National Movement in British West Africa, and if properly supported its possibilities for good are unbounded.

As Mayor of the City during one of the most critical times in the history of the Corporation I contributed of my best towards the rehabilitation which was undeniably within view before the change of administration.

Through this medium I desire to state, that the claims of the working man have always received my strong advocacy, and as in the past, so in the future, if re-elected, I will continue to bring before those in authority the general unsatisfactory condition of things and every individual case of injustice or unjust treatment or hardship.

FINALLY.—The promise which I make to the Electors is, that if re-elected, I will endeavour faithfully and conscientiously to discharge my duty, and will continue to press that justice, fairplay and equality of treatment should characterise the policy of Government.

As a young man, I am of the confirmed opinion that the future of the country is in our hands, and the call of the moment is for young men of promise to come forward to serve their country, in order that they may take the places which death or old age is making vacant in our midst.

And if during these five years, I have given evidence of promise, (I lay no claim to anything higher than this), then I appeal to both old and young, but particularly to the latter, to give me that support which they are conscientiously satisfied that I merit.

I request the further opportunity to better qualify me for the duty of responsibility which has devolved upon our shoulders. I will welcome criticism as to my conduct in Council and will endeavour to answer these as opportunity may offer. I take this opportunity to invite you to the Public Meetings that I will address in support of my candidature. In the meantime, whilst bespeaking your votes and your support.—I remain, yours for Fatherland.

E. S. BEOKU-BETTS.

TRIBE GRANTED LAND BY SIR GEORGE GREY.

CONSENT JUDGMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT

BY handing in a consent paper to the Supreme Court today (15th August) Advocate Davies, K.C. concluded in two minutes an action that would probably have lasted a fortnight.

The action was one brought by Chief Kama, the Chieftans and Councillors of the Kama Gqunukwebe tribe against the Union Government for a declaration of rights in respect of a large area of land in Middledrift, district of Kingwilliamstown. Chief Kama consented to judgment for the Union Government, each party to pay its own costs.

The history of the case, according to the declaration, went back to 1861, when Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape Colony and of the Crown Colony known as British Kaffraria and High Commissioner for South Africa, made a grant of land under certain conditions to the tribe. Since that date licences to trade in this area have been sold by the Government of the day and leases granted to traders. In 1921 the Government bought certain farms for the tribe at a cost of £11,200 and in 1926 imposed a levy of 10s. on every male native of the tribe to pay for this purchase.

TRIBE'S CASE

The tribe now sued the Minister of Lands for a declaration that the land granted by Sir George Grey belonged to the tribe and for transfer of the farms purchased by the Government in 1921. They sued the Minister of Finance for an account of all moneys collected by the various Governments since 1861 in respect of trading and other licences in this area, and for an account of the proceeds of the 10s. levy.

They further sued him for an order declaring Chief Kama entitled to receive all the native moneys. They sued the Minister of Native Affairs for an order declaring that Proclamation 3 of 1927 was ultra vires, and that the establishment of the local council for the Middledrift area was illegal.

NOT A LEGAL POINT

The case for the Union Government was that the grant by Sir George Grey was not and did not purport to be a legal grant of land, and that the land had at all times been Crown land. The Government maintained their right to impose licence fees, but mentioned that from 1928 to 1929 they had been discontinued.

The Government admitted that certain farms had been bought on behalf of the tribe, but declared that it had been verbally agreed between the parties that transfer should not be given until the whole of the purchase price had been repaid to the Government. Up to May 31, 1928, £1,414 had been collected from the levy for this purpose. "ARGUS"

Race Problem – 1929
Africa

NATIVE LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

Continued from the fourth page.

The African is a proper type of man in the human family ; he has his own racial genius, his special gifts and his own attitude of mind and view of things. Our education should not destroy this, but should develop and ennoble it. It should not succumb to European influence, but should be enriched by welding into it the best elements of Western civilisation."

The Conference then proceeded to discuss objects (1) and (2)—Classification of Language Group.

It was suggested that Temne and Mende were sufficiently important to be regarded as two distinct groups from the literary point of view. Archdeacon Cole and Rev Hazely were very insistent that Limba should com in for consideration as a distinct group by itself, advocating that it covered a large area and that the Limbas were so isolated that they could not be grouped with other tribes. The language was divided into seven groups with two distinct dialects.

After a lengthy discussion, it proved doubtful as to whether, for pioneering purposes, the language would spread and exert the same influence as either Temne or Mende.

The Limba question was eventually referred to a Sub-Committee comprising of Archdeacon Cole and Rev. Hazeley with the Professor.

It was generally agreed that

(1). The two outstanding languages that should be used were Mende and Temne; the other smaller languages in the group might be given an elementary reader;

(2). Points in connection with Kono and Limba be referred to a Committee of experts;

(3). Mr. Deveneaux should advise the Professor on Susu and Koranko.

The Professor's advice was then sought on the question of Orthography.

He stated that there was a large number of Orthographies in use in African languages. There were almost as many systems of Orthography as there were linguistic authors. The Institute of African Languages and Cultures had been receiving requests from all parts of Africa for a suitable Orthography—but the difficulty was a general uniformity in main points. It had, however, recommended a phonetic system as opposed to the previous systems with their dots and diacritical marks which were often dropped by the Printer. Psychologists and Pedagogues, the Professor pointed out, were agreed that literature with diacritical marks was very difficult for children to read; they were generally confused,

The phonetic system was based on Roman characters. It included every sound that must be expressed, and two or three new symbols were needed in most cases. The phonetic alphabet had been adopted in many places where the vernacular was in vogue, *e.g*, in the Gold Coast, in the Sudan and Southern Nigeria. He pointed out further that the alphabet should be as simple as possible. The following characters were suggested as those that would be needed to meet the difficulties in the languages here.

a as in "hate," e as in "met" o as in "go,"
o as in "nought," n as in "sing."

In reply to a question, the Professor mentioned that Typewriters with these characters were being sold in London at the same price as the ordinary typewriter. The Orthrgraphy was accepted.

With regard to the production of text-books, the Professor mentioned that the policy in the Sudan was the best. A committee recognised by both Government and Missions was appointed for each language group and was responsible for the production of books. The procedure was that one individual was asked to write a text-book or an article for a text-book and then submit it to a text-book Committee, and if accepted, published by the Goverment.

BOOKS.

Native Opinion

"Incwadi yamaculo ase Rabe, kunye nengoma" 4/6 (Lovedale Press.) This book supplies a long felt want and is published at a surprisingly cheap price for its handsome binding and large clear type on very strong quality of paper. It represents the work of several hands under a committee of which Dr. James Henderson is convener. Some of those mentioned are people well known for their ability for such work as Dr. W B Rubusana, Rev M H Wilson and the late Revs E Makiwane and J K Bokwe, the task of final arrangement being done by Mrs R H W Shepherd.

Seeing that many of the hymns are common also to the Wesleyan, Anglican and Presbyterian churches, this volume provides a useful basis for some future combined committee because out of the 320 tunes presented there are at least 39 which are highly popular to all users of the Xosa language and the association of 14 of these tunes with their hymns can scarcely be improved upon. Forty one of the tunes are excellently matched with their corresponding words, and it is only in the case of fourteen hymns that we feel we could make worthwhile alternative suggestions to work in certain favourite tunes here missing We heartily congratulate the committee on its fine result and hope all our church choirs will rush to procure individual copies of this hymn book with the object of improving our church singing.

"Our Bodies And How They Work."

Dr. Elsie M Chubb has produced a handy book of 131 pages entitled as above, obtainable from the Cape Education Department for 2/. It is meant to serve the double purpose of teaching hygiene and physiology to all children in primary schools, giving also guidance as regards diet and food values It is copiously illustrated and will certainly arouse real interest in all the topics it covers, such as blood circulation, bones, muscles, digestion, foods, drinks, alcohol, teeth, hair, nails, clothing, temperature, disease, first aid, and so forth. Not only would we urge all parents to buy this book for their children but we would commend it to our readers for their own possession as a valuable appendage to the well known "Health Magazine."

"Suggestions For The Consideration Of Teachers."

This is a book of 380 pages which collates into a single volume the various articles published in the Cape Education Gazette for a number of years for use by teachers in Native Primary Schools. It is one of the most admirable things done by our lamented Superintendent General of Education, Dr. W J Viljoen, and his able assistant Mr. W G Bennie, B.A. who has recently retired from the department. This volume deals with subjects that come very close to the work of all teachers, namely, School organisation, Moral and religious training, Hygiene, Infant department Composition, Reading, Afrikaans Bantu languages, Gardening, Housecraft, Native handwork, and many more. It is therefore hardly necessary for us to urge all teachers not to miss getting this book.

"The Home Project Plan Of Teaching Agriculture."

Dr. S H Skaife, M.A., MSc, Ph.D., Inspector of Agriculture and Science to the Cape Education Department has issued a 40 page booklet at the low price of a shilling, obtainable from the Methodist Book Depot, Box 708, Cape Town. The author has recently returned from a visit to the United States of America under the auspices of the "Visitors' Grants Committee" of the Carnegie Corporation of New York the chairman of which is Dr. C T Loram. We all know that America leads in modern methods of agriculture, but it is astonishing how that energetic country is still busy discovering new methods of making the teaching and practice of agriculture yet more effective. This booklet gives a full account of teaching agriculture through an inexpensive way called the "Project Plan" under which the student is able to make money from the very day he starts his course, learning everything by doing what is done in real life. As enthusiasts in this subject we warmly enjoin all our followers to secure this book, assuring them that they will be surprised at the good value of its contents.

"*People's Banks.*"

Father Rev Bernard Huss, B.A. is well known as an old and tried friend of the Native people because he is among the pioneers of the movement of native agricultural associations which has resulted in a real revolution in improving our people. In this work he acted hand in hand with the Rev Dr J E East and Mr. Jabavu. The lesson that logically follows improved agriculture is that of learning how to save money and make it increase by turning it over and over in agricultural pursuits, faster than by leaving it at the ordinary bank where it yields only five per cent. Father Huss has lost no time in this work and his efforts in the Transkei territories have been crowned with wonderful success, incidentally proving a splendid counterfoil to the impostures of "Dr Wellington Butelezi." His plan of campaign is contained in a 124-page book called "People's Banks or Use and Value of Co operative Credit For African Natives," 2/6 post free, obtainable from the author at P.O Mariannhill, Natal. The book has been got up with the able assistance of such experts as Mrs M Palmer, M.A., Lecturer in Economics, Mr Frank Brownlee (U-Mpondo ze Lize, U-Ndlovu ayi pendelwa) the popular magistrate of Butterworth and Mr J H Nicolson of Durban. The chapters, originally printed in serial form in "Umteteli Wa Bantu" contain such attractive subjects as Mayibuye i Africa, Credit, Aims of People's Banks, Principles, Mechanism, Difficulties, Practical Suggestions, and a history of the movement in countries like Germany, Italy, Japan, India, Ireland and France. It is a gold mine of information, and inasmuch as the deeds of this movement already speak louder than any words of ours, we have no hesitation in recommending all Bantu leaders and agriculturists to hasten to secure a copy at once and thus swell their knowledge and bank accounts.

"*Aggrey Of Africa.*

There is no need for us to introduce the Late Dr J E K Aggrey to our readers, but the book of his life, costing only 8/- post free, from the Manager, Bookstore P.O. Lovedale is easily worth two guineas, and when we say that all its profits will go to educate the dear sons and daughters of an illustrious African who met his premature death in working for the upliftment of his fellowmen far beyond the borders of his own home, we feel sure there will be a tremendous rush of 8/ postal orders to snap up the book containg the romantic tale of a meteoric career so well described by Dr Edwin Smith whose name is famous as the author of two previous excellent books "The Golden Stool" and the "Ila People." This book is about 300 pages, but once you start reading the first page you cannot be happy until you have read the whole 300, in a feverish hurry, and then you will desire to read it four times again more slowly taking in line by line, imbibing a sort of heavenly inspiration from the exemplary life of a fellow African, a fellow Christian who achieved a saintly life, and a man of men who began life from humblest circumstances teaching for 6/8 a month, and rose to become a world's ambassador This is a wonderful book

TREATMENT OF CONGO NATIVES.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Dear Mr. Weinthal,—Will you permit me to associate myself most whole-heartedly with the remarks on the subject of the treatment accorded to natives in the Congo Belge appearing in your last week's editorial under the heading of the Malfeyt Memorial.

As one who has travelled over a large portion of the African continent, and who has a fairly intimate knowledge of the Congo (I have visited the territory six times in the past seven years), I may perhaps be allowed to say that in no other portion of the continent are "les indigences" better looked after and administered than in the Belgian Congo. As you truly remark, this is particularly the case in the Katanga, where the Union Minière has set a model by the whole world in its treatment of native employees.

You are incorrect when you say that the natives of the Congo Belge are paid a better wage than in other parts of Africa. Rates of pay are substantially higher on the Rand than elsewhere in the continent, but the level of wages is steadily rising in Southern Rhodesia and the Congo. This, however, in no way alters the truth of your statements concerning the excellence of the general treatment meted out to the natives by the Belgians.

The aboriginal in the Congo is an entirely free subject, and the administration is in the hands of enlightened and sympathetic rulers. If cases of sickness occur in any district, the administration leaves no stone unturned to cope with the situation. Many Belgian doctors, nurses, and missionaries are giving of the best years of their lives to the care of the native. Administrators and industrialists are seeing to their education and absorption in the many industries of Belgium's great African Dominion.

Native hospitals, clinics, and schools are established throughout this whole vast country. In the Union Minière area the housing arrangements, provision for sport and recreation, the scale of rations, and the care accorded dependents and children of native employees are not improved on anywhere in Africa, and in fact I doubt very much whether workmen and their families anywhere in the whole world are better looked after and more generously treated.

It is well that these facts should be made public. I think that we Britishers in particular owe it to Belgium and the Congo Belge to give due credit to the Congo Administration and companies for the great work they are doing in uplifting the native races of one of the most difficult and formerly most barbaric portions of Africa.—I am, sincerely yours,

OWEN LEICHER.

London, September 17, 1929.

Death Of Mr Harold Grimshaw.

Native Opinion

The announcement by Reuter of the passing away to the Great Beyond of Mr Harold Grimshaw, of the International Labour Office at Geneva will be received with general regret by our people. Only recently Mr Grimshaw was in the Union having been deputed by his office to study the conditions under which natives work on the mines—as to wages, treatment, health and so forth and his report thereanent was eagerly awaited. It was hoped that he would again in the near future be deputed to visit South Africa to make most searching enquiries as to the conditions of Native labourers on farms, who, from our knowledge, are miserably paid—10/- a month and rations being their pay. The whole question of Native labourers on farms needs overhauling, and requires careful handling by our people and placing the true position before the Government, the farmers and any delegation from the League of Nations To the credit of the Scottish settlers in the Winterberg and round about Tarkastad, they have long settled this question of Native farm servants. Their adult male servants get £1/10/- a month plus rations, which are by no means starvation rations, and last but not least, are given each year a suit of khaki and overcoat, and no wonder they are the envy of many Native farm servants. These Native farm labourers of the Scottish settlers are only allowed to depasture a limited number of stock on the farm, and this gives them an opportunity of disposing of their surplus stock and of being encouraged to bank their money. The idea of limiting stock might with advantage be seriously tackled by the Bungas in the Ciskei, as this will encourage our people to habits of thrift. Our people cannot sufficiently express their gratitude that at the League of Nations there is a court like that of the Tabernacle in Jerusalem where, besides that of the twelve children of Israel there was one reserved for the Gentiles—the International Labour Office—for the sole purpose of supervising labour conditions of the subject races against exploitation and obtaining fair wages. It is for our people to supply this office with all available information.

Race Problem – 1929

Africa

Town Council Of Germiston

NATIVE FEMALE NURSE

Applications are invited for the above position, from native females, qualified for general and maternity work, to work in the Germiston Location.

Applicants must state their age, training, qualifications, tribe, previous experience, and whether married or single.

The successful applicant will be required to reside in the Location, at her own expense.

Salary at the rate of £100 per annum plus £12 per annum uniform allowance.

Applications endorsed "Native Nurse" in candidate's own handwriting accompanied by copies of not more than three recent testimonials, should reach the undersigned not later than 12 noon on MONDAY the 15th July, 1929.

R DUKOFF GORDON,
Town Clerk & Treasurer,
Germiston,
15th. June 1929, (No. 68).

THERE are no regulations in Basutoland that were received so whole-heartedly by the Basuto people as the Scab Regulations. Their co-operation with the Government authorities in making this scheme a success and their enthusiasm in the eradication of scab disease among their flocks have even called forth the admiration of His Excellency the High Commissioner which he has often expressed in unmistaken terms in his official speeches. But here in the district of Mafeteng matters appear to be taking a different course. In fact the practice now notoriously too prevalent seems to pooh-pooh the very reports that caused the expressed admiration of the Earl of Athlone.

The spectacular acts that are staged every day of the week at the court-house directly falsify the good reports about the Basuto that have been submitted to the High Commissioner by the Head department in Basutoland. As onlookers too many things pass through our minds. We are sometimes forced to think that perhaps Basutoland revenue was threatened by serious shortage for which fresh sources for making money must be sought for, and that scab regulations was one of these sources discovered.

Every-day of the week we see between six and ten sheep-owners paraded before the Court of the Assistant Commissioner charged with the contravention of that and that regulation of the dipping laws and for these minor offences the administration, as per convictions obtained, is credited for not less than fifteen to twenty pounds per day.

The charges are brought against the sheepowners by Native dipping supervisors, most of whom have no experience in the work at all, as they are commonly employed and expelled as they came. They are employed and driven away like a weak team on a cricket pitch. The sheep Inspector, apparently does not worry to varify the charges before the indictment is drawn, and let alone things until the case comes on and evidence is given, for the bench to find out that according to evidence the indictment was false, and he causes correction after correction to be made in a way that will give him conviction. And as the interpretation is also a damned one the accused persons get lost, still having in their minds the charge that was read to them, they cross-examined witnesses on the charge that the bench has as incorrect and has ordered a correct one to be made. There and then the accused is told from the bench that that is not the charge against him and the accused person confused of this procedure he cuts short by saying he has no further question, and then a heavy whip of £5's falls upon his bare back, and if he does not accept that he must go to the hog.

Under a well organized supervision three quarters of the charges brought before the court would have advisedly well dealt with by sheep inspector. As things are done the sheep inspector gets himself prejudiced, and is getting the bench in the same soup.

Where such submission to the laws has been shown by people as ours, half semi-civilised, care should be taken not to play in their ignorance. Cases of this kind should be dealt with by magistrates with long experience and not to place on the bench debutants. Improper handling of the people may infuse them with spirit of resistance and the progress of the work may ultimately be retarded. And for interpretation the people should not be given irritable staff of olden school days. Like in a school room where backwards children must receive the very ripe teaching of a school head master, these class of people must be interpreted to by the very interpreters that have reached the limits of the interpreters scale of salaries

Transkeian General Council

At the recent sittings of the Transkeian General Council the following motion was accepted, says the S.A. Outlook: 'That in view of the great influx of Native women and girls into European towns and cities, which is undesirable, and in order to give suitable and profitable occupation to Native girls who leave school on passing Standard VI, or lower classes, this Council appoint a recess committee comprising three Magistrates, one of whom to be the convener of the committee, and six Councillors, two from each Territory, to consider the advisability of establishing a girls and women's industrial school in the Territories, to be supported by the Bunga in the same way as agricultural institutions for boys and men; this committee to be authorised to add to its members if neccessary and to call in expert and other desirable evidence to advise on suitable industries for women, such as weaving, basket work, dairying, poultry and pigs. Also to advise what professional and other qualifications, such as understanding of sympathy with Bantu aspirations, willingness to train, work with and through, Native assistance in the task of uplifting the Native race, and knowledge of what is being done in other parts of the world in the same kind of work, the Director or Principal of the School should possess; what steps should be taken to encourage those who receive this education to establish themselves in these industries at their own homes instead of seeking employment elsewhere; and to report if possible to the next session of the General Council."

Mr Editor,

Sir,—I am glad to see that my first contribution to your paper has found a kind reception and that my explanations have answered their purpose. This encourages me to satisfy you on the two points you place before your readers. You will excuse my delay but it is only yesterday since I had cognisance of your article.

It is not the first time Naledi speaks of our Native ministers, and finds them not up to the mark. On the whole I may say that they have done well, and some of them very well indeed. I agree with Naledi, and so will our Native ministers, that their preparation should be more thorough, and therefore we are contemplating a stage for Fort Hare in the near future. For this purpose we need money for burseries destined to the best deserving. Bnt men, we also need, and that is the reason why we have to give them work as soon as they have finished their regular theological course.

I am surprised to hear that you Mr Editor, are ignorant that the four stations I mentioned in my letter, and perhaps five, if Morija is to be included definitely in the number, have been given as a gift and for good by the Paris Evangelical Society to his eldest daughter, the Church of Basutoland. Now, if you, a man well placed, to know things, and moreover a member and an elder of that church, is in the dark on such an important matters, how can others know better? I quite believe now what I merely thought, i.e., that members of our churches are not sufficiently informed on many things they should know.

I know for instance, in my Parish, that some evangelists do not take the trouble to give a report of the sittings of the Consistories to their congregations nor do they read to them the summary of the yearly accounts of the church monies, neither do they read to them the report of the Leselinyana on the Seboka meetings.

This is one of the reasons why our Christians have so little ambition and love for their national church. How many are they among our catechists, even our ministers, who understand that the aim of missionary work, is, once they have established on a solid basis a Native Church, to disappear?

No, Basutoland Church is not a "substitute" for P.E.M.S. These two names do not cover each other exactly as two hands do. To use the words of John the Baptist I will say: "The former must decrease (P.E.M.S.) and the latter increase, (B.C).

Some of us at our last seventy-five years Jubilee thought how glorious it would be if at the Centenary Jubilee in 1933 the Church of Basutoland would have attained her maturity. being a "body self-supporting, and self-governing,' and bid farewell to their Bo 'Ntate. Now that we are only five years from this coming date, we see that it will be an impossibility. This much to be regretted result may partly be the missionaries' fault, for delaying in forming a Native clergy. But it is also that of the latter, who had not enough ambition, otherwise they would have been able to inspire their people with such an enthusiasm that contributions for the beloved church would have poured in.

The tonic of our church needs is as Paul said to the Romans, "More faith that the Gospel is the power of God," also much more confidence

(continued on foot of next column.

in their French leaders. To attain this result, as we missionaries cannot advertise ourselves, let our Christians be "our letters of recommendation," especially let all who have that faith and that confidence give their testimony in the pulpit, more than that in the Press, in the Khotla and everywhere. Say that, the missionaries, no matter to what denomination they belong, are not out for a hideous trading with religion but for salvation of men and nations, and that this they have done free, thanks to the Churches that sent them for the Glory of God and His Son, Christ our Lord.

L. GERMOND.

Margate,
South Coast, Natal,
28th June, 1929.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Slave's Wanderings.

Most of us have read stories of the sufferings of the living cargoes of the slave-ships, but there is none more poignant and vivid than the one told by a slaver who had made the "Middle Passage" when the trade was at its height. Among the bargains in an obscure second-hand bookshop I found a small volume, bound in paper-covered boards, entitled "The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself." A new edition, corrected. (Printed for James Nichols, 1814.) The book has long been forgotten, but it attracted great attention at the time of its publication in 1789. In the list of subscribers to the first edition were included the Prince of Wales, two royal dukes, and most of the leading opponents of the slave trade—Henry Thornton, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp—and other persons distinguished in philanthropy and religion—the Countess of Huntingdon, Hannah Moore, Adam Clarke, Rowland Hill, John Wesley, and Lindley Murray. Two editions were published in each of the four following years. In the preface to the 1814 edition it is stated that this narrative caused so much indignation against the slave trade that the author was persecuted by those interested in it. He states that he was born in 1745 in a province of the kingdom of Benin, named Essaka, so far from the capital that he "had never heard of white men or Europeans." He says his people were a tribe of the Ibos, of which his father was an Embrenche, or Elder. He himself, named Olaudah, was the youngest of seven children, and lived happily with his family till his eleventh year. One day, when all the people except himself and a sister had gone to their farms, a man and a woman climbed the wall of the compound, seized the two children, and carried them off. A few days later the girl was sold; Olaudah was passed on from one trader to another, and at last was sold to a smith, with whom he stayed for some time, acting as bellows blower. On being sold again, he was "carried to the left of the sun's rising" (westward) for many days. He states that so far the people of the places he had passed through spoke dialects of his own language, so that he was able to make himself understood, but he had now reached a country in which the language was totally different. As he says, that he "came to a town called Timnay," he was probably in the Timni country, in the hinterland of Sierra Leone, over a thousand miles from his birthplace. Here he was sold for 172 cowries to a widow, and became companion to her only son, with whom he spent two happy months, but "one morning, early, while my dear master and companion was asleep, I was awakened . . . and hurried away." After many more months of travelling, during which he was repeatedly sold, he reached the coast, where "the first object that saluted my eyes was the sea and a slave ship which was at anchor, and waiting for his cargo." This was probably at Sherbro, then one of the principal depots of the trade.

The Slave Ship.

The terror caused by the sight of the sea and the ship was increased when he was carried on board. "I was immediately handled and tossed up, to see if I was sound, by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexion, too, differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, united to confirm me in this belief." The sight of a large copper boiling on deck, and "a multitude of black people . . . chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow," convinced him that they were all "to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hair." Soon afterwards he was put below: "There I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and with my crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat." This brought more suffering for, on refusing some food offered by two white men, "one of them held me fast by the hands and laid me across the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely." The condition of the hold was so terrible that I can quote only parts of the description of it. Even while the ship was on the coast and some of the slaves were allowed to stay on deck the air of the hold was loathsome, but when she put to sea and the whole of them were confined below, "so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself," it became pestilential and suffocating, bringing on "a sickness among the slaves of which many died, thus falling victims to the avarice of their purchasers. This deplorable situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable. . . . The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered it a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, being deprived for days together." Their sufferings were increased by brutal floggings, which were shared by the white sailors; "one white man, in particular, I saw . . . flogged so unmercifully with a long rope near the foremast that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute." It is not surprising, therefore, that the slaves had to be carefully watched, when allowed on deck, to prevent them from jumping overboard, but in spite of all precautions a few succeeded in doing so.

Slavery and Deliverance.

At last the ship arrived at Barbados; many merchants come on board and examined the slaves, renewing their fears that they were to be eaten "by the ugly men." These fears were heightened by the noise and clamour of the auction at which they were sold and distributed. Olaudah passed through several hands, with varying treatment, till he was sold for £40 to Lieutenant Pascal, R.N., by whom he was sent to England as a present to some friends, and named Gustavus Vassa. In England he was well treated, and picked up some education. He served for a time with his master in the British Navy and took part in several battles. After a time his master took him back to Montserrat and sold him to "one, Mr. Robert King, a Quaker and the first merchant in the place, "who employed him on board his ships." By his intelligence, good conduct and industry, he gained the favour of his master, who promised to allow him to purchase his freedom for £40, and helped him by allowing him to take goods on credit for sale. In a few years the necessary sum was amassed, and he waited on his master; "with my money in my hand, and many fears in my heart, I prayed him to be as good as his offer to me, when he was pleased to promise me my freedom as soon as I could purchase it." After some demur Mr. King took the money and signed the deed of manumission. Vassa lived about forty years as a free man, but there is no information obtainable about him except that contained in his vivid narrative.

W.F.H.

Race Problem – 1929

Africa.

Cape African Teachers.

The Cape African Teachers Association at Aliwal North passed the following resolutions.

1 Whereas gardening and handiwork form an important part of the primary school syllabus, and whereas these are admitted to be essential, this conference strongly deplores the policy of judging efficiency of the teacher by specimens shown at exams, since such teachers have not been formally trained as weavers, sawyers and gardeners.

2 This conference deplores the article written by a Native teacher at Mount Ayliff in the "Education Gazette," for April relative to certain derogatory statements calculated to damage the good work generally done by the Native schools to meet new conditions in the syllabus.

3 This conference heartily congratulates Messrs K. Marambana and E. R Maliza on their promotion to visiting headmasterships, and hope success will meet their efforts.

4 This Conference has learnt with regret that the Superintendent—General of Education Dr Viljoen, and the chief Inspector Mr. W. G. Bennie, B.A. are due to retire during the year, and records its appreciation of the work done by them for Native education.

5 This conference passes a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor and citizens of Aliwal North, both white and black for the kindness shown the conference, also to the local teachers' branch of the Association, particularly for making comfortable arrangements.

The election of office-bearers resulted as follows President: D. D. T. Jabavu B.A. (Lond) Fort Hare, Alice vice President: F. H. M. Zade, Bethelsdorp. General Secretary: B. B. Mdledle, Lovedale Recording Secretary: P. B. D. Max Mashicila, Fort Beaufort Treasurer: Dr. J Henderson, M.A. Lovedale, Executive Council: S. E Mqayi, Berlin, G, Njokweni Healdtown, C. Xabanisa, East London, M. L. Kabane, B.A., Lovedale, J. Nyomkolo, Cape Town, Miss Gertrude Ntsabati, B.A., Queenstown.

Cardozo Wins Southern Conference Track Meet, 49-42

The Cardozo playground came out victorious in the Southern conference meet held Wednesday week at the Cardozo playground. Sixth and L playground was second scoring 42 points against 49 for the victors.

Cardozo scored most heavily with the unlimited class, where the other playgrounds were not so well represented. Willow Tree came third, with forty tallies; Barry Farms scored but one point, and the Payne entries were unable to place, although both teams had a large number of men.

W. Brown in the unlimited class, and Black in the 100-pound class were the high point scorers, each winning two firsts. Sixth and L showed great form in defeating the Cardozo unlimited relay team, Perry, the anchor man, winning by a narrow margin.

CATTLE STOCK FAIRS.

Over 500 head of cattle were disposed of by auction at the King Williams' Town cattle pens on Saturday 22nd. inst. We hail the attraction of business to our Kaffrarian capital with satisfaction; but we understand that the bulk of the cattle sold consisted of scrub stock from the Free State, and this in very poor condition. In view of the fact that the government has seen fit to gazette regulations compelling Natives in these areas to do away with scrub cattle, is there any justice and equity in the government allowing white speculators to glut our areas with huge herds of such stock to be sold probably to Natives and depastured in the self-same overstocked commonages? Perhaps the new Director of Agriculture will make this one of the problems to be reported upon in his sphere of work.

TREE PLANTING

Recently the Additional Native Commissioner for King Williamstown gave a very interesting resume of the working of the local Council in its first period. In that report he made reference to afforestation that that most desirable work had been delayed by disinclination on the part of the Natives to part with their lands for afforestation purposes. But the disinclination is natural, for as things are the Natives are so hard pressed for want of commonage that a few months' drought takes a large toll of their stock, therefore the very idea of afforestation would be resented. But what is wanted in the King Williamstown Native locations, for that matter in all Native locations, is not so much afforestation as tree planting which would relieve the barreness of these expanses which at present is unbearable and an eye sore. Besides enhancing the beauty of the countryside tree planting would afford shelter for stock through the cold and winter rains while in summer it would provide shade. In our opinion the work could be done very cheaply for, instead of the costly iron standards thin wattle poles with wire netting could be used to protect the trees from molestation by stock in the early stages and when mature could be removed and other trees planted until the whole area of the reserves reclaims its original state of luxuriant vegetation. The large dams that have been built may also with advantage be surrounded with trees. The late Mr. J. J. Irvine bought his Kubusie estates a howling wilderness but by means of tree planting, not afforestation, he converted those plains into picturesque groves of trees, pleasing to the eye and affording shelter to stock. Many would rejoice if our Native Councils would fall in with the idea.

[From "Indian Opinion."]

A very painful affair took place in Durban last Friday and on Monday when agitated Natives indulged in violence which naturally resulted in bloodshed and high casualty list.

The first act of violence, according to reports, took place on Friday afternoon when 1 000 Natives armed with sticks and stones shattered the windows of the Point Native beer hall. Simultaneously, it is said, disturbances took place at the Queen Street and the Prince Edward Street beer halls where bands of Natives armed with sticks stampeded those inside the building.

Police came on the scene immediately and lost no time in quelling the disturbance Three police boys were reported gravely injured. At lunch hour on Monday there was again a disturbance in the centre of the town. Rioting broke out in the neighbourhood of the I.C.U. Hall in Prince Edward Street and after a temporary reverse the Police gained complete control of the situation, and it was reported at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon that all was quiet. But at 5 o'clock there was again severe fighting which lasted throughout the evening. From all the Native location areas—the Point, Mayedan Wharf and the Eastern Vlei Natives converged on Prince Edward Street and threw themselves with threatening cries into the melee with the police. The police stood firm under a shower of bricks and sticks and dispersed the Natives with a gallant counter attack.

An ugly feature of the whole thing, however, was the European civilians took the law into their own hands and fired revolver shots in the crowd. "The over-anxiety of the young European element to assist the greatly outnumbered police," says the *Natal Mercury*, "was a hindrance rather than a help at this stage, and the authorities desire to impress upon the people of Durban the importance of keeping away from the disturbed areas, so that the police may handle any situation that develops unhindered" The Borough Police, which consists of 3 officers, 16 sergeants, 125 European constables and 305 Native constables, were on duty day and night and handled the attacks bravely and skilfully. The Borough Police do not carry firearms, and they had pick handles as their weapons. The casualty list so far is reported to be 1 European killed and 5 Natives injured 19 Europeans 84 Natives (of whom 10 are in a critical condition in the hospital), 2 Indians and 3 coloured

Another cowardly act reported is that of a gang of irresponsible white youths who in the lunch hour on Tuesday raided the deserted Central Hall—the headquarters of the I.C.U. and threw the contents of the offices out of the windows including typewriters, stationery, thousands of

papers and other I.C.U. documents. The raiders, who behaved in open defiance of the Borough Police, also carried away the I.C.U. safe on a lorry, which, however, was later taken intact to the police station. Whether these ruffians were arrested or not is not reported.

But what was the cause of all this disturbance? That still remains a mystery. Some say there are strong grounds for believing that the riots were engineered by the Communist International. On the other hand it appears that as a result of the boycott of Kafir beer a Native has been deprived of his registration record as a togt labourer and in a memorandum of the togt labourers of the Bell Street Native barracks, represented by their spokesman George Champion, who is now under police protection it is stated that the chief complaint is that the above-mentioned Native should be reinstated because they consider that he is not personally responsible for the boycott of kafir beer which is the resolution of all Natives employed at the Point. Champion advised the Natives to take their grievances to the manager for Native Affairs. His advice was taken and two Natives were deputed to see the manager who refused to attend to them in the matter of the Native whose badge had been taken away, but instructed them to get 10 men to see him on Monday about other matters. The memorandum concluded thus:—"Without any feeling of throwing threats to the authorities, the Natives feel that, unless a proper system of consultation is established by way of Advisory Board, there is bound to be a continuation of misunderstanding between the Corporation and Natives."

At a meeting at Cartwright's Flats on Sunday where 5000 Natives had gathered Champion, general secretary of the I.C.U. of Natal, said the Kaffir beer hall was a school where young Native boys are graduated to see gaol, and then they lost their lives in the university of criminology. A most unfortunate step taken by the Town Council was to refer this matter to police authorities instead of referring it to the Native Affairs Department for full investigation. The Natives had genuine grievances and wanted to discuss them with the proper authorities, but not with the police officers whose duty was to arrest and charge criminals.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting supporting the decision of the togt labourers to boycott the Kaffir beer hall in Durban, asking the Minister for Native Affairs to withdraw his sanction for the manufacture and sale of Kafir beer in Durban until the Native location or village as contemplated under the Native Urban Areas Act was established, requesting the temperance associations and all the churches to assist the Natives to reform their lives by refusing to have anything to do with Kafir beer drinking both in Durban and its surrounding districts, and deprecating any idea of the authorities of trying to force the Natives to break the resolution passed by the the Anti-Kafir beer manufacturing league, and asking every merchant who trades with Natives to subscribe to the funds of the I.C.U. for the protection of those who may be victimised by the authorities in carrying out the instruction of the league."

In the course of an interview with a representative of the "Natal Mercury" Champion replied to a question put to him as to what he attributed the trouble, that it was because the Native Affairs Department of the Borough would not receive any Native representation on matters affecting the interest of the Natives.

'As a result of this," Champion stated, "there has been a lot of grievances, and if the authorities take up the attitude of victimising every body and sending them to goal, I do not think that that will prove a solution to the position which has arisen. If the authorities hold an inquiry, more facts will come to light to show that the Natives are not in the wrong. The Natives had been provoked into what they have done. They have a good case if only an inquiry is held and the facts are faced."

"Don't you think an inquiry would have been better than this rioting?" asked the Press representative.

"Attempts have been made with this end in view, and everything has been treated with contempt," was the reply. "What has happened is the result of long-standing grievances. Anything can happen when you do not recognise peoples' representations. If I come to you with a grievance, and you refuse to discuss it with me, I have to go out as I did. In my opinion, this thing should be investigated."

Durban is the only town where there is not an Advisory Board consisting of Natives as well as Europeans to advise the Town Council on matters affecting the interests of Natives," said Champion.

"The real grievance is not so much the Kafir beer question, or the handling of their food by Europeans. Kafir beer has been boycotted because the Natives think it is making the Corporation rich, and officers have been appointed over us who are out of sympathy with the Natives and their needs."

According to a statement made by the Chief Magistrate an inquiry is to be held into the rioting, although what form it will take is not yet known.

The Durban Native Riots.

Natives Opinion

We fully associate ourselves with the observations expressed hereunder as quoted from our contemporary the "Indian Opinion" (Durban) of the 21st ult. It is gratifying to note that a judicial inquiry has been authorised to investigate the causes of the unrest in question, and that no less a jurist than Judge President de Waal of the Transvaal will preside. Of vital importance will be the outcome of the inquiry, as it will throw considerable light on the machinery of administration of the Native Affairs Department of the Union Government. We cannot comment on this administration at present for fear of prejudicing the inquiry, but what we know of it in the Native areas of the Cape Province we have strong grounds for believing that the head department of Native Affairs in Pretoria is prone to impose too much confidence in its officials (who cannot all be experts in handling delicate Native grievances) in the matter of the recommendations as to how Native grievances should be adjusted. This implicit confidence is maintained even to the entire disregard of direct representations made by Natives through their recognised bodies, if Government recognises any such Native bodies at all.

The danger of such a policy is clearly and unequivocally expressed by our contemporary in the following excerpt:—

"Natives however wild they may get at times, there is no going out of the fact that they are a helpless and defenceless people in this country, and our sympathies naturally go out to them. They go out to them more because of the hooliganism displayed by the wild European crowds during the riots. It was indeed a sorry picture of the civilisation they boast of so much. The Natives were totally in the wrong, whatever and however serious their grievances may be, to have resorted to such violent methods and the police were fully justified in taking whatever action they did to quell the disturbance. Those who are arrested are likely to be dealt-with with an iron heel, and culprits who inspired the crowd to take this mad action may very likely escape. The law will justifiably deal with the miscreants and we can have nothing to say against it.

But this painful drama is not without its moral. The voiceless people who were not able to make their voice heard in the ordinary way have made it heard in this crude way. It is no use looking down upon them with contempt and trying to teach them a lesson never to raise their hand against the white man, by putting the law severely into effect, or by civilians taking the law in their hands. That is not going to prevent such occurences in the future. It is the duty of a good and civilised government to enter into the hearts of these people and know their real grievances and take steps to redress those grievances. According to what their spokesman Champion has said, they have long standing grievances and the local authorities have in their arrogance ignored the grievances of "mere kaffirs." Not an unlikely thing to happen.

Race Problem – 1929

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Hilton Young Report.

Although the Hilton Young Commission was directly concerned with "Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa," its report is of interest to West Africa because it raises questions of the general principles of Crown Colony government throughout Tropical Africa. As Lord Lugard stated in the recent debate on the report in the House of Lords, inaugurated by his application for papers [illegible]

"Its special importance lies in the fact that the principal issues involved extended far beyond any single colony or group of dependencies, and that the conclusions which were submitted for the consideration of His Majesty's Government affected profoundly the whole system of internal administration, and, in some degree, the method of control and supervision which was exercised by the Colonial Office and by the British Parliament over these non-self-governing dependencies. The issues dealt with were of Imperial magnitude, and the Commission arrived at conclusions and formulated principles of Empire-wide importance, transcending the particular controversies of this or that African possession."

Especially interesting to West Africa are the suggestions of the Commission in regard to the non-self-governing dependencies. No man living has had greater experience of the early stages of the organisation and administration of "backward races" in Tropical Africa, or can speak with higher authority on the methods of development best calculated to train them for a place in the political fabric of the British Empire, so, when he describes the report as containing suggestions which may give a new orientation to British policy in regard to the non-self-governing dependencies, it is marked as deserving of deep and serious consideration by every member of the backward races, and by everyone interested in their welfare.

First Principles.

The report brings under its scrutiny the whole system which has grown up piecemeal with the growth of the Colonial Empire, without guiding principles or definite aim. Nowhere has the growth been more haphazard than in West Africa. For three centuries the West Coast was subordinated to other interests; it was used as a source of labour for the new lands of the Western Hemisphere. The Crown delegated the administration of their trading-stations to the merchants who carried on the trade, or to philanthropists who sought to destroy it, until the abolition of the slave trade forced a review of the position. When, at last, the Crown took over the administration there was no inclination to enter into any responsibility for ruling the native peoples. The jurisdiction and authority of its officers were strictly limited to the "Settlements" and to the Europeans in them. But it was impossible to maintain these restrictions: step by step the British authorities were compelled by circumstances to extend their control to the hinterlands and their inhabitants, but neither Secretaries of State, nor local officials, nor peoples had any clear idea of their mutual relations and duties or of the goal to which they were travelling. It was only at the beginning of the present century that the doctrine of "trusteeship" was enunciated and accepted by both rulers and ruled. The system of "indirect rule" is a natural corollary of the doctrine of trusteeship; both together involve training the people for self-government by progressive steps. The Commission addressed itself largely to consideration of the methods by which powers of self-government may be delegated to native races. The period when these races will be able "to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world," as stated in the covenant of the League of Nations, is still distant, but it is nearer in West Africa than in East Africa, because it is free from the problems arising out of the clash between a small advanced minority and a large backward majority. But it has its own problems. As Lord Lugard remarked:—

"In the past this country has shown itself pre-eminently capable of dealing with subject races in a state of tutelage, but has not shown equal ability to take count of the results of the educational and economic forces which it has set in motion."

The rapid economic and educational progress of the West African peoples will put this quality to the test in the immediate future.

The Primary Duty.

The dealing with the results of these forces will be facilitated by adherence to what Lord Olivier stated to be the principles of British policy in Africa—"equal justice, equal fairness, and equal opportunity for all races." He disagreed with the suggestion that the primary duty of a government is to develop to the utmost the productive power of its possessions. He said: "The primary duty of the Imperial Government is to maintain justice in its institutions." He considered that "the time has surely come when, before they made any new departure, they should have an agreed statement, or principles laid down, as to what is meant by our trusteeship for the natives," and "for a clear and definite statement, backed by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, of British policy in regard to land, labour, and economic policy." Owing to the imminence of the General Election no immediate action will be taken on the report.

Lord Plymouth, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, said that "the Government has no intention of taking any definite action upon the recommendations of the report until there has been full opportunity provided both for discussion in this country and for ascertaining the views of those people who are most intimately concerned." Though most of such discussion will directly concern the East African Dependencies, the fact that the decisions to be taken on it are expected to mark "a new orientation of British policy in regard to non-self-governing Dependencies" generally will give West Africa an interest, and a claim to representation of its views on the new policy and its application.

W. F. H.

LIQUOR TRADING IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—I have read with close attention the views of Mr. Welsh, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Killingly Gibbons reproduced in WEST AFRICA to-day. I would like to add a few remarks. West Africa 4.5.29

I would begin by stating that I know West Africa fairly well by work and residence there; that I have no interest whatever in the liquor trade or anything connected with it; and that my personal interests are bound up with the well-being of the West African people. Nothing could be more certain than that, if the Africans were slaves to drinking, such well-being must disappear.

When I went to the Coast first, in 1908, there was, undoubtedly, a liquor problem. A bottle of trade gin could be bought for a shilling or less. To-day the cheapest gin costs over 6s. a bottle, of which 4s. 7d. approximately represents the consumer's contribution to the State. This makes the regular drinking of *imported* spirits an impossible pastime for the vast bulk of the population. Rich cocoa planters and fortunate owners of auriferous land at the Gold Coast may, as the Bishop of Accra points out, drink themselves to death at times. Funeral customs all over the West Coast require the consumption of intoxicants. (I have heard of similar customs in Ireland!) But to the peasant, labourer, artisan and, in fact, 95 per cent. of the population, imported spirits might as well not exist.

Their richer compatriots with a penchant for the cup that cheers and inebriates will gratify their taste, as do their opposite numbers in the United States and in the United Kingdom, and anywhere else, whatever prohibitive or restrictive legislation be passed.

Do the supporters of prohibition for West Africa realise what they are asking for?

As Mr. Killingly Gibbons in his well-balanced letter points out, the sacrifice by the Gold Coast Government of the duties on imported spirits would hardly be compensated by doubling the ad valorem duties, i.e., on textiles, foodstuffs, etc., etc., imported, and also that on the exports of cocoa. And it would have to be universal on the West Coast.

If the total prohibition of import of spirits to West African Colonies became a fact there is no guarantee whatever that the evils associated with the trade would cease. If, as we are told by the Bishop of Accra, progressive increases in the duty have little effect on consumption, it stands to reason that total prohibition would call into life that illicit trade which followed prohibition in America.

Instead of the consumer of spirits paying the State a penal tax on his weakness, he would pay that tax to some lawless trader, who was willing to take the risks involved in smuggling or illicit distilling for a share in the £807,000 abandoned by the Gold Coast Government. Not only would the Government not get the revenue, but they would be obliged to add considerably to their coastguard and excise services in order to enforce their laws. The Bishop of Accra's suggestion, that the efficient police force of the Gold Coast would be able to prevent smuggling or the setting up of illicit stills, speaks very well for that force. As far as Nigeria is concerned, however, I am perfectly certain that four times the present staff of police would not be able to prevent the African from turning some of his grain into beer or spirits, even if it were possible to introduce legislation making such customs an offence against the law. Beer and spirits of appalling potency have been made by Pagan tribes in Northern Nigeria as well as by various races in the South long before the European came to the country, and no legal measure is the least likely to put a stop to the funereal and other occasions on which fermented liquor is consumed in quantities. It is rather a matter for the missionaries and education authorities, and results cannot be expected immediately.

It is surely an encouraging sign that the consumption of gin and rum at the Gold Coast have decreased by 750,000 gallons since 1913 in spite of a trebling (I write from memory) of the spending capacity.

Fermented liquor has played its part in the life of the human race from the days of the Ark, and before. It cannot be abolished at a stroke, by legislation. Most of us who are old enough have seen how education and public opinion have improved matters in this respect both in England and at the Coast. and I suggest that evolution will deal with it much more efficiently than legislation, without risking the evil effects which such legislation has caused in other countries.

Yours truly,

London, March 30. A BUSINESS MAN.

THE ANGLICAN BISHOP OF ACCRA FOR PROHIBITION OF SPIRITS.

The Anglican Bishop of Accra, Dr. Aglionby, writes to the "Times":—

The situation with regard to the importation of liquor into the Gold Coast may be summarised as follows:—In 1928 potable liquor, for the most part gin, was imported into this Colony to the value of £807,917, which means that, allowing for Customs duty and a small margin of profit, the Natives' drink bill amounted to at least £2,500,000, and, despite the heavy and progressively increasing duty, which has nearly trebled in the last 10 years, the import of spirits increases year by year.

The Chiefs of the Colony are unanimous in their desire for prohibition of the entry of all spirits into the country, and the striking gesture of Sir Ofori Atta, widely reported in the newspapers on his return from England, has made a deep impression both in Africa and beyond it. The literate Africans are unanimously in favour of prohibition of spirits, and I believe that I can claim to speak on their behalf as one whose life of constant travelling enables him to know them intimately and well. Many of the traders themselves, as witness the speeches made at the farewell dinner to Sir Ransford Slater in Liverpool last October, are in favour of prohibition of spirits, although the profits of their business depend to no small extent on this very trade. All missionaries, all educationists, and many Government officials are in favour of prohibition.

TRIBES OF BRITISH LANDS BEGIN REVOLT

Indian War Stirs Over Wide Front—African Peoples Uprise.

London, April 8.—(AP)—Activity of tribesmen on three widely separated fronts was described in dispatches today.

From Bengasi Libya, North Africa, news came that native Italian troopers had defeated [illegible] rebel tribesmen near Bir Bu Gedaria, killing

160 and leaving 100 camels and considerable stores. Fifteen loyalists were killed and 10 wounded.

Basra, Irak, dispatches related that a body of Akhwan riders composed of Ataibah and Mutair tribesmen suffered heavy losses in an attack and dispersal by a force of 40,000 men led by Ibn Saud, king of the Hedjaz.

An official communique has been issued at New Delhi, capital of India, dealing with Afghan efforts to embroil tribes along the northern frontiers of India in civil war and emphasizing measures being taken by the government of India to maintain neutrality.

It was indicated the authorities in India had become increasingly alarmed at persistent attempts made by various factions in Afghanistan to draw Indian tribesmen into the civil war. Manifestos were sent to the British Mohmands and Afridis calling upon them to join in the fighting; copies of the manifestos were seized by the government. It was rumored similar appeals have been circulated among the Wasiris and the Mahsuds.

Energetic efforts have been put forth to run down the offending agencies and it is said it would not be surprising if the government of India resorted to drastic action.

BLACK MAGIC.*

The Magic Island of the title is Haiti, that exotic and mysterious land where the primitive savagery of the African jungle is but thinly overlaid with a veneer of European civilisation. The author gives an extraordinarily vivid account of the beliefs, ceremonies, and inner symbolism of Voodoo, the strange cult which has continued to flourish, in defiance of all efforts at supression, ever since it was transplanted from Dahomey to the West Indies centuries ago, and the secret rites of which he claims not merely to have witnessed, but to have been initiated into—the first white man to be so privileged. He clears up many prevalent misconceptions regarding the cult, especially those arising from the presence of the Crucifix and other Christian symbols on Voodoo altars (here by jowl with the symbols of Legba and other pagan deities. This has hitherto been interpreted as a deliberate sacrilege—something analagous to the obscenities of the Black Mass—and was responsible for the destruction of many Voodoo *houmforts* (mystery houses or temples) in the early days of the American occupation. Mr. Seabrook, however, explains that the gentle Haitian readily accepts Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, in whose attributes the good Catholic fathers labour to instruct him—and merely adds them to his already extensive Pantheon!

The book also throws much light on the *Culte des morts* and other forms of necromancy which form no part of the Voodoo religion proper. Students of European folk lore cannot fail to be struck with the close analogy presented by many of these Haitian stories to the vampires, werewolves, and other familiar dæmons of old-world legend. But Mr. Seabrook, who, like the Fat Boy, is obviously bent on making our flesh creep, deserves credit for being the first to give publicity to a creature which appears to be exclusively Haitian—the *zombie*. This, one gathers, is a disinterred corpse magically endowed with animation, and used sometimes to gratify its master's revengeful propensities, but more often to labour for him as a drudge in the fields. The author very fairly advances such rational explanations as occur to him, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. The chapter entitled "Dead Men Working in the Cane-fields" is a masterly little essay in the macabre.

The book is illustrated with a number of curious photographs by the author and a series of black-and-white drawings by Mr. Alexander King, which, whatever artistic merit they may possess, should be eschewed by those of weak nerves. P. D.

FAMINE IN RUANDA.

Steps Taken by Belgian Authorities.

BRUSSELS, March 13.

The Minister of Colonies to-day issued a statement regarding the famine situation in Ruanda (a Belgian mandated territory in Central Africa, on the western border of Uganda, and formerly part of German East Africa).

Although the Government has received no confirmation of the report that natives are dying by thousands, it was acquainted with the fact that famine existed, a situation which, the Minister says, arises periodically in regions situated east of the 30th meridian. He attributes "this sad phenomenon" to the irregular climate of the territory.

Ever since Belgium received the mandate for the Ruanda, the Minister states, it has taken all measures to ward off the scourge, among other things by the development of tapioca plantations and the prohibition of food exports as soon as scarcity threatened. Immediately the famine appeared the Minister introduced a credit of 1,400,000 frs. (£24,500) into the Budget, which has been submitted to Parliament, requested the Belgian Resident in Ruanda to forego his leave, and authorised the Resident to make a preliminary purchase of supplies from Kenya and Uganda, through which territories he had to pass to get back to Ruanda. —Reuter.

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

CONVOCATION AND ANNUAL MEETING.

Speech of the Rev. W. B. Marke in expressing thanks to His Honour the Chief Justice for presiding at the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Marke in expressing the thanks of the College Council said:—The task which has been assigned me and which with great pleasure I rise to perform is simple, important, and pleasant. It is to express on behalf of the Council our high appreciation and hearty thanks to His Honour the Chief Justice for the high honour he has conferred on us in presiding over this annual meeting. It came to me with some surprise, however, when in his luminous speech just delivered, His Honour remarked that he felt rather nervous to take the chair. Until he sat down I saw no sign of that. On the contrary I had expected that coming as His Honour does to a college that has always shone with brilliance on its theological side, he would naturally feel at home and in his element having regard as I do, to those addresses of his at the Supreme Court, some of which it has been my privilege to listen with much profit, which have sparkled with apt quotations from the Bible to illustrate or emphasize a point. Those scripture quotations leave the impression on one that if His Honour has never studied the clergy in general, he has given some time to a careful study of the English Bible.

For more reasons than one I feel that the presence of His Honour here deserves a special welcome. This year's annual meeting has an importance and certain distinctive features all its own. It was only last Friday that an important interview held in the College Library, at which I was present, an alumnus of the College, who is also one of our leading journalists mentioned incidentally that his office contemplated writing and publishing a history of the College. A history of an Institution which is more than a century old, and has done much excellent work is certainly overdue. Success therefore to the project. When in time this history sees the light, whatever may be omitted. I feel safe to presume that this meeting will be treated as something of first-rate importance, because several things conspire to make it so.

Current events in our educational world, affecting as they do primary, secondary, and university education in the Colony and Protectorate, lend a special value and interest to the times. Some there are who feel that the educational atmosphere is changed. Whether there is justification for the feeling or not, I have not the time here to examine. But there it is and we hear it expressed. Some believe this is a time for steady vigilance. For some time the unsavoury rumour has been afloat,—a rumour which has found a place in some of the local Newspapers—to the effect that the Arts degree is to be restricted, or modified. How this unauthorised statement has gained currency, and seriously perturbed people's minds the man in the street may be able to say. There is no doubt whatever that our people appreciate the degree because it stands for something. I have just grounds to believe that the great English people, whom Your Honour so worthily represents, attach some importance to University degrees. And the fact that our Chief Justice is himself a Master of Arts of the ancient University of Oxford, should afford some excuse, if and when ordinary folk feel some resentment because of a rumour that what they regard as a boon and a privilege, is to experience some set-back. It is for this reason that I had been hoping that some definite and clear statement as to the true situation would have found a place in the excellent Report which has been presented by the Principal. I do not know whether it is due to my own fault that such a statement has escaped my notice. I shall be disappointed if it is not there. Is it because the Principal sits next to His Honour, whose profession demands the utmost alertness and vigilance, that he has become extremely cautious? This, notwithstanding, I ought to say that I fully appreciate the difficult position in which the College Authorities are placed, and the problems which they are asked to solve. The report has told us that besides inadequacy of Staff there is also an insufficiency of students to read for the degree.

This is at once a challenge as well as an appeal, to parents and others concerned in higher education, to supply the need. No college can live and function without students.

Turning attention to the other important matter of inadequate or inefficient staff—inefficient from the standpoint of modern requirements—perhaps ordinary folk, disposed to look at things from a severely practical viewpoint, may feel that the position is not as serious nor so urgent. Somehow, they are too prosaic to look at a question from an academic angle. The logic of life, the logic of experience and the logic of facts, make an irresistible appeal to the plain matter-of-fact person. Will you blame him? One is reminded here of an able and conclusive book which was written to prove the impossibility of a steamship crossing the Atlantic. It was written by a Dr. Lardner, a theorist and scientist. What eventually happened was that the first steamship that crossed from Liverpool to New York, took that book with it. To simple people a fact like this is conclusive. And without any desire to prolong this meeting, may I remind you that the Safety Lamp which has been an inestimable boon to humanity was conceived and invented by an unscientific man, technically speaking, George Stephenson. Neither is, nor Sir Humphrey Davy, an eminent scientist, who produced a similar result almost simultaneously knew that each was at work to one end. A fact which seems to show that results of surpassing interest may attend the labours of men and women of apparently ordinary ability. It seems therefore a wise thing to make use of the tools we have at hand until such time as one is able to get what one requires. The logic of experience seems to point that way.

Lastly, this meeting will go down in history in happy association with the formal opening of the new Science Building. It must be within the recollection of some present here that the foundation stone of the building which His Honour will be expected to formally open presently, was graciously laid by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his celebrated visit a few years ago. That an official of His Honour's calibre with his intimate knowledge of our people and long connection with this country is to open the building, ought to be full of great significance. The modern Greeks have a legend. They say that as everybody is inhabited by a soul, so every building is affected for good or ill according to the character of the person whose shadow first falls on the foundation stone of that building. If this is true, who can estimate the immense benefits which we and generation yet unborn shall derive from the work which will from time to time be undertaken and carried on in that building when we realise that the shadow of our distinguished chairman, will fall not only on the foundation stone, but on the building in its state of completion.

It gives me intense gratification to have the honour to voice the respectful thanks of the College Council and of this gathering to His Honour the Chief Justice for his presence here and for his wise words spoken to us on this occasion.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Sir Hesketh Bell's Suggestion.

Writing to the "The Times" on the liquor problem in West Africa, that experienced administrator, Sir Hesketh Bell, suggests, as an alternative to total prohibition, the enforcement of which bristles with almost insurmountable difficulties, that legislative action should be taken in the direction of substantially reducing the degree of strength at which liquor could legally be sold, at the same time increasing the duties on spirits and severely limiting the number of licensed premises.

Sir Hesketh writes: "The amount of revenue accruing to our West African Governments through the liquor traffic is so considerable that any large reduction of such a resource could only be made cautiously and gradually. Any severe shrinkage of revenue would necessarily entail an unfortunate restriction of public expenditure in the direction of progress and development. The revenue derived from Customs receipts on spirits imported into the Gold Coast, for instance, amounts to no less than £800,000 a year, and any serious reduction of that income might put a serious check on the advancement of that progressive territory. It seems probable, however, that the measures taken in recent years by our Governments in Malaya for making good the loss of revenue consequent on the gradual extinction of the trade in opium might be equally applicable in West Africa in regard to a great reduction of revenue from spirits. The financial situation of the Gold Coast, in particular, is now so satisfactory that it should not be difficult to set aside an annual percentage of its revenue for the formation of a fund from which any serious shrinkage of revenue from liquor might gradually be made good.

"When dealing with the liquor traffic in West Africa it should be borne in mind that the natives inhabiting those territories vary greatly in physical and mental characteristics. To allow the sale and distribution of imported spirits among the highly strung and excitable people of the Moslem hinterland would be a crime, and the various Governments in that part of the world are to be congratulated on the sincerity with which they have carried out the international Agreement on that question. But on the seaboard of West Africa we find a hardy, muscular, and rather stolid race which, for many generations, has been accustomed to consume imported spirits and which, in the vast majority of cases, shows no serious damage therefrom.

I believe that most people who are personally acquainted with West Africa will agree with me in thinking that no sufficient reasons have yet been shown for so drastic a measure as prohibition. There is no need to 'rob the black man of his gin,' so far as the seaboard is concerned, and the excessive consumption of spirits, which undoubtedly occurs in certain districts, might rapidly be reduced by making liquor weaker, dearer and harder to get."

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, April 23.

Mr. Thieffry Killed in Air Crash.

Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and Colonial Minister, has been informed by Colonel Heenen, Governor of Katanga, that Mr. Thieffry, the airman, has been killed as the result of a crash on the 11th inst. while performing a reconnoitring flight between Albertville and Lake Kivu. He encountered a tornado while attempting to land near Kibanga, 150 kilometres from Albertville, and his machine capsized. Mr. Thieffry and his pilot, Mr. Julien, were found dead in the wrecked airplane, while his mechanic, Gastuche, wounded, was brought by natives to the Albertville Hospital, where his condition is considered as satisfactory. Mr. Thieffry and Mr. Julien have been buried at Kibanga.

Mr. Thieffry was a Brussels barrister, who enlisted in the Belgian Army when the war broke out. He was one of our best military airmen. He accomplished the first flight from Brussels to Kinshasa, via the Sahara. Since then he had attempted two further flights from Belgium to the Congo, but both times his machine met with disaster shortly after leaving. All these Thieffry flights were private. He leaves a widow and several young children.

Reduced Passenger Fares.

The P. and O. and the British India Steam Navigation Company inform me that, commencing with the sailing of the "Malda," leaving Marseilles on Friday next, the 26th inst., the following special reduced single summer passage rates will come into force:—First class, £26; second class, £22, instead of £44, £46 and £50 first saloon and £38 and £42 second saloon respectively.

The East African Conference lines have agreed to a rebate of 33 per cent. on the return fares of passengers visiting Dar-es-Salaam for the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition to be held in the first week of September. Such concession tickets will be valid from August 24 until September 17.

Matadi Port Extension.

Official particulars show that the extensions already decided upon for the port of Matadi will bring its landing accommodation from 610 metres, as at present, to some 1,100 metres. At Ango-Ango, below Matadi, 200 metres of quay are to be built. Not taking into account these 200 metres, 3,000 metres are still available for quays between Matadi and the Portuguese border.

The whole accommodation should enable the port to deal with a traffic of five or six million tons yearly.

Without these quays between Matadi and the Portuguese boundary, the improvements decided upon at Matadi itself will bring the annual handling capacity of that port to one million tons.

New Motor-Car Roads in Ruandi-Urundi.

The Brussels "Nation Belge" reports this morning that the Belgian Colonial Office has placed a credit of 50 million frs. at the disposal of the Governor of Ruandi-Urundi, Mr. Postiaux, in order to enable him to carry out an important program of motor-car roads, etc.

The Kilo-Moto Goldfields.

In the first quarter of this year the Kilo-Moto goldfields produced 844 kilograms 853 grams of gold, against 835 kilos 227 in the corresponding period of last year. At present, of the 8,300 natives in the service of the mines, only 42.2 per cent. are engaged in the actual mining work, the balance being employed in the construction of mills, dams, hydro-electric plants, etc.

When this development program is carried out, the output will reach 5,000 kilograms a year, and this production will be attained gradually in 1932, at the latest.

Apropos the Kilo goldfields, the White Fathers have now started the construction of a big and up-to-date hospital at Fataki, between Kilo and Mahago (on Lake Albert). As Fataki is not far from the Uganda and Sudan borders, and as any people there-



THE LATE MR. THIEFFRY,
the distinguished Belgian airman who has been killed in an air crash in the Congo.

from, irrespective of creed or nationality, will, when wounded or ill, always be quite charitably attended there, doubtless the readers of this letter residing in this N.E. corner of the Belgian Congo, or in the adjoining British Colonies (connected, by the way, with Fataki by several motor-car roads) will consider the sending of a contribution, either to Mgr. Matthysen, Apostolic Prefect at Bunia, Kibali-Ituri District, Eastern Belgian Congo, or to the Superior of the White Fathers at 25, Rue de l'Empereur, Antwerp.

White Sisters Opening in London.

Every African traveller has met the White Sisters, the assistants of the White Fathers (of the Great Cardinal Lavigerie), and everyone has sincerely admired their devoted charitable works-schools, orphanages, refuges for old people, hospitals, etc. Mother Pauline, their General Superior at Herent, Belgium, writes me that next month she will open a residence at 22, Ladbroke Square, London, W.11.

I feel certain that all those connected in one way or another with Africa will be quite pleased at the news, chiefly the ladies and children, and doubtless they will be glad to testify their sympathy with those admirable women by a generous foundation gift. Pending the opening of the White Sisters' London residence, communications should be sent to Mère Pauline, Supérieure des Sœurs Blanches, Herent, Belgium.

Lady Lippens' Sympathetic Act.

On the 18th inst. Mademoiselle Marie Louise Lippens was married here to Mr. Jean del Marmol, as announced in my previous letter.

As, on the day before, the Paris-Amsterdam express was derailed at Hal, near Brussels, when unhappily a number were killed and wounded, Lady Lippens motored after the ceremony to the Hal Hospital, taking with her the heaps of beautiful flowers sent to her daughte..

Sir Maurice Lippens also stopped the concert to be given during the wedding lunch, in order to express his sympathy with the victims of the disaster.

SOUTH AFRICA TO VOTE ON NATIONALIST AIMS

Election This Week to Decide Whether Principles Advocated By Hertzog Party Have Majority Approval—Labor Is Divided and Smuts Leads the Opposition

By S. M. VON KLONOWSKI.

IN accordance with the South African Constitution, another general election is due this year and is scheduled for June 12. It promises to be of particular interest, since the outcome will decide whether Nationalism, according to the principles advocated and practiced by Premier Hertzog, founder of the Nationalist party, now in power, which won a decisive victory at the 1924 elections, has gained a sufficiently strong foothold in the political life of Great Britain's youngest self-governing Dominion to be able to hold its ground, or whether it is doomed to defeat at the hands of the South African party, under the leadership of that brilliant statesman Jan Smuts.

In order to gather an intelligent idea of the aims and principles of the various parties, and the dominant issues in the forthcoming elections, it is necessary to look back some years.

At the inauguration of the South African Union, in May, 1910, there sprang into being two main parties, the South African party (or Nationalists, as they are called), headed by General Botha, which party subsequently came into power, and the Unionist party. The former represented the bulk of the Dutch section, the latter the bulk of the British section, of the community. In addition, there were a few Labor members and a small sprinkling of Independents.

Beginning of Nationalism.

In 1912 the present Premier, General Hertzog, who then held the Justice portfolio in the Botha Ministry, openly voiced his opposition to the government's policy in a number of instances and was consequently ousted from the Cabinet. Chagrined at General Botha's action, General Hertzog thereupon formed the Nationalist, or Republican, party, which had as one of its chief aims secession from the British Empire, in direct opposition to the Botha party.

This caused a serious split in the ranks of the South African party. But with the aid of the Unionists

and Independents, who pledged themselves to support his party for the duration of the World War, General Botha was able to carry on the government until his death in 1919.

His successor, General Smuts, seeing that he would not be able to carry on the work of the government indefinitely under such conditions, at first made overtures to the Nationalists with the object of forming a united party having the support of the entire Dutch population. These ended in complete failure, owing chiefly to the Nationalists refusing to abandon the republican plank in their platform. General Smuts then turned to the Unionists, who eventually agreed to throw in their lot with that of the South African party. With the newly formed party General Smuts was able to secure a decisive victory at the 1921 elections.

Smut's Fall From Power.

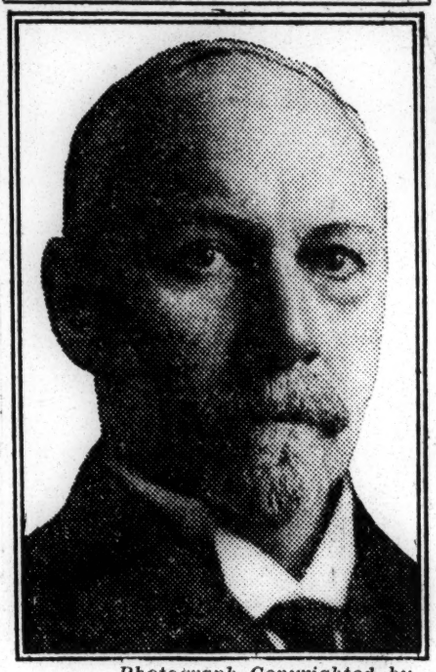
Unfortunately, however, he had, in the succeeding years, to contend with difficulties which almost entirely nullified his brilliant political victory. The World War had already served to strenghthen the Nationalist movement, since to many people it was but a reminder of dark war days through which they themselves had gone not many years before, and their sympathies lay with the Central Powers, not with the Allies.

Economic discontent, resulting from the post-war period of acute depression, with serious unemployment, heavy taxation and almost complete cessation of diamond mining, was also a contributory cause. And finally, by his drastic repression of the Rand labor revolt in 1922, General Smuts won for himself the undying hatred of organized labor. Labor consequently turned to the Nationalists, ending in the subsequent merger of these two parties.

The newly formed Nationalist-Labor combination proved too powerful for General Smuts at the 1924 elections, resulting in his defeat. General Smuts thereupon handed in his resignation as Premier of the South African Union and was succeeded by the present Premier, General J. B. M. Hertzog.

At the end of the 1925 Parliamentary session General Hertzog introduced the nationality bill, providing for a national South African flag. The result was a hopeless split on the question of the inclusion of the Union Jack in the national flag. The South African party, loyal to the British Empire, refused to agree to its exclusion, while the Nationalists would not admit it.

SEEKS POWER AGAIN



Photograph Copyrighted by Harris & Ewing.

General Jan C. Smuts, Leader of The South African Party.

Question of the Flag.

The Laborites were placed in a difficult position. Anxious, on the one hand, to maintain the pact, but afraid, on the other hand, of offending their British supporters, they began to look for a compromise. What might have been a serious situation was averted, for the time being at any rate, by the temporary withdrawal of the bill. It was subsequently reintroduced and after many stormy debates was finally passed at the 1927 session. A compromise was reached whereby provision was made for two official flags—the British Union Jack and a South African flag of orange, white and blue, with the Union Jack and the two old republican flags grouped in the centre.

This compromise, while admittedly not satisfactory in many respects, at least had the advantage of relegating to the background an issue that might have proved crucial at the elections. But another incident, which may have far-reaching effects upon the results of the coming elections, arose in the ratification by the House of Assembly on March 1, 1929, of the commercial treaty signed with Germany in September, 1928.

The signing of this treaty met with considerable opposition, chiefly from the British section of the community, who saw in it a slight to their best customer, Great Britain, and merely a vain desire on the part of the present government to assert its rights resulting from the international recognition of South Africa's independent national status.

Meantime, another cloudburst had descended upon the government, the consequences of which may prove serious. In the latter part of 1928 a split occurred in the ranks of the Laborites, who were then represented in the Cabinet by three Ministers—Cresswell, Madeley and Boydell. It arose from a request by the recently formed Industrial and Commercial Union for an interview with Mr. Madeley, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, on the subject of certain grievances of the native employes of the postoffice. This union was not recognized by the government as a trade union, and Premier Hertzog asked Mr. Madeley not to agree to the request until the matter had been discussed in the Cabinet.

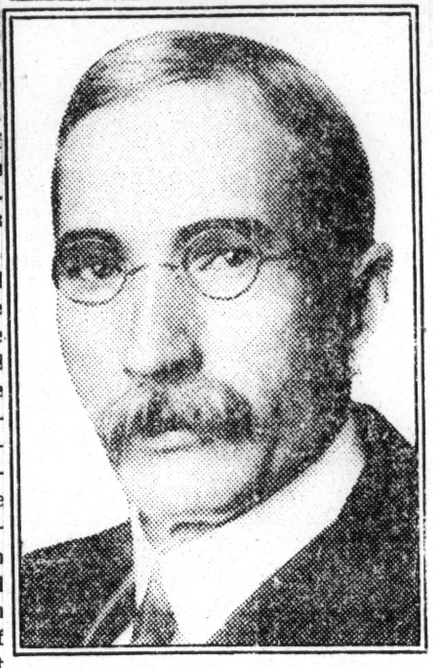
When the representatives came, introduced by the Trades Union Congress and not directly from the Industrial and Commercial Union, Mr. Madeley received the deputation.

Premier Hertzog, however, considered Madeley's action to be a breach of faith and demanded his resignation. Madeley refused to resign until he had first consulted with the National Council of the Labor party—its supreme authority—whereupon Premier Hertzog had Madeley expelled from the Cabinet. The Labor party thus became divided into two hostile camps. One section, led by Ministers Cresswell and Boydell, repudiated the National Council of the Labor party as its supreme authority, while Madeley and his party firmly retained their allegiance to it.

Present Difficulties.

The differences and recriminations between the two sections of the Labor party finally became so acute that Premier Hertzog realized that, unless the breach were healed, it would prove disastrous for the Nationalist-Labor group, since in many electoral divisions seats which ordinarily might have been considered safe for the Labor party candidates would, with a split Labor vote, almost certainly be won by the South African party. Premier Hertzog thereupon made every effort to heal the breach, and negotiations to that end proceeded intermittently for some time. All efforts, however, finally broke down.

J. B. M. HERTZOG



Photograph by Keystone.

The Premier of South Africa, Who Seeks to Retain Office at the Forthcoming Election.

Of the various issues in the approaching elections the dominant one, according to Premier Hertzog, and the one on which he is appealing to the country, is the native question. Alarmed at the strong foothold the native races are gaining in a country wherein the blacks outnumber the whites by some four to one—in the Cape Province, for instance, the native already has the vote and enjoys other privileges which his northern brother does not possess—the Premier proposes to substitute for the existing native franchise laws new legislation making provision for their representation in Parliament by a limited number of members of Parliament of European descent, to be elected entirely by native vote.

The leader of the Opposition, General Smuts, deploring the attitude taken up by General Hertzog in regard to the native question, declared that this so-called native menace was grossly misrepresented and exaggerated, having as its sole object an attempt to gain the sympathy of the public and the votes of the electorate. Smuts has announced the intention of the South African party to continue, in accordance with the traditions of the country, to seek a solution of the native problem by national agreement, instead of making it a party question.

It is impossible at this time to predict the result of the elections. One thing is certain, the present campaign promises to be one of the most bitterly fought in the history of South Africa.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

A DAY ON A COFFEE ESTATE.

The Simple Life in Tanganyika.

Specially written for "East Africa."

By an Old-Timer.

East Africa 7-4-29

TANGANYIKA Territory—German East Africa, as it was still known—had a good deal to recommend it after the War. From 1920 onwards there were nice little estates to be picked up. "Ex-enemy properties," as they were called, were auctioned to subjects of the Allies in order to add a trifle to the reparations due for innumerable acts of wanton destruction by the Boche, and being on the country, I bought one. The terms were reasonable, the prospects fair, the work congenial, and the life free, if a trifle lonely.

The German colonist had tried to make his African home a replica of his homestead away in some *Wald* or *Gebirge* of the Fatherland, and so I found myself the possessor of a rather jolly house of the farm type, tucked away in a valley at the junction of two mountain streams, with fruit trees, fowl houses, cattle sheds, and factory complete. In those days there were only two crops possible in the country, sisal and coffee, and as the former is a lowland crop grown on the hot plains, while the latter is a forest plant which flourishes high up in the mountains, I had no hesitation in making my choice. Coffee for me, every time.

* * * *

There I was, 4,000 feet up, with my coffee trees, rather the worse for neglect during the War, but still bearing and only needing hard work and some skill to give me good returns. On all sides of my house the steep slopes were clothed with the trees—*arabica* for the most part, thin and straggly, with so few leaves that they looked almost bare; *robusta* on the hill behind the homestead, large-leaved, dark-green and shapely, and cropping like blackberry bushes in September. Everywhere through the plantation were shade trees—the Australian "silver oak"—tall and spindly and ragged in their rows; and their deeply cut leaves fell steadily on the coffee bushes and caused more trouble and cost more to remove than they were worth. Many a time I damned heartily the German who had planted them.

The life was lonely, I have said; but that was only if you did not count the game. When I took over the place was buzzing with monkeys, bushbuck, duiker, leopards, hornbills, squirrels, and an occasional buffalo—and as no shooting has been done for years, the animals were as tame as cows. The monkeys raided my fruit trees and were welcome; the buck came close to the house and just gazed at me and flicked their tails when I appeared; the leopards more than once tried the strength of my door during the night in an endeavour to get at my pet fox-terrier. There was plenty of company of a sort—and I liked the sort.

I had no trouble with labour. The Natives were sick of having no money to spend, and when I reopened the estate they trooped back just begging for work. There were men of many tribes, and it was not long before I had them divided into gangs, each with a skilled headman; there were cleaning gangs, a nursery squad—under a really good man named *Kazi ya Moto* or "Fireworks," who knew his job and did it—a road-making *posse* and a general utility platoon. When at dawn my Native *karani* banged the old bit of railway iron which served as a bell and paraded the crowd for duty, they were a sight—rags for clothes, hoes (*jembes*) or bush-knives (*pangas*) for tools, pruning knives perhaps in the season, and rammers for making up the roads in the rains. They weren't beauties, any of them, but they were there for use, not ornament.

My boy called me before dawn, bringing hot coffee, toast, and fruit. After seeing the men off and giving them their orders to work, I had breakfast, an English breakfast, for I believe in the saying "No breakfast, no man." Then I rode on my mule—an early century model, Kassim, by name—round the estate and visited my gangs, and by eleven I was back at the house for sick parade. Nothing keeps a labour force together like a little medical attention, not for the men only, but for the children. It is amazing what good results can be got with Epsom salts, calomel, corrosive sublimate and dressings for wounds, and quinine. When the kids have ceased screaming at your white face, castor oil is indicated.

A light lunch, not spoiled by clinical work, another round on the mule, and tea. Labour was all piece work, and the men preferred to get it all done before eating, which struck me as quaint, but was to their fancy. A good boy could get his job over soon after noon, and then he was free to go to his hut, squat, smoke and yarn, enjoy his huge evening meal, and sleep in an atmosphere of fug and domesticity. It beat me how a man could work for hours in the sun with nothing to chew but a bit of cassava root or a cob of raw maize, but they did it, and liked it; and who was I to interfere with their customs?

* * * *

After tea I would take a stroll with my rifle and a Muhammadan boy as *shikari*, for meat was scarce and bushbuck were plenty. This was the time, too, to explore my estate, note needed improvements, and plot out the work. Home for a sundowner and a chat with my *karani* to improve my Swahili; dinner—take a tip, and see that your cook is a Muhammadan—and correspondence and/or accounts to finish up with. And so to bed, with "Buz," my terrier, underneath it, the best of watch-dogs.

Not much entertainment, you will say; but in those days we did not look for it. White men were scarce, and neighbours, if any, lived hours away. It was only on a Sunday—and precious seldom then—that one could get off to visit a pal and swap yarns. Things are different now, I hear; tennis parties in the afternoon, gramophones and dances afterwards, and all the "amenities" of civilisation. We were on the "root hog or die" stunt, with an eye on a big profit on selling out when the estate was going good. And so some of us did not do at all badly.

THE SIERRA LEONE FISHER FOLK.

MR. JAMES HORNELL'S TRIBUTE.

West Africa 6-8-29

The June issue of "Discovery," the scientific magazine (Benn Bros., Bouverie House, E.C.4, 1s. net), contains an interesting article on Sierra Leone fishermen, by Mr. James Hornell, F.L.S., F.R.A.I., who some months ago wrote a report upon the fisheries of the Colony. In the course of the article Mr. Hornell remarks :—

On the coast of Sierra Leone, the fisher-folk are worthy people. Sherbro Island is a typical fisherman's country, and to this place and its people most of the following notes refer.

Were a Sherbro hamlet more neatly kept, it would form an excellent example of how to plan a garden village. The houses are scattered in picturesque irregularity around several wide, open spaces. Prison is used as little as possible; fines and a sojourn in the stocks are the chief punishment inflicted. Fraudulent and recalcitrant debtors are soon brought to reason by the latter method. The gaping jaws of the stocks seen in one village were carved into a rude representation of a crocodile's head—a grim jest.

The village houses are commonly circular in ground plan, built up of a basketwork framework, made with the pliant aerial roots of the mangrove. The interstices of the walls are afterwards filled in with clay and neatly plastered smooth, the roof being thatched with grass or palm leaves. There is more comfort shown in the design of these houses than might be expected. The single outer entrance leads into a small verandah, often with half walls on the outer side. Behind is a dining room, and from this doors open into two sleeping rooms at the rear; the partitions are of latticework to allow of ventilation.

Life runs smoothly in these fishing villages. The men are more industrious than in the agricultural districts inland, and the women folk have a better time, and more spirit and intelligence in consequence. The men are out fishing most of the day, or are busy making or repairing their nets, and thus a partial equality between the sexes is fostered to an extent seldom seen elsewhere in Africa.

These people have curious methods of fishing; they use fish-spears for tarpon and barracuda and rayfishes; they angle with hand lines and they employ numerous kinds of nets and weirs; in inland streams, basket traps of many ingenious forms are employed extensively. Even the women engage actively in fishing with nets when fry is about. The women's net, *bimbe* as it is called, is wholly different in form and mesh from any used by the men. It is made by the women themselves, upon or with a framework of split bamboo cut into narrow ribbon form of as great length as possible. The cord used, made from palm fibre, is laced around the spirally twined bamboo strip in such a way that a deep basket about two feet wide is formed; the sides and bottom are formed of tightly packed bamboo ribs, concentrically arranged and worked over with twine. When judged to be sufficiently large the bamboo framework is removed by breaking it at intervals and pulling out the broken strips. This done, what was a small deep basket changes as by magic into a great wide-meshed bag net several feet in diameter. Could anything be more cleverly conceived and executed? A light oval framework of thin branches keeps the mouth open. With this net two women sweep up immense quantities of anchovy fry which, when dried in the sun, is sold in Freetown under the name of "whitebait." Thousands of sacksful are collected in this manner during the season.

The fishermen are splendidly built fellows without a superfluous ounce of fat. They work exceedingly hard and their methods are most ingenious in several instances. For shoaling fish, which have to be caught by the hundred and thousand, they use nets of various forms, varying with the

locality. In some places where there are many channels and deep sandy bays, they use long barrier nets held upright in position by stakes driven into the sandy bottom. Elsewhere, in deep water, they employ gill nets buoyed by hundreds of little cylinders of light wood strung on the head rope.

The most valuable fish under present methods of fishing is the *bonga*, a kind of shad. It occurs in enormous shoals in the estuaries and is dried in immense quantities to supply Freetown and the inland markets. It has the appearance of a deep herring. Every fishing hamlet has a number of specially built sheds for the cooking and drying of this fish. The method adopted is ingenious and the only effective one that people with restricted resources can employ under the peculiarly humid conditions of the local climate. The bonga when brought ashore are laid out on low platforms made of closely set thin poles supported two feet above the ground. Fires of mangrove wood are lit beneath; the fish are really grilled in the first instance, and in this cooked condition decomposition is held at bay just long enough to permit of the fish being reduced to a bone-dry condition; the process takes three days to complete. In this dried condition the fish are packed into great baskets and sent to market. Boat loads are despatched from the fishing villages opposite Freetown every day during the season. Thousands of people crowd the shore at King Jimmy market to await their arrival and buy their daily supply of bonga.

A Sierra Leone fisherman thinks nothing special of catching a five-foot tarpon, though he is never sure that the fight will end in his favour. He takes the adventure in the day's work, and can afford to laugh at the White Man's efforts in the same direction, for no White man has yet landed a tarpon fishing from a boat, though one has been caught by a European casting from the shore with a surf line. The Native fisherman sometimes even lands two in a day.

These beautiful craft are prized highly by their owners, who bestow great care upon them. When not in use they are turned bottom up and raised some feet off the ground upon a light trestle platform. They are never painted, and when the Freetown Harbour Master recently issued metal discs to be attached to the hulls for identification purposes, it nearly broke the hearts of some men to find the metal causing rust stains upon the adjacent wood. The paddle used has perhaps the most elegantly modelled form of any in the world, a triumph of artistry.

TEA PLANTING IN NYASALAND.

Achievements and Prospects.

Specially written for "East Africa."

By an Old Tropical Planter.

THE news that the tea harvest which has just been reaped in Nyasaland exceeds all previous records must draw attention to the growing importance of the tea industry in what is sometimes called the Cinderella of the British African Dependencies. *East Africa's* Settlement Number of 1927 contained an article on "Tea Planting in Nyasaland," by the Hon. W. Tait Bowie, M.L.C., which, besides giving an able account of the then state of the industry and most useful hints to prospective planters on climate, land prices and availability, yields and finance, touched on the always instructive point of the early history of the industry and ventured on the prediction that within the next five years the area under tea would be doubled and in ten years trebled.

In 1908 23,948 lb. of tea was exported from Nyasaland; by December 31, 1926, the area under tea was returned at 5,788 acres and the export for the year was a little over 1,100,000 lb.; in 1927 the area had grown to 7,070 acres and the crop to 1,235,500 lb. The figures for 1928 are: for Mlanje and Cholo, 7,589 acres, producing 2,080,000 lb. While it therefore seems that Mr. Tait Bowie's anticipations are in a fair way to be realised, a possible "snag" may be the market price, which, after ranging round 1s. 6d. a lb. in 1926, fell in 1927 to an average much nearer 1s. than 1s. 6d., so that while the value of the 1926 crop, as returned by the Comptroller of Customs, was £62,675, the larger export of 1927 was valued at £56,640 only.

The Mlanje and Cholo Districts.

Planting in Nyasaland, in contrast to what obtains in some other African Dependencies, is limited by the fact that there is not a great amount of unalienated land available for the newcomer. In Mlanje, for example, the centre of the tea industry, no leasehold land suitable for tea is now to be had, but freehold tea land can be bought for about £5 an acre, a fact not likely to interest many private individuals. A syndicate or a well-managed company, however, with a minimum capital of £10,000 might find it profitable. There are already thirteen producing tea plantations in the district, and as an indication of the trend of events it is noteworthy that, with all the tea-growing areas available in India and elsewhere, Messrs. J. Lyons & Co. Ltd., the world's largest caterers, have chosen Nyasaland—and in Nyasaland, Mlanje—to lay out their own plantations and grow their own tea. Their factory is of the very latest design, and so pleased are they with their venture that late in 1928 they formed five new companies to extend their interests. Other tea estates in Mlanje are also enlarging their operations, and there is no doubt that in Mlanje the 6,523 acres at present under tea will rapidly be increased.

West of Mlanje and adjoining Blantyre and Chiradzulu is Cholo, one of the most important, and from the planter's point of view, the most settled district in Nyasaland. For many years it was thought that Mlanje had the monopoly of land and climate suitable for growing tea, but in 1906 Mr R. S. Hynde, one of the pioneers of the country, began experiments with tea in the Cholo district, where the rainfall, though less than in Mlanje, is even better distributed. The first trials were made on an old coffee estate, "Badanga," and they proved so successful that in 1919 a small company was formed to develop the property. Cholo, in fact, has proved quite suitable for tea, and as it is a healthy district attractive to settlers, it is expected that the 1,066 acres now under tea, with an annual crop of some 75,000 lb., will eventually become 20,000 acres with an output in proportion. But here again, as in Mlanje, all the freehold land available for Europeans—say between 2,000 and 3,000 feet—has been taken up and would cost a newcomer anything from £3 an acre upwards. Nevertheless, there is probably more opportunity in Cholo for the individual planter to make good than in Mlanje.

Mr. A. J. W. Hornby's Assistance.

A very promising sign is the increased inquiry evident in Nyasaland for areas suitable for tea, and the well planned and scientific investigations which the Department of Agriculture is making into the matter. A useful little pamphlet, "Conditions for Tea Growing" (Agronomic Series, Circular No. 4) has just been published by the Government Printer, Zomba, in which Mr. A. J. W. Hornby, the Agricultural Chemist, gives the results of his research up to date. These indicate that potential tea areas have been found near Western Chinteche and the foothills of the Nyika Plateau; that is to say, much further north than Mlanje and well up on the north-west shore of Lake Nyasa.

A careful comparison of rainfalls in tea districts tends to show that climatic conditions in Nyasaland's possible tea areas are comparable to those in East Bengal and Assam rather than in Ceylon—which means that while not ideal they are good for all practical purposes. The great difference between the maximum and minimum daily temperatures which occur in North-East India and in Nyasaland are not observed in Ceylon and Southern India; so far as investigations have gone, the temperatures at altitudes of 2,500-3,500 ft. in Nyasaland at about 15° S. latitude are comparable to those in the Brahmaputra valley at elevations of 250-1,000 ft. above sea-level; but in Assam—the Brahmaputra valley—the crops may reach 725 lb. per acre, which is not much below the Ceylon average of 750 lb. per acre. In Mlanje very varying figures have been recorded: 750, 567, 312, 442, and 712 lb. per acre for different mature gardens.

Many North-East Indian soil series, too, have their counterpart in Nyasaland, as chemical and mechanical analyses by ordinary methods go to show. Mr. Hornby has been struck on comparing analyses of soils by the "acid" method how fertile Nyasaland soils appear in comparison with many India and Ceylon tea soils; but it must be remembered that mere soil analysis is by no means an absolute guide to the character of a soil. Fertilising and modern methods of preventing soil erosion will no doubt increase the tea crops on Nyasaland soils.

Choosing the Right Seed.

Finally, the vital question of the class of seed to be planted is considered. A very small leaf China tea is very objectionable, and too much of this was present in the original Nyasaland *jât*. It is worth noting that Mr. M. F. Bell, a planter of great experience, in the pamphlets he wrote for the Department of Agriculture in Tanganyika Territory, recommends strongly that tea seed should be obtained from Assam only, as such seed is carefully grown, handled and inspected, and is therefore probably free from disease. He is not adverse to Limuru (Kenya) seed, which is inexpensive and well worth the consideration of settlers. The price of Assam seed landed on a Nyasaland estate would be about £12 per maund (82 lb.).

Nyasaland has been fortunate in the visit in 1927 of Dr. E. J. Butler, D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of the Imperial Bureau of Mycology, and in his investigation into the fungus diseases of the tea bush. Dr. Butler's Report (summarised in *East Africa* of January 10, 1928) gave expert advice which was invaluable, and outlined improvements in cultivation, manuring, and drainage which deserve the closest consideration. On the whole, the tea industry in Nyasaland shows a healthy vigour and a promise of very great things in the near future.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

NATIVE LANGUAGE CONFERENCE WITH PROFESSOR D. WESTERMANN, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES, LONDON, HELD AT THE EDUCATION OFFICE, 6TH MAY, 1929.

PRESENT:

The Hon. the Director of Education (H. S. Keigwin, Esq.) in the Chair, Professor D. Westermann, His Lordship the Bishop of Sierra Leone (Dr. G. W. Wright,) His Lordship the Bishop of Armistri (Rt. Rev. J. O'Gorman). The General Superintendent Wesleyan Missions (Rev. H. H. Newham), The General Superintendent United Brethren-in-Christ Mission (Rev. J. F. Musselman) The General Superintendent, United Methodist Church, (Rev. E. Cocker). The General Superintendent African Methodist Episcopal Mission (Rev. H. M. Steady) Ven. Archdeacon E. T. Cole, (for Temne). Rev. P. R. Hazeley, (for Limba) Rev. A. T. Sumner, Vice-Principal, Protectorate Central College. Rev. E. J. Roberts, (for Temne) Mr. E. W. Turner, (for Temne). Mr. I. E. Davies (for Mende). Miss E. M. Yorton, American Wesleyan Mission, (for Temne). Miss E. A. Eaton, United Brethern-in-Christ Mission (for Mende).

The Hon. the Director of Education opened the Conference by extending a hearty welcome to all and thanking them for attending He asked that there should be no hesitation on the part of anyone to bring forward any point which from their knowledge and experience needed elucidation, as this was a unique opportunity of meeting the Professor who is one of the greatest authorities on African languages.

Typewritten copies of the objects of the recent Rejaf Conference were then distributed, the Honourable the Director explained that these would serve very well for this Conference, and went through them in detail. They are as follows:—

(1) To draw up a classified list of languages and dialects.

(2) To make recommendations as to whether a system of group languages should be adopted for educational purposes and, if so, what languages would be selected as the group languages for the various areas.

In this connection the following consideration will arise

(a) Whether owing to their kinship two or more languages or dialects can share a single literature.

(b) Whether a local vernacular can be expanded, particularly in the matter of borrowing words from foreign sources, to convey new meanings.

(c) Whether any particular vernacular is worth adopting and developing on the grounds that there is a definite demand for education among the people speaking it.

(d) To consider and report as to the adoption of a unified system of Orthography.

(e) To make proposals for co-operation in the production of text-books; and the adoption of a skeleton grammar, reading books, and primers for general use.

The Professor in addressing the Conference said, *inter alia*, "You will understand that my main object is to gather information from you, because you know, from your personal experience, the linguistic situation of the country better than I do, and you have a practical knowledge of the languages, while my studies of them have, in most cases, been limited to the sounds and the structure.

"In recent years there has been a marked increase in the interest taken in African languages. They are to-day taught in a number of European Universities, as well as in South Africa. But what is more important, the Africans themselves begin to appreciate their own languages, and are keen to keep them alive. When I was on the Gold Coast two years ago, it was marvellous to see the large number of Africans coming to the meetings in which the script and the educational value of their languages were discussed. The same interest was manifested during my recent visit in Nigeria.

"In East Africa vernacular education has been in practice a considerable time. Apart from the individual tribal languages, Swahili has there become a lingua franca for a large territory. A considerable number of books have been written in it, and it is very largely used in all degrees of education, and a number of magazines with a wide circulation are published in this language. The same is true in South Africa, where already novels are written by natives and published in various vernaculars.

D.R.C. Mission at Wepener.

Important Occassion

The foundation stone of the new Dutch Reformed Mission which is under construction in the Wepener Location was laid on Wednesday the 29th May, the ceremony was performed by the Rev C. J. v. R. Smit, lately moderator of the mission church, and the missionary at Wepener, to whose effort the success of building the Natives a new church at the cost of £1021, is chiefly due.

There were present, the Magistrate, (Mr H. F. Alleyne, Wepener) the Director of Education, O.F.S. Rev R. P. Ramseyer, Likhoele, Rev J. S. Mohapeloa, Mafeteng. Basutoland Rev. Strydom, Mission Secretary, O.F.S., and many others.

Rev Marai after a brief address of welcome to those who were present asked Mr H. F. Alleyne, the Resident Magistrate, Wepener, to speak who, in course of his address said: "I am very glad to be present with you at this important occasion. I use the word "important" advisedly, because everything done for an advance done by European to Native or Coloured people is of great importance to their advancement. I know there are people to-day who are trying to minimise these influences, but history is against them. Long long ago many European people left their homes and came to South Africa, and they suffered a great deal to bring to these people what is called European civilisation. The missionaries of to-day should not suffer the same trouble; but I can assure you that they are being encouraged by the same spirit. I want to thank this congregation for this step, and I hope this church will be a great advance to the Natives. I believe that sometimes things are not always alike, and I want you to believe that justice must take its course and that righteousness must take its course as well.

Mr S. H. Pellisser, Director of Education in the O.F.S., and one of the grand sons of a missionary of the P.E.M.S., at Bethulie was next called on to the platform, who in his short but eloquent address said: I am glad to be here this afternoon, you know my work in connection with progress of the Natives and I am pleased that I am here to see what you have done.

Native progress we can assist by building churches and schools where they can worship and educate their children. The Free State Education Department is increasing the expenditure on Native education every year, and I ask the Native parents to co-operate in this matter, by sending their children to school.

I am glad to see that in many towns in the Free State the amalgamation of Native schools is taking place. There is one thing you are short off, that is a central school.

I hope that when I am invited to Wepener again will be the opening of the new school.

Revs Ramseyer and Mohapeloa followed by the Secretary of the Mission of the O.F.S., delivered short addresses.

It will be of interest to our readers to see what our European friends in Basutoland and Free State have done by their generous donations of which we publish few names out of many on account of space. Mr F. A. Collier, Mafeteng, £20. Mr W. Scott, £8, P.E.M.S Native Church Mafeteng £6. Rev Pons, Morija, 10/-. Mr A. Nothnagel, Mapotu, £100. Mrs Payne, Mapotu £25. Miss H. Robertson, Bloemfontein, £100. Mr E. R. Grobler, (late administrator of O.F.S) Bloemfontein, £15. Mrs E. Viljoen, Wepener, £20. Mr J. H. Groenwald, Petrus Steyn, £20.

There are nine £10 donators; 26 £5; 18 three guineas; 48 2 guineas; 86 1 guinea; 76 small donations.

COLOUR LINE IN CHURCHES.

THROUGH the faulty run of this editorial office, "Spectators" contribution, to which Rev. Germond now replies escaped the writer's notice; and it was only after a friend of his had written a private letter to him that he saw and read the article carefully.

This letter required careful treatment and a pen as able as this of our beloved oldest missionary in Basutoland. There are these impressions, among some of our people which could simply not be helped, because there are elements that foster them, and they find a strong hold among people who keep themselves away from the mission's field of work. We regret to add, that these false impressions are, in most cases, nourished by the pastors and Cathecists themselves. In their general behaviour towards the European ministers they show a loyalty that is more servile than respectful.

However it is impossible

that Native pastors would be over "on the same stage with the white minister" unless they were educationally and culturingly equal. Our Pastors and Cathecists fail to impress their followers as free agents in the mission work lack of confidence in themselves,—the defect which is substantiated by snbconscious feeling of want of education and culture in oneself. When they come to give reports of meetings held jointly the impression they give is that they don't share the responsibility with other Baruti.

For "Spectator" to imply that the European ministers were responsible for any bar against the Native pastors is a gross mistake for which he should tender an apology at once. The writer has been a delegate to missionary meetings on some occasions, and have seen ministers and pastors enjoying the same privileges and sitting at one table at meal hours without a hitch.

"Spectator" invariably proves his shortsightedness by speaking of "a young minister from College in France or any part in Europe," while he knows so well that the Native pastors with whom he compares this young minister, never attained. educationallv to college standard. The education, in comparison with the said "young minister" is simply negligible.

The term "Moneri," is a word to which both the earliest Basuto and missionaries were influenced to by their early contact with the Dutch speaking people; and it is just in common practice equivalent to the modest term "ntate." No sensible Mosuto would like to hear the term applied to both European and Native ministers. No self-respecting Native pastor would require the application of a foreign term "Moneri" to crown his respectability. Its application to a Native pastor is simply nauseous.

The matter of salaries has been ably dealt with by Rev. Germond. However we wish the Basutoland Church would do something to improve the pay of pastors and cathecists.

It is in the hands of the Christian community to make their pastors to live in comfortable houses; and experience has proved that where people live in nice buildings, nice and comfortable buildings are erected for the pastors. So the decent dwellings of a pastor hinge on the class of society to which he has been appointed. The constitution of the Basutoland Church is as good as the constitution of this territory. It is a democratic constitution which in itself enhances freedom of speech and action. But just as all the courts or councils in this territory are, it is barren of these prospective results. The pastors, just as councillors in Basutoland courts, don't take full benefit of this constitution. The system of chieftainship in Basutoland seems to have influenced every institution in the territory. Its influential elements seem to have crept into every organisation, and have turned every person holding lower position in any place of call, cringy in manners and conduct and circumspective in his speech and in the casting of his vote. This demeanour alone constitute the supposed colour line. As in all matters, there are exceptions who make use of this defect to achieve their objects.

Mr Payn and Native Vote.

I notice in your issue of the 21st May that prominence is given to a speech by Mr Payn having reference to the Hertzog bills I would remind the electors that this speech was made at a time when the dissolution of parliament was already in sight and when members were already preparing to meet the electors of their constituencies.

In Mr Payn's case I think it was a death bed repentance and that in his heart he still has the same opinion of the Native vote as he did when on the occasion of his defeat by Mr Stuart he spoke unguardedly from the verandah of the Umtata Courthouse; and again at Butterworth when in company with General Hertzog he agreed with the Prime Minister that a change in the Cape Native Franchise is essential. That is the spirit in which he will undoubtedly approach this great question if a Convention is held, and he is then your member. Deeds speak louder than words, and I submit that my action some years ago in receiving Mr. Amos Qunta into my office and assisting him to qualify as an Attorney & Notary was a service to the Native people as a whole. I did this knowing that my action would be adversely criticised, as indeed it was. I hope in this coming contest the electors will not forget that in this way I proved beyond doubt my feelings towards the Native people in relation to their just aspirations, and I sincerely trust they will stand by me firmly in the forthcoming election.

[News supplied by Gordon Hemming, Umtata.]

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To the Editor Naledi ea Lesotho.

Sir—I have been lucky in having in my hands the very number of the Naledi on "Colour line in the Churches. . Allow me to place things in their right light and to correct the wrong impression Spectator's article may have given to your readers.

There are two qualities a trustworthy spectator must have—A good vision and a fair mind to appreciate what he has seen. Anyone who has eyes to see and posesses an unprejudiced mind will have noticed what the aim and policy of the French Protestant Missionaries have been since the beginning and especially during the second period of its history, namely the establishment of a National Church in the land of Moshesh.

To this end they started seventy years ago to train native evangelists and teachers. I must pay a tribute to considerable work done in Basutoland through the instrumentality of these modest and faithful workers without whom their devoted missionaries could not have covered the country so rapidly with outstations and schools. About 30 years later the missionaries saw that time had come to have a native ordained ministry and as soon as they had trained and ordained six of them they realised the necessity of giving them rights in the Government of the Church. It was then that they created that Joint Conference of Missionaries and Pastors which they named "Seboka." The Church of Basutoland was born and her spiritual Fathers were proud of their offspring and they still are to-day for although the child has often given cause of worry and anxiety he nevertheless appears full of life. Proud also they were and thankful to God to see that their faith in the Bantu race had not turned to their confusion, for they have found in many of them intelligent and

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Another West African Knight.

The British West African Colonies figured largely in the King's Birthday Honours List. A number of officials received decorations, but the most striking of the items is the honour conferred on the Gold Coast by the knighthood bestowed on the Konor of Krobo, Nene Sir Emmanuel Maté Kole, Konor of Krobo, who now ranks with his neighbour, Sir Ofori Atta, Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakwa, has long been known as one of the most enlightened and progressive of the Gold Coast's Native rulers. During his reign of nearly thirty years he has sedulously fostered the prosperity and progress of his people. Educated in the school of the Basel Mission, he adopted the Christian religion with sincerity, and has zealously promoted its spread among his people. He has also encouraged education and the improvement of agriculture, to which he has given such thorough attention as to qualify himself to deliver lectures to his people on the best methods of cocoa cultivation and preparation. Under his fostering care Krobo has become one of the chief seats of the cocoa industry, of which it was the cradle, Tette Quashie, the father of the industry, having planted the seeds which he brought from Fernando Po at Mampong. He has also paid great attention to the important question of transport. Through the zeal of the chiefs and people the Eastern Province is well supplied with roads; the appreciation of their value is so keen that political officers have to restrain the people in the small villages, who are all anxious to be connected up with the large towns, from building unnecessary roads. The Akwapims have shown remarkable enterprise in this direction. When addressing the Legislative Council at the opening of the 1928-29 Session, Sir Ransford Slater stated that "there are now in the Eastern Province over 650 miles of Chiefs' roads, with permanent culverts and bridges," and added:—

"In continuation of the remarkable series of motorable roads which have been built by the enterprise of the Akwapim folk to connect their thriving towns with the low country on either side of the Akwapim Ridge, the people of Aburi have recently completed, at a cost of some £12,000, a road from Aburi to Nsawam. Helped by Italian contractors, they have found a wonderful route down the scarp, and the road is already very popular, as most of the inhabitants of Aburi have cocoa farms in the Nsawam area."

At the opening of this year's session Sir Ransford announced that "the Chiefs in the Volta District are making two roads, Akwatia-Sekase-Takerase and Siabeng-Obawale, which will act as feeders to the main Koforidua-Bisa road. They both tap rich cocoa areas and are being made entirely by the people of Manya-Krobo." No Chief has been more energetic in providing his people with improved communications than Nene Sir Maté Kole.

The Danes in West Africa.

Long before Tette Quashie's time Krobo had been the seat of agricultural experiments by the Danes. The principal existing memorial of this nation's participation in the seventeenth-century scramble for territory in West Africa, as a source of supply of labour for West Indian and American plantations, is Christiansborg Castle. At that time the Scandinavian Powers were passing through the most brilliant phase of their history. The victories of Gustavus Adolphus had made Sweden a leading European Power, and aroused the rivalry of Denmark, which was extended to the coast of Guinea, whose history was affected by the fact that in the struggle between these two Powers, which was part of the Thirty Years' War, England was allied with Sweden, and Holland with Denmark. About 1652 a Danish expedition, under Hendrick Karloff (a renegade Swede who had joined the service of the Danish West India Company), captured the Swedish forts at Cape Coast and Christiansborg. The former was transferred to the Dutch about two years later, but, as the consent of the Cape Coast people had not been obtained, they besieged the castle and drove out the Dutch; they held it for a short term, and finally permitted the English to occupy it. This is, in brief, the true history of Cape Coast Castle, authenticated by contemporary documents, the accounts given by Barbot, Reindorf, and others being inaccurate. The early years of the Danish possession of Fort Christiansborg was equally chequered. In 1679 the garrison mutinied and sold the fort to the Portuguese, who renamed it after St. Francis Xavier, and held it for about three years, until it had fallen into such bad condition that the King of Portugal was glad to sell it back to the Danes. In 1693 the fort was captured by a party of Akwamus, under a trader named Assemani, who, about two years later, sold it back to the Danes, who held it until the sale of all the Danish settlements to the English in 1850. Soon after losing the castle at Cape Coast the Danes established themselves on a hill at Amanful, long known as Danish Mount, where they built a small fort, which they named Fredericksborg. This, being a source of danger to their position in Cape Coast, was much disliked by the English, who purchased it in 1685 and allowed it to fall into ruins. For about a century the Danes made little effort to extend their possessions, but in 1784 they began a push to the eastward of Accra, where they would not come into conflict with the other European powers.

Agricultural Experiments.

The Danes also struck out a new line by establishing settlements in the interior. They penetrated as far as Akim and opened several stations in Krobo. While the other nations confined themselves to trading in the coast towns they turned their attention to agriculture, and established three plantations, one at the foot of the Akwapim Hills, known as Fredericksgaor, another named Fredericksnople, near Akropong, and the third, Frederickstadt, near Dodowa. The plantations were maintained till the early part of the nineteenth century, when they were destroyed during the wars of that time.

The Danes were specially successful with coffee, of the Arabian variety, of which they exported considerable quantities to Europe. Up to 1885 parcels of "Akropong coffee" used to be offered for sale at Accra; it was a good berry, but so badly prepared as to be suitable only for local consumption. On the abolition of the slave trade, the Krobo people turned their attention to the utilisation of the oil-palms which are abundant in their country; most of the oil shipped from Accra between 1840 and the introduction of cocoa planting was produced among the Krobo Hills, and carried to Accra by the "Krobo tail-girls," who were a well-known feature of Accra life. This was a "soft" oil, superior to the oils from Salt Pond, Dixcove and the Western ports of the colony. The Krobos, who have always been keen agriculturists, took up the oil-palm industry with the same energy as they are now putting into the cocoa industry. They were led and encouraged by their Konor, the gallant warrior, Sakitey.

The gallant Chief had a long reign, and lived to take part in Sir John Glover's expedition in 1873-74. Sir John stated in his memoirs that "the only chief who was always able, willing, and ready to obey the orders he received was the Krobo Chief." His successor is not likely to be called upon to show equal warlike prowess, but may be trusted to be equally energetic in leading his people in the paths of peace and progress.

W. F. H.

A CISKEI GENERAL COUNCIL

We warmly welcome the suggestions and promises of favourable assistance made by the Secretary for Native Affairs on his last visit to King William's Town in connection with the formation of a Ciskei General Council. The benefits of one huge treasury that pools all the funds collected by the various local councils, would be apparent when large sums of money are required for massive public works like irrigation schemes, bridges, large concrete dams, the increase and maintenance of Native agricultural colleges, educational grants to deserving causes like hospitals and health matters.

All these advantages considered, there are however certain aspects that would militate against the success of such a general council, if the scheme was to be introduced on the pattern of the Transkeian General Council. Caution would have to be exercised to ensure that such a Ciskei General Council would enjoy the full executive powers at present enjoyed by local councils under Act 23 of 1920. The Transkeian General Council with all its good work still carries the stigma of being a mere advisory body to the Chief Magistrate who holds its executive powers. The drawback of this autocratic arrangement had its glaring examples in the enforcement of the 1894 Pass Law Proclamation contrary to the wishes of the Transkeian tax-payers for its abrogation. The latest injustice done under these powers was that on a Ciskei Native named E. S. Tabata of Somerset East who, after taking out a year's licence at Willowvale for dealing as a commercial traveller and paying £7/10/- to the local magistrate for it, he was arrested, tried and convicted at Umtata, and orded to leave the Territories within seven days. The legal position of a man licensed to trade in the said Territories and before such licence has expired he is expelled therefrom, receives no consideration in the Transkei; to say nothing of the licence fee forfieted. To continue with our subject. The Ciskei tax-payer would be wise to make sure that he avoids the potholes found in the Transkeian General Council some of which are:—a top-heavy European staff at high emoluments where Native clerks could be easily substituted. In the Chief Accountant's department there is the Chief Accountant, another Accountant and three European clerks and three Native clerks. In our opinion, one Accountant and a typist are all that is required. The Engineer has three assistants, one white clerk and a Native clerk-messenger, whereas in the Cape Province we have one government engineer. In the Department of Agriculture there is a Director and two supervisors and three agricultural schools employing a multitude of Europeans, where it would suffice to have agricultural schools with single supervisors in charge and Native assistants.

In the executive control of a General Council we would suggest the inclusion of at least two talented Native whether Councillors or nc and that the Chief Nati Commissioner be a member thereof, particularly in the employment and dismissal of Bunga servants. Such additional members as are mentioned above to receive pay ment for services rendered whether engaged in their usual vocations.

We venture these suggestions preparatory to a general discussion of the whole matter in the Ciskei by local councils and Bantu organisations, with hope that the matter will not lapse through apathy and lack of initiative.

SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION.

Disappointing as it is for us to place on record, there can be no doubt to-day that General Smuts has sustained a decisive defeat at Wednesday's polls, inflicted by the superior organisation of the Nationalist Party and the lamentable policy of the Native problem settlement being used as a battle-ram by General Hertzog. Even if we are not on the side of the Prime Minister of the Union, it would be ungracious to-day not to concede that a good fight has been fairly won, and that the result might even have been worse, though the last word has by no means been said yet as far as the main outstanding controversies are concerned. Though the Government has secured what is apparently a working majority, our Cape Town correspondent appears to have been very well informed even last Thursday as to the exact position, as will be seen from the cable printed on page 340. The only satisfactory fact to day to the undoubted serious weakening of the unholy Pact, yet it is also quite clear that the organisation of the S.A.P. at the Rand was not efficient in Johannesburg, and that General Smuts should have paid more attention to the Golden City. However, it is little use crying over spilt milk. South Africa stands where it was, with all its brilliant attractions and equally grave drawbacks among the majority of white inhabitants. Often largely disloyal among themselves, apparently wilfully blind to the grave clouds of native discontent on the horizon, and the equitable claims of the Bantu, *which demand an early settlement*, the Nationalist Government has received another lease of life by convincing the vast rural back districts that white South Africa is imperilled if the black man is to be decently treated on equitable lines. So let us watch. The questions arise, what will happen now? Will General Smuts retire temporarily from politics and allow himself to be missed for a bit, which would in our view not be a bad plan? Will there be a new grouping of parties in the sub-Continent? Echo answers in the old adage: "Semper aliquid novi ex Africa."

LAW REPORT.

IKOYI LAND CASE IN THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

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The Privy Council on Tuesday, consisting of Lords Sumner, Warrington and Atkin, heard the appeal of Bakare Ajakaiye and Alli Laditan, as heads of Iga Iduntafa, from the decision of the Full Court of the Supreme Court of Nigeria on January 26, 1927, and of Mr. Justice Van der Meulen before it, on June 10, 1926, to the effect that their claim to compensation for lands at Ikoyi acquired by the Government was governed by the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance of 1908, and that under it they were out of time with their claim, which should have been indicated within 12 months of its promulgation. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces, the plaintiff in the courts below, was respondent in the appeal. Notice to acquire lands for public works was issued in October, 1924, and the appellants then urged their title.

Mr. Horace Douglas appeared for the appellants, instructed by Messrs. Oldfields, and Mr. Gavin Simonds, K.C., and Mr. S. E. Pocock for the Lieutenant-Governor, instructed by Messrs. Burchells.

Lord Atkin observed that the question seemed to be whether there were lands held outside and independently of the Cession to Queen Victoria in 1861. The assumption was that the interest in the lands was in Queen Victoria, and the Chiefs and Families were left in possession on that footing. The answer to the appellants appeared to have been that their lands were forfeited to the Crown and that their application should have been made under the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance, 1908, Chap. 91, Laws of Nigeria, 1923, and that it was not so made.

Mr. Douglas said it had been held that the appellants' claims, as owners, to compensation under the Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance (Chap. 88, Laws of Nigeria, 1923), was barred because they had not complied with the requirements of the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance as to making a claim to title under it. They contended that the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance applied to certain lands, but theirs were outside it and of different and earlier date. They said their title was a "native title" not acquired through a Crown grant, and that their lands were not within the limits set out by the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance.

The case for the respondent was that the appellants did not put in a claim to these lands within a twelvemonth of the enactment of the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance, 1908, and that that failure was fundamental. Sections 2, 3 and 7 read:—

2. All private persons claiming to be possessed of lands situated on that part of the Island of Lagos east of the MacGregor Canal shall within six months from the commencement of this Ordinance, or if then absent from the Colony and Protectorate, within twelve months therefrom, exhibit their titles thereto to the Commissioner of Lands.

3. All Crown grants (whether registered at the Lands Registry or not) purporting to include any portion of the said land to which no claim is made and no title exhibited as provided by the foregoing section shall lapse as from the end of the said period of six months or twelve months as the case may be.

7. All lands situated within the limits above described to which no claim is made within the prescribed time shall be deemed to be Crown lands thenceforward (provided that there is a further year for applying for agricultural value and satisfying the court of the former validity of the claim).

Mr. Simonds, K.C., observed that the appellants claimed in a representative capacity as owners to assert a claim where one of the class whom they claimed to represent, one Kamajalodun in 1911 obtained a judgment of the court declaring that the inhabitants of the village had certain rights. No doubt was then raised that the Ordinance applied to those inhabitants. The Chief Justice, in the appeal of Bakare Ajakaiye, said:—

A claim was made by Kamajalodun in respect of this same village of Okepa and this claim was referred to the Supreme Court to determine whether the claimant had any title or interest in the land. The matter came before Chief Justice Willoughby Osborne in 1911, and he, after hearing the evidence, made the following declaration:—It is declared that the inhabitants of Okepa Village have the right to reside in the said village and to erect buildings therein for the purpose of carrying on the business of fishing and further that they have a right to use the land for drying nets and other purposes of fishing, and to farm within the boundary cut at the time of the survey of Mr. George. But this does not confer the right to alienate any part of the land within the said boundary.

The Chief Justice went on to say that Kamajalodun's claim was founded partly on the fact that the people he represented were occupying the land before 1865 and partly on the fact that Governor Glover had permitted them to continue to occupy the land after the grant to the Crown. The judge added that in his opinion this land was Crown land by virtue of the Ikoyi Lands Ordinance, and the claimants were not entitled to be compensated as owners. All the inhabitants who claimed compensation for the disturbance of their rights as declared in the Kamajalodun case in 1911 had been compensated, but the present claimants claimed as owners and so failed.

The judge in the court below urged them to consider carefully whether they should not make a claim which could be entertained by the court, but they insisted on claiming as owners and as owners alone.

The appellants urged that from Kamajalodun's evidence Governor Glover acquired some land in 1865 at Ikoli from a White Capped Chief Eduntafa, and that such land did not include this land, which remained in possession of the Eduntafa, through whom the appellants claimed as heads of Iga Iduntafa.

Mr. Douglas contended that the Ordinance did not apply to native lands held on immemorial titles, and that the Ordinance was intended to relate only to lands which had been granted by the Crown to third persons and land still remaining in the Crown's possession; and that the provisions with regard to titles other than from the Crown required only the Native or the proper officer to demark the native lands and that no native lands under the Ordinance were lost to the Native if he made no claim under the Ordinance. The respondent contended that "private persons" in section 2 included Natives, but the appellants' contention was that the meaning of the words "private persons" was shown by the marginal note which referred to private owners, and that the words "private owners was taken from the title, which referred to private owners of Crown lands." It was expressed to be "an Ordinance to provide for the proper identification and demarcation of lands granted by the Crown to private owners."

Lord Atkin pointed out that section 2 provided that "private persons" should not make a claim, but "exhibit their titles," and those were hardly likely to be documentary titles. Clause 5 referred to "lands held under any other title" than original grant from the Crown and said their boundaries were to be demarcated by permanent marks.

Mr. Douglas said that in the Commissioner of Lands against Oniru, Nigeria Law Reports, vol II (1912), the Full Court found that claimants under the Ordinance were limited to those who held either directly or indirectly from the Crown and did not include either persons having possessory rights before the cession or persons holding any title other than from the Crown.

Lord Sumner referred to King Docemu's cession to the British Crown in 1861 of the port and Island of Lagos, and said it was suggested that the land here in question was converted to the Crown and the appellants failed to make any claims to it under the Ordinance. If persons did not come forward to show title within the prescribed time then all were to be deemed to be Crown lands.

Mr. Simonds urged that the declaration in Kamajalodun's case was applied to a class of persons to be compensated, without any question being raised that the Ordinance applied to them.

Lord Sumner made the comment that the Chief Justice seemed to have taken the view that "private persons" meant persons who had acquired title under Crown grants issued after 1865 in respect of land within the portion granted to the Crown.

Mr. Simonds said he claimed the benefit of all the judgment except that one line. The preamble of the Ordinance indicated that the intention was to make certain titles in the area, and, that being so, the preliminary objection was rightly sustained.

When Mr. Douglas proceeded to use the word "confiscate," Lord Sumner said that was not quite accurate. The Ordinance was necessary for getting some sort of certainty about a chaotic and uncertain state of affairs. The Government passed the Ordinance, which said that unless something happened to clear up the situation the land left in uncertainty should be deemed to be Crown land. No doubt it might have the effect of taking something away where somebody had slept on his rights, but the intention of the Act was only to put an end to uncertainty.

Their lordships reserved judgment.

THOUSANDS DEAD FROM FAMINE IN EAST AFRICA

Kampala, Uganda, British East Africa, April 6.—(AP)—The teeming population of the Bahuti, a slave race in the Belgian Congo, is in a desperate plight from famine brought about by drought and inefficient cultivation of land. Thousands already have perished from hunger and disease which follows in its wake.

Under a long-standing feudal system the Bahutis are subjects of the Batusi, or ruling people. The dominent Batusis, who own herds of cows, care little for the welfare of their slaves.

The Bahutis now are virtually without food, either purchasable or grown. The situation had steadily grown worse since the drought of August, 1927, and there has been little rain since.

Emaciated and hungry, the serfs since November have been growing more and more desperate. Forced to choose between a long trek in search of food or a slow death they began migrating into the Uganda territory, which is under British control.

Race Problem – 1929

Africa.

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The President (Mr. W. C. Mitchell), referring to the homeland, the great deeds of great Englishmen and Englishwomen, declared that if England always maintained the same standards and ideals as had made her great, her star would never be dimmed.

Replying to the toast of "Kenya," H.E. the Acting Governor (Sir J. W. Barth) said that the great problem of government and progress in Kenya arose from the fact that there were in Kenya three races—most of their members being British subjects—the indigenous African, the Asiatic, and the European, each race doing its essential part in the development of the country.

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The solution of the problem lay in co-operation, and not in antagonism, and he hoped that every opportunity would be given to allow co-operation to become an established fact in all things that made for progress. Full co-operation could only develop from a full and sympathetic understanding of each other's viewpoints and every effort should be made by each community and their spokesmen to arrive at that understanding.

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KENYA AND SUGAR.

Kenya's sugar industry would appear to be developing, judging from the activity at Miwani, where new machinery, it is stated, is being installed preparatory to the close of the season. In order to improve the work of extraction, several new rollers are destined for the mills, while a new sulphur tower is awaiting erection, new super-heater and pump, two new crystallisers, and a set of flanks, all waiting to be placed in the factory.

The company concerned at Miwani, which, to some extent, is at a disadvantage in being so far away from their chief source of supply, is doing everything possible, it would seem, in the way of efficient labour and material necessary for a growing industry.

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Guest of the British Government.

Seyyid Khalifa bin Harub, Sultan of Zanzibar, arrived in London yesterday as the guest of the British Government, and his visit will continue until Friday, July 5. His Highness is accompanied by his son, Seyyid Abdulla, and Sheikh Seif bin Suleiman; and the British officers attached to his party are Mr. C. F. Battiscombe, private secretary to His Highness; Dr. B. Spearman, and Major E. N. S. Crankshaw, secretary to the Government Hospitality Fund.

To-day he will lay wreaths on the Cenotaph and the grave of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey, and on Monday he will watch the Trooping the Colour ceremony on the Horse Guards Parade.

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Among the places he will visit before he leaves England are Oxford, Cambridge, Stratford-on-Avon, Manchester, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

Seyyid Khalifa, who is 49 years of age, has been in England before, having attended the Coronation of the King in 1911, but he was not at that time Sultan. An Arab by race, he speaks English well enough for all ordinary purposes. He has proved an enlightened ruler, and has shown much interest in the spread of education in his dominions. He rendered good and loyal service to the British authorities during the war, and in recognition of the help he then gave he was awarded an honorary K.B.E. The Sultana, who has been seriously ill, remains at Zanzibar, where the Sheikh Suleiman bin Nasur al Lemki is acting as Regent during the absence of Seyyid Khalifa.

Loyal to British Connection.

In 1890 Zanzibar was declared a British Protectorate, and the Sultan is very loyal to this connection. Acknowledged as head of the Mahommedan faith on the east coast of Africa, he wrote at the beginning of the war to all the principal Arabs on that coast, telling them what Great Britain had done for them, pointing out the difference between British and German methods of administration and calling on them to be loyal to the British cause. During the war he did all he could to help the British Navy, the troops fighting in East Africa, and the East African Governments. For his services he was awarded an honorary K.B.E.

Enlightened Ruler.

The Sultan is an enlightened ruler. The two islands at Zanzibar and Pemba, over which he rules, have an area of about 1,020 square miles, and he has also a nominal sovereignty over the Kenya Protectorate, for which the Kenya Government pays an annual rent of £10,000. It is largely due to him that the opposition formerly encountered by the Education Department has broken down, for he takes a great personal interest in the work of the Administration and of the missions. He is very fond of polo, tennis, and yachting.

TANGANYIKA EXHIBITION.

It is reported that at a meeting of the Tanganyika Exhibition Committee attention was directed to a statement made to the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce by Major Walsh, whose remarks, it was considered, had not the slightest justification, and were likely to do considerable harm amongst prospective exhibitors at home. It was decided to send a cable to the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce protesting against the views expressed by Major Walsh.

In view of Kenya's increased road traffic, bigger Government grants are being urged by the Kikuyu District Settlers' Association, which has passed a resolution in this connection for consideration by the Convention of Associations.

HIGH COMMISSIONER WELCOMED AT MAFETENG

The 11th May was a great red letter day at Mafeteng. The little historic camp being honoured by an unofficial visit of His Excellency, the High Commissioner of South Africa, and the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa under the new status which gives the British Dominions right of independence in the management of their local affairs. His holiday making in the South of Basutoland was early notified to the chiefs and their followers.

According to the programme of the day Chief Lerotholi Mojela assisted by his uncle Chief Lepolesa Letsie were to meet His Excellency at Van Rooyen's Gate, and they had with them about one thousand followers there. His Excellency, accompanied by the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, Mr. F. Foord, the Assistant Commissioner for the district and Mr. Gibson, the Director of Basutoland Public works, arrived at the gate at about 2 30 p.m. Their approaching was signified by those who were standing at high places shouting hurrah! hurrah!

Chiefs Lerotholi and Lepolesa were presented to the Earl of Athlone. His Excellency and Chief Lerotholi engaged themselves in chatting over the season and the condition of crops in the latter's ward. Chief Lerotholi asked if he could introduce his brother Molapo to the High Commissioner and His Excellency was pleased to know him. Then the party drove to Mafeteng where they arrived at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Here there were altogether between two and three thousand mounted people who had come to welcome the distinguished visitor. These thousands of mounted Basuto were headed by Chiefs Moholobela Seeiso, Mohlehli Letsie (representing the Paramount Chief) Mohale Mohale, and sub-chiefs, Makoanyane Seeiso, Richard Ramoetsana, Sechaba Napo, Qamako Mahao, Moholi Letsie and Lagden Mohao. When the party got to a place where the school children paraded halted, and came off the car to inspect them. The school children sang to him, "God Save the King." The principal Chiefs were presented to The Earl of Athlone at the residency.

For rations there were eight oxen killed and twelve bags of mealie mill issued.

His Excellency passed to Mount Moorosi on the 8th instant, where he is going to to spend two days, resting himself. On the morning of the 11th instant he will leave there and pass through to Maseru, and leave there

In this respect, and are given every possible assistance to complete the work.

Pretoria on Tuesday 14th May. This class of masons have now given up hope with regard to government mason work. The Basuto masons are refused to contract for government mason work, because, it is said, they are not yet capable of taking contracts. But where the matter surprises one, is that poor whites are given preference

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Seyyid Khalifa, who is 49 years of age, has been in England before, having attended the Coronation of the King in 1911, but he was not at that time Sultan. An Arab by race, he speaks English well enough for all ordinary purposes. He has proved an enlightened ruler, and has shown much interest in the spread of education in his dominions. He rendered good and loyal service to the British authorities during the war, and in recognition of the help he then gave he was awarded an honorary K.B.E. The Sultana, who has been seriously ill, remains at Zanzibar, where the Sheikh Suleiman bin Nasur al Lemki is acting as Regent during the absence of Seyyid Khalifa.

Loyal to British Connection.

In 1890 Zanzibar was declared a British Protectorate, and the Sultan is very loyal to this connection. Acknowledged as head of the Mahommedan faith on the east coast of Africa, he wrote at the beginning of the war to all the principal Arabs on that coast, telling them what Great Britain had done for them, pointing out the difference between British and German methods of administration and calling on them to be loyal to the British cause. During the war he did all he could to help the British Navy, the troops fighting in East Africa, and the East African Governments. For his services he was awarded an honorary K.B.E.

Enlightened Ruler.

The Sultan is an enlightened ruler. The two islands at Zanzibar and Pemba, over which he rules, have an area of about 1,020 square miles, and he has also a nominal sovereignty over the Kenya Protectorate, for which the Kenya Government pays an annual rent of £10,000. It is largely due to him that the opposition formerly encountered by the Education Department has broken down, for he takes a great personal interest in the work of the Administration and of the missions. He is very fond of polo, tennis, and yachting.

TANGANYIKA EXHIBITION.

It is reported that at a meeting of the Tanganyika Exhibition Committee attention was directed to a statement made to the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce by Major Walsh, whose remarks, it was considered, had not the slightest justification, and were likely to do considerable harm amongst prospective exhibitors at home. It was decided to send a cable to the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce protesting against the views expressed by Major Walsh.

In view of Kenya's increased road traffic, bigger Government grants are being urged by the Kikuyu District Settlers' Association, which has passed a resolution in this connection for consideration by the Convention of Associations.

HIGH COMMISSIONER WELCOMED AT MAFETENG

Nalediea Lesotho

The [illegible] May [illegible] Mafeteng. The letter day at little historic camp being honoured by an unofficial visit of His Excellency, the High Commissioner of South Africa, and the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa under the new status which gives the British Dominions the right of independence in the management of their local affairs. His holiday making in the South of Basutoland was early notified to the chiefs and their followers. According to the programme of the day Chief Lerotholi Mojela assisted by his uncle Chief Lepolesa Letsie were to meet His Excellency at Van Rooyen's Gate, and they had with them about one thousand followers there. His Excellency, accompanied by the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, Mr. F. Foord, the Assistant Commissioner for the district and Mr. Gibson, the Director of Basutoland Public works, arrived at the gate at about 2 30 p.m. Their approaching was signified by those who were standing at high places shouting hurrah! hurrah!

Chiefs Lerotholi and Lepolesa were presented to the Earl of Athlone. His Excellency and Chief Lerotholi engaged themselves in chatting over the season and the condition of crops in the latter's ward. Chief Lerotholi asked if he could introduce his brother Molapo to the High Commissioner and His Excellency was pleased to know him. Then the party drove to Mafeteng where they arrived at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Here there were altogether between two and three thousand mounted people who had come to welcome the distinguished visitor. These thousands of mounted Basuto were headed by Chiefs Moholobela Seeiso, Mohlehli Letsie (representing the Paramount Chief) Mohale Mohale, and sub-chiefs, Makoanyane Seeiso, Richard Ramcetsana, Sechaba Napo, Qamako Mahao, Moholi Letsie and Lagden Mohao. When the party got to a place where the school children paraded halted, and came off the car to inspect them. The school children sang to him, "God Save the King." The principal Chiefs were presented to The Earl of Athlone at the

In this respect, and are given every possible assistance to complete the work.

Pretoria on Tuesday 14th May. This
residency.
For
eight oxen killed and twelve
bags of mealie mill issued.
His Excellency passed to
Mount Moorosi on the 8th
instant, where he is going to
to spend two days, resting
himself. On the morning of
the 11th instant he will leave
there and pass through to
Maseru, and leave there

WANTED: NATIVE DOCTORS.

The recent serious outbreak of malaria in Zululand during which the mortality reached disquieting proportions has again drawn attention to the imperative need for native doctors in South Africa. Had there been a sufficiency of native practitioners available the position would never have become so acute, while it may be said with equal truth that the large number of deaths among the native races which are the direct result of a foolish but sublime faith in the quackery practised by the witch-doctors and other medicine men who prey upon the credulous might have been reduced to a negligible figure had qualified native doctors been on the scene. In the circumstances it is surprising and discouraging to learn that, despite the great facilities for educational advancement that are now at the disposal of the native peoples, no more than seven have availed themselves of the opportunity to become doctors. The legal and other professions have attracted numerous recruits, but medicine has, apparently, been tabooed. Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that native doctors have not been welcomed in South Africa; at any rate among the European community. The prejudice is, however, understandable in a country where the relationship between white and black must, of necessity, be sharply differentiated. That is no reason why, however, native practitioners should not prove an outstanding success and perform highly valuable work among their compatriots, among whom there is an unlimited scope for their services. We are assured by Dr. Alfred Bitini Xuma, who is fully competent to judge, that no fewer than 900 native doctors would be required to meet the medical needs of the six million native population in South Africa. If this be the case—and we do not doubt it—surely the time has come when steps should be immediately taken to remedy what can only be described as a deplorable state of affairs. Some system of training for natives who desire to become doctors should be considered without further delay. Any expenditure towards this end would be fully justified by results, while it is also extremely important to remember that an adequate and superior medical service for African natives would be the means of eradicating superstition and witchcraft.

(Continued from last issue.)

By C. L. Simpson Esquire.

FOUNDER'S DAY EXERCISES -- BOOKER WASHINGTON INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, KAKA TOWN.

Addressing his remarks chiefly to the aborigines, he expressed a delight in being privileged to participate in the founding of the institution, for the Industrial and Agricultural training of their children; that the Interior and Educational Departments were collaborating with Foreign Missionary Boards, to put over the program of such an Institution, in order that the boys and girls of the hinterland, might eventually have the benefit of education not only of the head, but also of the hand, thereby enabling them to aid their more informed brethren in perpetuating the ship of State; he further pointed out the general necessity and advantages of a higher education and culture, and the ill-effects and disadvantages of a mere smattering education and training. He also made the point that the background of all education, whether in the art, in science, agriculture or in industrial pursuits, should be a thorough Christian training; in this connection, he made reference to the English-Zulu war, during the reign of Queen Victoria, that when the latter were overcome and subdued, they sent and inquired why the former had been victorious, and as a result of this inquiry, the Queen sent the Zulus a Holy Bible, and informed them that it denoted the strength of the British people, as they relied principally on its teachings. The moral lesson evinced by this illustration was appropriate for the occasion.

At the conclusion of Secretary Payne's remarks, Mr J. L. Sibley, Educational Adviser to the Republic, was the next to address the audience: he tendered his heartfelt thanks for the opportunity afforded him to speak on the occasion, in the meanwhile pointed out the magnitude of the task assumed, and that it was the joint undertaking of the Government of Liberia and Missionary organizations in America, at the instance of the late Miss Olivia Egleston Phelps Stokes, who in her life-time made a gift of a sum of money ostensibly for the founding of a school, to be named the Booker Washington Industrial and Educational Institute of Liberia. The further notable impression made on the minds of the uninformed members of the council in the course of Mr. Sibley's speech, was his demonstration of the picture of Booker T. Washington, which represented the founder of Tuskegee, lifting the veil of darkness and ignorance from his less fortunate brethren.

His Excellency the President, then spoke in the following terms:- That although the program provided for an address from him, yet owing to the lateness of the hour he had thought best to refrain speaking, but in order that the Chiefs and the aboriginal members in attendance might have no misgivings and misinformation, with reference to any probable silence on the part of the Chief Executive on the subject of the occasion after having heard some wholesome remarks from the speakers who preceded him, he thought it but proper to rise and give his official approval to the many good things said in connexion with the school which was being founded at Kaka-Town, and that the Government had granted one thousand acres of land towards this end: that at the next meeting of the Legislature, an appropriation will no doubt be made to meet the Government's financial quota of contribution for the establishing and maintenance of said Institution.

NATIVES' LAND TITLES.

In our last issue we published in these columns without making any comment thereon the resolution passed by the representatives of Native landed proprietors in the Ciskei who met in conference at Mnqêsha, King William's Town, on the 23rd. ult Some 200 men were present under the able chairmanship of Mr. A. H. Maci (Peelton). The principal discussion centred round the pending visit of the several magistrates in the Native areas who will be making inquiries and determinations in Native land ownership and lawful occupation by those claiming permanent residential rights. To the Natives, a distinct challenge has been tendered by the government under authority of Act 38 of 1927 to call up, scrutinise, and even take away their treasured titles or whatever written evidence they possessed and kept as their private property for the purpose of enabling the authorities to carry out their desires. We do not at present intend discussing the justice or injustice of the government's action nor the reasonableness or otherwise of the Natives in taking up a suspicious attitude, nor even the legality of this Act when contrasted with former legislation under which Natives held sacred rights now being assailed by the Native Administration Act. All we could gather from the auspicious gathering at Mnqésha was the strong feeling that there has never been any proper consultation with them on "the complicated and abstruse character of the Act with its regulations."

The Secretary for Native Affairs on his last visit to King Williamstown endeavoured to explain that the Pretoria Conference of Natives with government officials had had a thorough consultation; but the fact was overlooked that since the 1926 Pretoria Conference (which was the last) the original draft had undergone drastic amendations through the Governor-General's department, and Select Committee of parliament, as to make the Act as it stood to-day an entirely different piece of legislation. The senior government officials themselves and the side-bar admit that with their legal experience they are far from being conversant with the provisions of this Act. With this admission, is there any commonsense in stampeding the Natives into a new registration of land titles, the objects of which they do not know, and the consequences of which may mean an economic catastrophe in so far as former land ownership is concerned. A note of warning has been sounded in the resolution passed at Mnqèsha, and it behoves the Minister of Native Affairs to take stock of the position and see his way to granting the indaba requested, and postponing the magisterial determinations indefinitely. The situation in Natal among Natives is rather disquieting, and the propaganda disseminated in the Transkeian Territories by Communists and Dr. Wellington has somewhat disturbed the usual law-abiding disposition of Natives. In the Ciskei matters have been normal, until the advent of this land registration scare; and it would be the height of unwisdom to fan the spark of Native unrest in yet another corner of the Union.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

OPENING OF THE JAMBOREE.

50,000 Scouts of All Nations March Past Duke Of Connaught

(From our Special Correspondent.)

ARROWE PARK, BIRKENHEAD, WEDNESDAY.

Before an assembly of fifty thousand Scouts drawn from nearly every civilised country in the world, and thousands of spectators who had flocked to see a youthful League of Nations, the Duke of Connaught, at Arrowe Park this afternoon, declared the Great Jamboree open. Immediately after the declaration the Chief Scout of all the world, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, blew three blasts on the Kudu horn which had called the first Scouts from their beds at Brownsea Island in 1907. With this reminder of the romantic birth of scouting, there began a display of the giant stature which the movement has attained to-day, and 1,500 American boys led their brother-Scouts in a stirring march past.

By two o'clock the Scouts, which all nations had sent in numbers varying from over two thousand French boys to four small travellers from Hong-Kong, had melted, so it seemed from a distance, into one homogeneous whole—fifty thousand young bodies fused into one eager spirit. All the morning rain had fallen, and now the air was full of the smell of drying grass, while broken clouds, drifting overhead, sent both shadow and sunlight skimming over the ground into the clear distance.

Suddenly the body of Scouts appeared to leap high in the air as every boy put his hat on his staff and thrust it exultantly upwards. As though a mouth of incredible width had opened to rejoice, a roar of welcome burst out. That was one's first intimation of the arrival of the Duke and the Chief Scout.

The roar was repeated again and again as they made their way round the rally-ground and into the centre stands. Presently the Duke and the Chief Scout stepped on to the small platform in front of the stands and prepared to declare the Jamboree open. The cheering died away, and the open.

Expectancy hung in the air. One had a snapshot of a brown, brown field with a single splash of yellow across it where the brightly turbanned Palestine boys stood, their turbans as vivid as yellow chrysanthemums in an untilled garden. Then the slow, clear voice of the Duke went echoing across the ground, the Chief Scout blew lustily upon the enormous twirly horn, and a great moment had passed.

Stars and Stripes Display.

To the accompaniment of continuous clapping the Americans, the severely sombre colour of their uniforms relieved only by their red scarves, began to march row after row past the Duke, giving him the salute as they went, and amusing the crowd by a little Americanism in the form of a mass production of Stars and Stripes handkerchiefs which every Scout flourished in the breeze. Certainly it was not the least successful of all the harmless nationalist fancies peculiar to most of the sixty foreign and overseas contingents that for the next forty minutes strode past to the vigour of the bands.

The variety of manner and mode in the marching columns kept one's attention from wandering for an instant. One noted the Fascist-like salute in extended right arms of the Armenians and the Brazilians, and the military precision of the Austrians, of whose smartness the camp is proud. Canada came in green jerkins with yellow collars and edges, and the eye shifted from them to the mock goose-step of the Bulgarians who came after. Ceylon's dusky troops included the most diminutive of all the Scouts stretching out his legs very proudly among his taller fellows.

Denmark's solid 1,500 were led by a score of national flags, their numbers including the eye-catching bearers of tall staffs with foxes' brushes streaming from the tops. India's green-turbaned Scouts were a handsome band, and one's glance swept over them until it halted on the beauty of the Irish Free State's new flag, and the wildness of the Irish pipers who followed it. Finland went by arm-in-arm, and in songs of greeting. Japan practised a curious jerky step in the rear of a dipped flag that was a sun in splendour indeed.

France and her dependencies made her supremacy in numbers even more effective by extending upwards her two thousand staves as one. Hungary was outstanding in her rich and gorgeous banners, hundreds of years old, and in the soft white flowers, like bunches of swansdown, which decorated her hats. One country followed another until the ground was hardly to be seen for circling figures and waving flags.

The climax of the rally was most spectacular. At a given signal 35,000 British Scouts, representing every county and nearly every town and village in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, made a concerted rush from all parts of the ground and came to an abrupt halt when on the point of overwhelming the Duke, Chief Scout, spectators, and all. Unable to resist the temptation, many foreign Scouts joined in, and this gigantic "urge forward," as it is aptly named, terminated in cheer after cheer and the wild waving of poles and hats.

Arrangements for the Prince.

Spectacular though this first massed rally has been, it may be eclipsed by the grand rally to-morrow afternoon, when, following the conferment of an honorary degree upon the Chief Scout by the Vice Chancellor of Liverpool University, a pageant of nations and national displays takes place. While this is going on the Prince of Wales will be arriving at Hooton, afterwards being received at Birkenhead Town Hall. By seven o'clock he will be in Arrowe Park, and two hours later the Prince will be taking part in one or two of the international camp-fire sing-songs. These sing-songs round the camp fires will be a notable nightly feature at each of the eight sub-camps. The voices of 4,000 or 5,000 scouts will be raised together, while some magnificent items are promised by individual nations. The public is invited.

The Prince and the Chief Scout will both address the Scouts and visitors from the grand stands on Friday afternoon, the Prince departing at the conclusion of the massed Highland dancing. The display of Sea Scouts the next day is staged at West Kirby in two parts. Hungarian Sea Scouts first give a marine performance that includes ski-ing on the surface of the lake and evolutions in collapsible boats, and then the home Sea Scouts give their water play "The incredible adventures of Captain Curdle, or "the yarn that ran away with itself."

Meanwhile the Chief Scout will be watching 4,000 Wolf Cubs on the rally ground giving a jungle play. The performance will conclude with the Cubs' final "grand howl."

The Life in the Park.

One might well say all the world was here or beyond the trees that shut in Arrowe Park from the rest of the pleasant Wirral were it not that one knows that the absence of Italy is a real absence and not an oversight on the part of the observers. Italy is not here. The Italian Scouts are no more, dissolved by Mussolini—there are Blackshirts instead now, learning revolver-shooting. Upon this confraternity of the youth of the nations that is to-day the one black shadow. Revolver-shooting when there is a mallet to swing, a whoop to be given, a good turn to do,—well, well, let's leave it at that.

Then there has been the photographing of the boys. "Holland?" queried the photographer yesterday, just before he let loose the dicky-bird. The shout would have carried across the Zuyder Zee. "Now, boys," said the enlightened camera-man, grateful that he had not to speak Dutch, "it all depends on you." "But my publicity man won't allow me to be photographed," objected one Pauline stripling. It couldn't be expected that enterprise, taking photographs to send home to "Ma," was going to boggle over that nice difficulty; and to a chorus of "Ah, ah, ah," the camera clicked.

The taking of autographs was a serious matter. From end to end of "the market" weighty work was going on without remission. Coloured Scouts were running their fountain pens dry in keeping up with the demand. Some of the names seemed to take up two lines, and they were borne away by proud Wolf Cubs, Girl Guides, and nondescript little lads with all the éclat of possession of a string of scalps.

The Jamboree hospital at Arrowe Park, Birkenhead, was formally opened on Saturday. The hospital contains 73 beds in ten marquees, which are fitted with electric light and telephones. There is also an operating theatre. A hundred Girl Guides, most of whom have had hospital experience, will be in attendance as nurses.

Before attending the opening ceremony the Chief Scout, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, made a special journey to Liverpool to visit Goddard Light (16), a Scout from Detroit, who is lying in the Fazakerley Hospital suffering from diphtheria. To lessen his disappointment at not being able to attend the Jamboree, the American boy has been invited, to his great delight, to spend a few days at Sir Robert's home at Paxhall, Hampshire. "Keep up your spirits and remember you are a Scout," was the Chief Scout's advice to him.

The party of American Scouts, which made the voyage by the Cunard liner Samaria, included America's oldest Boy Scout in the person of a New Yorker named Mr. E. K. Pietsch, aged 71, who has been a Scout for 18 years, and prefers to remain an ordinary boy member of his troop rather than accept promotion. He is accompanied by his wife, who is aged 70.

During the voyage the Scouts published their own daily newspaper.

A Cry to the Native South African Tribes.

BY THEODORE M. KAKAZA

(*A South African In America.*)

(*Continued.*)

Education and systematic propaganda carried on unceasingly by Garvey, finally began to have effect and strange to say the class of Negroes that were the first converts in large numbers, to the new religion, were illiterate and the progress that the organization has made in this country has been through the never say die spirit of these sons of Africa The educated negroes were drawn into the movement at first in small numbers and were divided into two classes There was the class that saw an opportunity to exploit the ignorant Negros who had joined in such large numbers, and they came into the movement purely for personal aggrandisement. They wanted to get the money and they got it. They voted themselves large salaries which were a hindrance in in the financial progress of the organization, and when they could not collect their large salaries they resorted to the courts, this hampered the work of the organization. Then there was another class This second class joined the movement actuated by pure motives. These men came in to help Marcus Garvey carry on this great work, they had caught the true vision of the leader, the emancipation of 400,000 000 thickmen and the redemption of their Father land.

The first class of negroes, conniving with outside enemies of the movement have been the curse of the many drawbacks that have been suffered by the organization, They were indirectly the cause that led to Marcus Garvey's imprisonment.

Outline of the Universal Negro Improvement Association Program

The program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association aims for the reclamation and redemption of Africa. It is a program that should appeal to Africans abroad as well as Africans at home, for we believe, it will be when the African at home enjoys complete autonomy that the African abroad will be respected among the nations and peoples with whom he has made a home.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association will find therefore more substantial progress and support among Negroes in Africa than among those who are sojourners in foreign lands; the African at home has never been divorced from black leadership. His tribal system his chiefs, his Indunas and his Izibonda all these have trained him to look for advice and leadership to men of his own race and colour rather than to whitemen. The leadership of the native African has been black from time immemorial. And that is why we believe that the black leadership of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will appeal more to the native African than to the African abroad.

To the native South African who is not acquainted with the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the one to whom the program has been misrepresented, we can explain it in no better language than that found in the Constitution of the U.N.I.A.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League is a social, institutional, humanitarian, friendly charitable, educational constructive and expansive society and is founded by persons desiring to the utmost to work for the general uplift of the Negro peoples of the world. And the members pledge themselves to do all in their power to conserve the rights of all mankind, believing always in the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God; The motto is "One God, One aim, One destiny" Therefore let justice be done to all mankind, realizing that if the strong oppress the weak, confusion and discontent will ever mark the path of man but with love faith and charity towards all, the reign of peace and plenty will be heralded into the world and the generations of men shall be called blessed."

MANIFESTO.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE URBAN ELECTORAL DISTRICT.

GENTLEMEN,—By the decision of the majority of the Electors of the Urban District I was elected to a seat in the Legislative Council of this Dependency in the year 1924 since when it has been my honour and privilege to represent your views in the Local Legislature. I venture to state that the policy which I have adumbrated since my connection with that assembly has been compatible with the pledges I made at the last General Election and that notwithstanding my personal views which I might have enjoyed on any given policy, I have, nevertheless, allowed myself to be guided by the dictates of my constituents. Five years having so quickly rolled away I find it again incumbent on me to once more seek your suffrage for the next election with the object of carrying out the programme I have outlined for the development of my country and people. I do not pretend to any claim to any knowledge, political or otherwise, superior to any candidate who might consider it essential to contest my seat, but I believe I might be allowed to lay claim to, apart from several years of political study, five years experience in the advance of Legislation and Council procedures, and such experience, I hold, should stand me in good stead in pursuing my onward political march. I have always made it my policy to desist from electioneering platitudes, which although sounding, tickling, and tingling for electioneering manœuvres might nevertheless be meaningless for practical purposes, having in view that the constitution of a Crown Colony is not analogous with that of a Dominion. I feel, however, that I could honestly pledge myself to advocate and press for reforms on several of the burning questions of the day, amongst the foremost of which may be mentioned:—

1. The continued advancement of members of the African Clerical staff to higher positions in the Civil Service.
2. The permanent employment of African Barristers of integrity to the Legal and Judicial Departments of the Service.
3. The Abolition of the Colour Bar in the West African Medical Staff and the employment of more qualified African Doctors in the Civil Service.
4. The abolition of the Assessors' Ordinance,
5. The appointment of Independent Judges outside the West African Judicial Bench, to preside on the now newly constituted West African Appeal Court.
6. The development by Government of Industrial pursuits for our boys and girls.
7. The establishment of Government Scholarships whereby our youths may be enabled to proceed out of the Colony for Educational advantages and the further widening of the Educational Code to meet the needs of the people.
8. The granting of the Legislative Franchise to women.
9. The establishment of ethical schools for Juvenile offenders.
10. The widening of pension rights to mechanics employed in Government Service.
11. The restriction of the immigration of aliens into the Colony.
12. The passing by Government of the "Poor Law" with the object of building a poor house to be maintained at public expense.

I would not attempt to demonstrate any spirit of egotism as to what I have been able to accomplish for the development of my country. I hope along with my Urban Associate, Mr. E. S. Beoku Betts, with whom I have harmoniously and laboriously worked during these years, to be able to discuss with you in our Public Meetings to be staged shortly, many of the intricate problems confronting us as a people and whilst I take the opportunity now of inviting you to all our Public Meetings let me kindly request you to overlook my inability to get in touch with everyone of you as I feel that you will have ample opportunity to solicit answers to any of your questions at these Public Meetings. In the meantime I ask to be allowed to reiterate my remarks at the last general election to the effect that I am quite willing and happy to allow an impartial scanning of my portfolio, and that if in the exercise of calm judgment I pass favourably under the limelight of your searching examination, thereby leaving you convinced that by my past public services you are satisfied that your interests and welfare are still in safety with me, and if you are further fully assured that I am endeavouring as hiterto to put on the mantle of efficiency as my distinguishing badge and a white and uncorrupted soul as my passport to public recognition, then I am quite willing to await with composure your verdict on the polling day. I am to rest.—Yours faithfully.

(Sgd).—BANKOLE-BRIGHT.

The White House, Garrison Street, Freetown,
August 26, 1929.

NATIVE FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

New Government Scheme.

(From our Johannesburg Correspondent.)

A new threat to the native franchise developing. At present that franchise is protected by a special clause in the Union Act requiring a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting jointly for any change in the existing law. The Nationalists are now anxious to repeal the protecting clause of the Constitution as a preliminary to passing the native bills upon which the Government appealed to the country. They would be able to do this by a bare majority of each House. An important section of the Cabinet is reported to be favourable to the plan.

Race Problem – 1929

Africa.

DEVELOPING THE STOCK INDUSTRY.

East Africa's First Meat Factory.

Special to "East Africa."

It is frequently forgotten that British Eastern Africa possesses over eight million head of cattle, the vast majority of which are of the Native "Zebu" type and are Native owned. Over much of the area occupied by these animals the natural grazing is superior to that obtaining in other parts of the world. Add to this the knowledge that in two generations an imported bull will produce progeny of a size and quality nearly equal to himself, and the opportunities for an additional meat-supply within the Empire—one within the same distance of London as is the Argentine—become apparent.

Local conditions are such that these East African countries cannot wait until all diseases have been eradicated and until sufficient imported sires have been introduced to effect physical improvement; rather, as in the earlier days of Buenos Ayres, and as at present in the more outlying parts of Brazil, must the start be made to market the products of the more primitive stock and so create a steady and regular industry which itself is an inspiration and a justification for the improvement in quality.

As a railway precedes intensive agricultural production, so must a meat factory precede and then progress with the development of an industry to utilise the surplus which a generous nature affords.

The Mwanza Packing House.

Therefore Meat Rations Limited (of Tanganyika) are to be congratulated on their enterprise and foresight in establishing at Mwanza, in the centre of nearly two million cattle, a modern and complete factory or packing house for dealing with these animals; and to the Government of the Territory is due great credit for the evidence of a desire to foster this industry at its inception.

Designed to handle fifty cattle daily at the start, the lay-out of the factory is such that expansion can be made to cope with the number which the cattle population of the area is capable of providing. Older producing centres market over 20% of their population annually—a figure which, if reached for Mwanza, would afford more than 1,000 head daily; and, having regard to the restricted nature of the grazing grounds in this particular locality, there is no doubt that the removal of this number of surplus males and sterile cows would react most beneficially upon the productive remainder.

Again following the stages of development elsewhere, the first step is to convert the available supply into readily transportable products, such as preserved or canned meats and beef extract, together with all possible by-products. With improved quality and the steady development of transportation facilities, frozen beef and later chilled, came into the realm of feasibility.

Much of Africa is meatless; modern hygiene shows that a meat protein is very necessary to labour. This gap Meat Rations Limited hope to fill with one produce or another according to the community and the transport and storage facilities obtainable.

Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, and the Belgian Congo are all on direct routes of communication from Mwanza, and since all meats are prepared according to Muhammadan law, the supply to the Sudan, Egypt, and other countries where this religion is followed is not barred, as it is from all other packing centres.

The managing director is Mr. Eustace Montgomery, whose wide experience in African live-stock conditions from every standpoint is of the greatest value. In Mr. T. Bancroft they are fortunate in possessing a works manager who has most successfully filled a similar post in Australia, the Argentine, and Madagascar. Among the local directors are Lord Delamere, Mr. C. N. M. Harrison, and Mr. Gilbert Colvile. The London representatives are Messrs. Bergl Australia Limited, who have considerable meat works interests in Queensland and South America, and with whom are associated the shipping firm of Houlder Brothers.

With such a beginning and backing we may confidently hope for great developments in the stock industry of these territories, and our readers will join us in wishing success to the company which is pioneering the way.

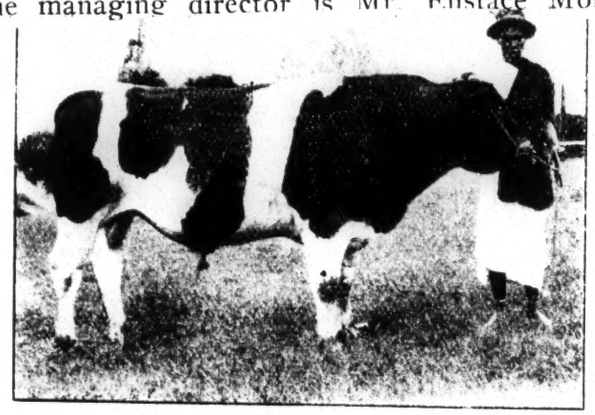


Photo: Tropical Life.

An East African Pedigree Friesland Bull.

LIQUOR IN WEST AFRICA.

To the Editor of West Africa.

Sir,—Those who are opposed to reform as regards the trade in liquor in West Africa seem to believe that prohibition, and at once, is what is asked for: so far as many of us are concerned this is a mistake.

Prohibition is our ideal, but we are not out for "all or nothing": reform, with a conservative people, is of slow growth, and I think the suggestions in Sir Hesketh Bell's letter are a useful contribution towards a partial solution. An increase in the duty, lower alcoholic strength, fewer licences, and more restricted hours of sale would be reasonable and helpful.

Another misunderstanding is the idea that we are against the Government and its policy, and that we do not adequately appreciate how much has been already done in mitigation of the evil of intemperance. Only those who are acquainted with the past can adequately appreciate how much the Local Governments have accomplished.

West Africa Vol. XIII 1928 Liquor

Fifty or 60 years ago, not more than one per cent. of the population of Nigeria could read or write, scores of petty Chiefs ruled the country, all the women and most of the men were virtually slaves, and the evil influence of that trade had not yet spent itself. Freedom was non-existent, and the low price at which liquor could be sold, fivepence or sixpence a bottle, led to the universal use of spirits.

In New Calabar, for example, there were, 50 years ago, six firms trading, all of them, with one exception, selling spirits. One, being more enterprising than its competitors, conceived the idea of sending out small, handy Dutch or Norwegian sailing vessels, with gin only, each carrying about 16,000 cases, equal to 30,000 gallons. Two cargoes a year amounted to 60,000 gallons. In addition they would import 60 puncheons of Cuban rum, equal to 6,000 gallons, and 300 barrels of Glasgow or Liverpool rum, equal to 6,000 gallons, making a total of 72,000 gallons. We may take it that the entire import from all the firms in that river amounted to 300,000 gallons. If we add Old Calabar, Opobo, Bonny, Brass, Benin and the River Niger, each of them doing a larger trade than New Calabar, the consumption of liquor would be about two million gallons annually.

In Lagos, which is also a port of Nigeria, and where there is a Government, and where the duty was 6d. per gallon, the consumption would be at least half a million gallons per annum. From this excessive quantity we have been saved by the advent of a civilised Government, but in spite of the progress attained everywhere, we have still the problem, and I believe merchants and officials alike recognise its existence. What we do not agree upon is how to deal with it. It involves sacrifice, and sacrifice is the fine way of doing things. We had an example of this in 1833, when the slaves in the West Indies were emancipated, at a cost of £20,000,000 to this country, although we were under no legal obligation to give this compensation. The whole difficulty is due to want of courage, not only the courage of our opinions, but of our feelings.

One economy which might be attained is in the expenditure upon officials, which is, I think, in excess of the requirements of Nigeria. We are making improvements as regards the welfare of the future at the cost of the present generation. In 1926, for example, there were in Nigeria 2,226 European officials and 4,965 African, an average of one European official for every 8,535 inhabitants. The proportion in India,

COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Communist propaganda, to which we have often referred recently, that is being conducted among natives of South Africa is to be intensified in the near future according to information received from reliable loyal native sources. Divisions among native organisations with political, economic and industrial programmes are being exploited by the Communist Party, which is financed by Moscow, and reckons upon discontent and dissension as a potential source of strength for their movement. The prosecution of European and native agitators, and the success of the Bunting appeal have, it is stated, given a tremendous fillip to the Communist movement, and the European section of it is optimistic that at an early date it will be appreciably reinforced by natives seceding from moderate organisations. In Basutoland, where it is said considerable dissatisfaction obtains, especially as a result of a native orator Gumede being refused permission to enter the territory to speak on the objects of the league against Imperialism, the leaders of the Commoners' Council have decided to hold in Maseru a conference in respect of which invitations will be addressed to several native organisations in the Union. Again the most emphatic warning may be sounded, that unless the Union Government takes very prompt action to stop the mischievous activities of certain well-known personalities, the result can only be of tragic consequences in the early future.

Liberian Ministers and Politics.

To the Editor,
"The Liberia Times"
Liberia Times

Dear Editor. 5-9-29

Please allow me space in your popular periodical to speak on behalf of the public with reference to an article or sermon by an observer which appeared in the columns of the March issue of our paper from the text "Ye cannot serve God and mammon" Matt- 6, 24. We would have spoken before with respect to a previous one in the January and February issue of "The Agricultural World" whereby the Editor assumed that to keep ministers out of politics is to "separate church from State." As to the principle which may be the aim of both of those writers on preachers, we are not disposed to discuss now it it is to prevent ministers from serving their Country whether in civil or political capacity. We leave that rather with the Government to decide.

Monrovia Liberia

What we feel to point out is misquotations of the Text above refered to and to make the necessary corrections thereby removing its misleading effect upon the public mind against ministers of the Gospel, Matt. 6, 24. "No man can serve two masters . . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon" apply to ministers of States; ministers of the Gospel, and mankind in general, and that "mammon" means riches, not politics alone.

And Matt. 25: 32 "And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." This is purely description of the judgment; and does not mean to separate the church from the State or the sheep from the Goats. Therefore the texts are not applicable to the preachers' sermon and therefore purporting to mislead the public.

Thanks for the space granted.

(Yours for the public)
James J. Cole.

NATIVE LAND TENURE.

RESOLUTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Imvo Johannesburg 5-7-29

We, as representatives of Native land-holders by individual tenure from the districts of East London, Fort Beaufort, Glen Grey, Herschel, King Williamstown, Queenstown, Stutterheim and Victoria East met in Conference on the 23rd. August, 1929 at Mnqesha, King William's Town, for the consideration of the Government's proposals affecting land tenure under the Native Administration Act, desire humbly to call the most earnest attention of the Minister for Native Affairs to the following situation :—

1. (a). That the Government notices instructing the various magistrates to investigate and determine the rights of occupation of land by Natives during October next, have created considerable panic in our communities which threaten grave consequences and possible collisions in the process of investigating ;

King Williamstown Gazette

(b) because from the very inception and promulgation of this Act, the people concerned, in these districts, have never obtained a fair and full exposition or knowledge of the Government's intentions ;

(c) and that as a consequence of the complicated and abstruse character of the Act with its regulations, we strongly feel that the presence of the Minister for Native Affairs is urgently required for an indaba lasting at least two days, with the combined representatives to be deputed by the districts mentioned whereat an opportunity will be afforded for a free interchange of views and the elucidation of the contentious issues involved.

II. In view of the serious and dangerous eventualities that might attend the premature holding of the proposed investigations, we humbly urge that in the meantime the October enquiries be suspended pending the materialisation of the indaba requested.

An Authority's Views.

South Africa was visited recently by Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield who was formerly President of the Massachussets Agricultural College and latterly President of the Michigan Agricultural College. He was a member of the well known Commission on Country Life to which he was appointed in 1908 by President Roosevelt. The recommedations of this Commission have been a great beneficial influence in the agricultural development of the United States.

Kenyon Butterfield

Dr. Butterfield is a leader in the sphere of rural life conditions and was sent to our country by the Carnegig Corporation to be of assistance in connection with the funds provided for a study of the "poor white" problem. In this connection he came in close touch with the Commission now investigating this problem. He also travelled through various parts of the Union lecturing on rural problems, and altogether was able to meet many people and to get a good insight into rural conditions prevailing in our country. 9-9-29

His views on the subject are therefore of considerable interest to as, and on special request he has outlined them in the following letter addressed by him to the Secretary for Agricultural, Pretoria :— Mafeking Mail

"I am in receipt of your letter of recent date asking me to prepare a Memorandum of my impressions of rural conditions and rural problems in South Africa and their solutions. I have not had the opportunity to study agricultural affairs in South Africa with sufficient care to enable me to meet your request in full ; indeed, I requestion whether any one man is competent to suggest solutions for the wide range of problems that arise in the field of modern agriculture and farm life. I am impressed, moreover, with the work being done by the Government in this country in the agricultural line, in research, in education, and in regulatory service. Your staff is far more competent than myself to answer these questions.

The most I can do, therefore, is to suggest some considerations that bear upon a rural policy. I understand that the Department considers this to be one of its most important tasks of the near future. Certainly it is a need in most parts of the world. It is possible that what I can say even on this general subject, may seem to you like a set of commonplaces. I am, however, keenly interested in all these movements, not only in America, but in other countries, that look toward the development of agricultural policies and the formulation of agricultural progammes. Along these this line, therefore, may I venture a few general suggestions bearing I hope, upon the main objective of your request? Referring to the Natives of South Africa, he said :—

I have no desire to pass judgment upon the Native problem in South Africa, and even if I had such a desire, I have no formula for the solution. One cannot, however, avoid the obvious, and it seems perfectly clear that the five or six million Natives in South Africa constitute a major factor in an agricultural policy. They are potential agricultural producers of increasing quantities of soil-grown products both for themselves and for the general market. They are also potentially a great body of consumers of industrial products. Furthermore, they play such a tremendous part in agriculture as farm labourers. I should suppose, therefore, that no adequate agricultural policy and programme in South Africa can be developed apart from the most exhaustive and careful study of the economic possibilities that are tied up in these great Native populations.

NATIVE FRANCHISE THREAT.

JOHANNESBURG, Monday.

A new threat to the native franchise is developing. At present that franchise is protected by a special clause in the Union Act requiring a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting jointly for any change in the existing law. The Nationalists are now anxious to repeal the protecting clause of the Constitution as a preliminary to passing the native bills upon which the Government appealed to the country. They would be able to do this by a bare majority of each House. An important section of the Cabinet is reported to be favourable to the plan.—"Manchester Guardian."

Friend 9-21-29

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, APRIL 2, '29

Glen Grey Titles System.

At a meeting of Native owners of freehold and quitrent land of the district of King Williamstown held before the Chief Native Commissioner (Ciskei) on the 25th. ult., Natives, numbering some 50 souls expressed dissatisfaction with the change of the form of title from the old Sir George Grey to the new Glen Grey code as laid down in the Native Administration Act. The root of the complaint was that the Glen Grey system was a form of land occupation conditional on certain legal obligations being fulfilled, and was not a true and untrammelled ownership as provided in the early Sir George Grey titles. We are at present not concerned with advocating or opposing the new system; but one thing we do say is that when the act was considered by the Select Committee of parliament in 1927, arrangements should have been made to obtain the direct representation of Natives in the taking of evidence. Government officials who gave evidence by reason of long experience in Native administration are not in a position to look at the act through Native spectacles. The general tendency would be that these officials would invariably incline towards recommending legislation to meet the administrative convenience and thus overlook the cardinal points the Native would look forward to in providing for posterity. Now that the act is put into practice some opposition is met with by reason of the omission of direct Native evidence being obtained at the outset. Officials may be prone to be impatient with the Natives when in reality this is the first opportunity their views have been heard. We advise caution and slow progress that may result in the ultimate disillusionment of those who are not yet aware of the full benefits offered.

NATIVE FRANCHISE MANIFESTO.

Warning to the Government.

CAPE TOWN, The following manifesto on the Native Franchise question has been issued:

"In view of the great issue raised by the proposal to abolish the Cape system of native representation in Parliament and to substitute another, we, the undersigned, desire to draw the attention of our fellow countrymen to the vital principle which is at stake and the grave menace to the whole material fabric of South Africa which is involved. The importance of this issue transcends all party considerations. Our appeal, therefore, is made in no party spirit and is untrammelled by party boundaries. Indeed, we believe that there are many men and women in every party who look with grave uneasiness and with profound compunction of conscience on these proposals, touching as they do the great principles of justice, right and statemanship on which alone the permanent structure of States and civilisations can be based. Our conviction that the answer to the question upon which the decision is to be taken must profoundly influence the destiny of this country and determine the fate of future generations of South Africans, Europeans and non-Europeans alike, impels us to speak.

Strongly as we feel this, we recognise the honesty of the Prime Minister in attempting to deal comprehensively with this great question and his desire to serve the best interests of South Africa which is evident in his attempt. Nor are we blind to the great advance made in his concession of principle that throughout the Union, not only Europeans but also non-Europeans must be directly represented in Parliament, and his success in carrying large sections of the people with him in regard to this. But while rendering this great service, he is at the same time fixing on the whole country a principle which appears to us profoundly

MISCHIEVOUS AND MENACING,

so that it is impossible for us to consent even by silence to bargaining away what is a right in the south merely to obtain what is at best only half a right in the north, when, as we see it, rightness and safety for the whole country go together. Cape legislation has never recognised any distinction of colour or race in the fundamentals of liberty.

Equality before the law, freedom for any man to perform any work for which he is competent and equality in the exercise of electoral powers by all who have satisfied the uniform standard—these have been the birthright of all men. Behind this stands the recognition of the basic fact that all sections of the population are integral parts of the whole with common interests, that the welfare of the whole country and not that of any single race or colour is the true concern of all people; and that on the whole hearted acceptance of this principal by all sections of the population the welfare of each and all and the safety of the whole country depends.

The provisions of the Bill

STRIKE AT THE ROOT

of this policy on its political side. It is proposed that in future there shall be differentiation, not only in the method of exercise, but in effectiveness between the electoral rights of European and Bantu. The representatives of the latter are to be sectionally chosen and their number is to be strictly limited with the avowed object of lessening the effectiveness of the Bantu vote. These proposals are based on the assumption that the interests of the Bantu people are separate and distinct from the interests of the European, and on the reserve that no Bantu, however, educated, civilised or cultured, shall ever be permitted to hope even in the most distant future to attain to a political rank equal to that open to all European men. Politically, the Bantu is to be branded for all time with the stamp of inferiority, solely on account of his race.

The result of this policy, as surely as night follows day, will be to drive all the Bantu, civilised or uncivilised, educated or uneducated, into one camp by giving them a common grievance. That grievance will consist of their being driven beyond the pale of full citizenship by the withdrawal from them of a valuable and dearly prized political privilege which they have never abused. We know of no instance anywhere in the world where a backward step has been taken on the mere basis of race or colour. Certainly in South Africa all this can end in

NOTHING BUT NATIONAL DISASTER

in which the Europeans will suffer at least as much as the non-Europeans. Already the mere proposal has deeply agitated and aroused the native mind. It has increased and is increasing a common race consciousness and has organised the whole dark race in a moment by inflaming in their hearts the universal instinct of self defence. There are many sections in the population of South Africa and as many sectional sentiments. In dealing with these it has always proved necessary to the national safety and peace for the Legislature to carry with it the assent of at least a great proportion of any section affected by its action. In no case is this more essential than in that of natives at their present stage of development, keenly alive as they are to justice, to sympathy, and also to the lack of these. But in regard to the proposals now before the country we are confronted by the determined antagonism of the Bantu people. Franchise or no franchise, a friendly Bantu people is no menace, and a hostile Bantu people is. By rousing in their hearts a rankling sense of being strangers in their own country, we should be making them hostile. By making them feel that as they develop they become full partners we should be making them friendly and eager to take their place as civilised men in a civilisation, naturally led in the main in the interests of all men of European stock; and we should thus destroy for ever the substance of the fear which

inspires this proposed legislation.

The change is advocated on the ground that the register may be swamped by Native voters who cannot be trusted with the franchise and that in consequence, European civilisation is endangered. We consider that this danger has been greatly over-estimated. The figures officially supplied to the Select Committee of the House of Assembly appointed to examine the original Bill are by no means alarming, but even were the danger a real one there are two things to be considered: First, that.

THE OBVIOUS REMEDY

lies ready to our hand, and, secondly that the danger of the restrictive policy embodied in the Bill is immeasurably greater than that of the present system.

The remedy is to raise the franchise as was done in 1892, without discrimination of race or colour, and to do it so that none but really civilised persons can come upon the register. The danger lies in the inevitable reaction to reality or even the appearance of repression. The importance of the Cape system is that it opens to the developed Native a door to full citizenship in his own country. Authoritative voices have declared that we have no ground for asserting that there are any special limits to the development of the Bantu people. If they develop and full citizenship is open to them, the Cape policy is setting them on the path by which they may enter into their rights as friends of the European civilisation to which they will owe their rise. There is no other path to safety. If they develop and full citizenship is denied them, there is bound in the end to be a clash.

It would no doubt be possible for a time to keep them down by force but force has never proved to be a lasting remedy, least of all in South Africa. The denial of full civic rights to civilised Bantu people would mean a challenge to all the non-European peoples of Africa, and not of Africa alone, and might precipitate a racial struggle, the possibilities of which are

TOO DREADFUL TO CONTEMPLATE,

especially in their impact on European civilisation in this country. On the other hand the policy we stand for aims at the only possible solution. It is grounded on the eternal principles which lie at the root of stable progress and boldly takes its stand on the impregnable rock of civilisation. In this way the Native who attains to the franchise will be enabled to vote, not as a Native but as a citizen.

Nor must we overlook the wider view. The relations between black and white have come to a head in South Africa. No greater question confronts mankind. The eyes of the world are upon us. We are in the front of a struggle of opposing policies, and the experience and accumulated wisdom of the world are on the side of the policy we advocate. Ultimately it must prevail, but if we depart from it now, we shall be brought back to it through years of conflict with increasing embitterment and estrangement. We shudder to think of leaving such a legacy to the generations that are coming after us.

For the sake of European and non-European alike, for the sake of South Africa and civilisation in general, we feel it our duty to raise our voices on behalf of what we believe to be the only sound policy. Much effort will be needed to secure the adoption of these views; much educational work has to be done, stubborn prejudices have to be broken down. We need therefore and shall welcome the co-operation of, all who are in sympathy with our views. Those who sympathise and are prepared to co-operate in any way are invited and urged to communicate with the acting secretary Native Franchise Vigilance Committee, London and Lancashire House, 148 St. George's Street, Cape Town.

J. ROSE-INNES, WILLIAM M. CARTER, Archbishop, J. W. JAGGER, W. DUNCAN BAXTER, EMILIE SOLOMON, CLARKSON TREDGOLD F. K. WIENER, HENRY BURTON, MORRIS ALEXANDER, H. E. S. FREMANTLE, RAMSDEN BALMFORTH, H. L. CURREY, P. ROSS FRAMES, MARY BROWN (born Solomon.)

A Distinguished Visitor.

[By L. G. E. Bam,]

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The 15th of February marked what may pardonably be called a very unique day in the annals of the people of Western Pondoland.

It was something of a surprise, and a very pleasant one at that, when the Paramount Chief received a communication from Mr. Ross Norton, the Resident Magistrate, giving information that his Lordship Justice Feetham of the Transvaal would visit the Great Place and that His Lordship was particularly anxious to see the Chief's Civil Court at work.

The Court was sitting when his Lordship, accompanied by Mrs. Feetham, Mr. Ross Norton and another European gentleman, came in. The whole party came into the Court room and sat listening for upwards of three quarters of an hour. His Lordship seemed to be intensely alive and interested to all that was going on.

The Paramount Chief then made a brief appropriate speech, wherein he thanked His Lordship for his visit and explained the powers and procedure of the Native Court.

His Lordship in turn said he was very thankful he had been able to come. He felt that the court was working on proper lines. He encouraged the Chief to keep up the good work he was carrying on. The party then left for Port St. Johns.

Thanks are due to Mr. Ross Norton for thus thoughtfully and kindly making the visit possible.

It is hoped that this visit will be an earnest to many more such visits. One may be allowed to be a little sanguine and to think that this visit was significant and that it was a very happy augury for more tangible concessions in the near future.

A Wise Manifesto.

All the Bantu are grateful, more profoundly grateful than words can express, for the manifesto issued at Cape Town on Saturday 16th March 1929 over the signatures of J. J. Rose-Innes, William M. Carter (Archbishop), J. W. Jagger, W. Duncan Baxter, Emilie Solomon, Clarkson Tredgold, F. K. Wiener, Henry Burton, Morris Alexander, H. E. S. Fremantle, Ramsden Balmforth, H. L. Currey, P. Ross Frames, Mary Brown (born Solomon).

It is our intention to republish this historical and statesmanlike announcement in its entirety in our next issue. We do not share the opinion that the manifesto was belated. It is just as well, we think, that it was published after a full-dress debate in the joint session of the Assembly and Senate in order that the authors may not be charged with influencing members of parliament. The manifesto will be reviewed in these columns more fully at an early date, as we feel that it must be done full justice as an important contribution towards the policy to be followed in ruling black races not only of South Africa, but throughout the British possessions in the African continent.

New Brighton Location.

South African Native Opinion 3/25/29

(Contributed)

The following formed a Native deputation appointed by the people to interview the Chief Magistrate in his capacity as Native Commissioner to submit to him certain grievances which they desired him to investigate and refer same to proper authorities for redress. viz:—Messrs Tshamto (Chairman) M'Belle, Dubula, Meyase and Dippa (Secretary).

The Natives have complaints and objections against the newly built singlemen's quarters. The walls and floors are built with cement and the objection is that the building will not be healthy for people's occupation. Floors are not raised to allow air to penetrate under the floors as this should have been the case in a place like New Brighton. The rent of 9/- per head is very high considering the incomes of the people from whom this rent is expected to come. These have many other calls to meet from the little wages they are paid by their masters. The deputation suggested that the Council had two ways open to ask for the extension of the time in which to pay the redemption loan and interest, or to ask all the employes of Native Labour, who are really represented by the members of the Town Council to

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

TOBACCO AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

Mr. J. A. McDonald's Advice.

Mr. J. A. McDonald, who recently returned to Rhodesia after a six months' tour of the Old Country, made some interesting suggestions in the course of an interview at Bulawayo concerning the colony's tobacco and other problems.

He said that in England he found Rhodesian tobacco well spoken of in London and elsewhere, but the Rhodesian 'cigarette could not be said to be a success. The cigarettes had not caught on well, though large numbers of them would appear to be smoked. There was a great difficulty in creating a new taste for anything of this kind.

"Some people," said Mr. McDonald, "complain that the cigarette is too long and does not fit their cigarette cases, and that they would rather have twelve of the ordinary size than ten of over-length. Others say the cigarette creates a slight dryness on the palate. Further, the name 'Rhodian' itself had not caught on. On the other hand, Rhodesian tobacco for pipe smoking and for blending with other cigarettes outside 'Rhodian' is undoubtedly making good headway, and I feel sure that if the tobacco continues to be well pushed the demand for it will continue to increase satisfactorily, provided, of course, good quality tobacco only is put on the market.

Mr. Hopkins' Work.

"I should like to mention here," added Mr. McDonald, "how very hard Mr. H. S. Hopkins has been working in the interests of tobacco-growers, and of Rhodesia generally. His untiring energy is wonderful, and there is hardly any part of the country from Bristol to Aberdeen which he has not visited. Wherever I encountered business men who are interested in South Africa they have either come across or heard of Mr. Hopkins's activities."

Apropos of the export of Rhodesian cattle to England, Mr. McDonald said buyers in Liverpool with whom he had discussed the matter were not very hopeful of Rhodesia doing anything very much in the markets at home for some time to come. At any rate, they pointed out Rhodesian beef was what they termed "somewhat on the dry side," and that there were no signs of any interlarding of lean and fat streaks such as there are to be found on animals fed up at home or from the Argentine.

The Liverpool buyers added that if Rhodesia desired to create a market for beef the colony would have to establish a standardised grade and guarantee regular supplies. They added, further, that they were not now looking for bulk in cattle, as smaller roasts were being called for, and that there was very small demand for beef that was over three years of age. Quality, again, was what they urged the colony to aim at.

BULAWAYO WELCOMES THE NEW GOVERNOR.

Sir Cecil Rodwell Recalls His Previous Visit.

Sir Cecil Rodwell, the new Governor of Southern Rhodesia, received a most hearty welcome on his arrival in Bulawayo. In expressing his appreciation, Sir Cecil recalled his earlier acquaintance with the town. He assured the townspeople that any knowledge he may have accumulated during his twenty-eight years' service in South Africa and other parts of the world would be devoted wholeheartedly to promoting the welfare of this colony.

His Excellency added that he had the pleasantest recollection of previous visits to Bulawayo, the first having been made as long ago as 1902. He little thought then that he might be returning a quarter of a century later to take the high appointment upon which they have been good enough to congratulate him and upon which he felt himself so greatly honoured.

Remarkable Progress.

"Neither," he added, "would one have ventured at that time to predict the remarkable progress which has been made. Although it is but a week since I arrived, I am already becoming imbued with a sense of strong optimism in regard to the future. I heard enough in London, on my way out, and at the Cape to convince me of the confidence in Rhodesia which is felt outside. I have been equally gratified since my arrival by the atmosphere of confidence which, notwithstanding one or two set-backs in certain quarters, appears to prevail among Rhodesians themselves. There is nothing like confidence, especially when it is based not merely on the abstract ground of future expectations, but on the more solid foundations of success already achieved, and it will be a matter of surprise to me if, in the next five or six years, we do not see not only a continuance but an acceleration of progress and development.

"As to Bulawayo itself, the improvements and extensions effected since I first knew it reflect much credit on those responsible for its municipal administration. I shall watch with great interest the completion of the further undertakings contemplated. I was pleased to find that upon the old site so closely identified with the early history of Rhodesia a residence is still preserved for the Governor. My wife and I will regard it not only as a duty, but as a pleasure, both to spend a few days occasionally and at intervals to make a more protracted stay, when we shall hope to be allowed to participate fully in local affairs and interests. I thank you again, gentlemen, for your address, and warmly reciprocate the good wishes with which it closes. I shall duly forward through the proper channel your expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King, for whose restoration to health prayers are being offered up by millions of his subjects throughout the Empire."

PRESENT-DAY PROGRESS IN ZANZIBAR.

SIR CLAUD HOLLIS ENTERTAINED BY THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

(Special "African World" Report.)

Sir Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., British Resident at Zanzibar, who was the guest of the African Society at luncheon at the Trocadero Restaurant on Wednesday, gave an interesting account of modern developments in this progressive East African Dependency. The Rt. Hon. Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., President of the Society, presided.

Among those present were Lady Hollis, the Hon. A. Buxton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson, K.C.B., and Lady Wilson, Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Lt.-Col. W. H. Murphy, D.S.O., and Mrs. Murphy, Captain H. Bertin, M.L.A., S. Rhodesia, Lady Gould-Adams, Mrs. Bethell, Miss Brown, Mrs. Charles Bruce, F. P. Castellain, Esq., Dr. F. Charlesworth, Miss Charlesworth, Major C. H. Dale, O.B.E., S. Corbett Davis, Esq., C.M.G., V. Dean, Esq., and Mrs. V. Dean, Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., and Miss A. d'Egville, Col. C. J. Elkan, D.S.O., O.B.E., F. Douglas Fox, Esq., J.P., and Mrs. Douglas Fox.

Lord Edward Gleichen, Dr. D. Gawler and Mrs. Gawler, Miss E. M. Godman, Major C. S. Goldman, Hon. Mrs. Goldman, and Miss Hazel Goldman, Dame Alice Goodman, D.B.E.

Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Mrs. Hankey, John Hicks, Esq., and Mrs. Hicks, Michael Holland, Esq., M.C., and Mrs. Michael Holland, Miss Hollis, E. Preston Hytch, Esq., Captain Lees, Miss Ledingham, G. J. Lethem, Esq., Mrs. Longman, Col. David Lyell.

F. W. H. Migeod, Esq., and Mrs. Migeod, H. H. G. Mitchell, Esq., and Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Philbrick Nelson, Col. E. H. O'Farrell, Miss Reynolds, Col. W. Rigby, D.S.O., John Scott, Esq., A. A. Somerville, Esq., M.P., Alan Sullivan, Esq., and Mrs. Sullivan, d'Arcy Sullivan, Esq., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mrs Curtis Thomson, A. R. Thomson, Esq., M.L.A., Miss Thomson, Charles Watney, Esq., W. A. Wills, Esq., and Mrs. Wills.

Lord Buxton's Speech.

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Transport and Public Services.

Next in importance to cloves was the cocoanut industry. The export of copra had increased by 50 per cent. during the last five years, and though more recently there had been a setback, further expansion of the industry in the future was assured. Cacao, oranges, and other products were also being grown. For the development of these industries facilities were of great importance. With regard to the former, a magnificent lighter wharf and jetty had recently been constructed, and first-class lighterage facilities were available both at Zanzibar and Pemba. In conclusion, Sir Claud Hollis referred briefly to the highly efficient state of the public services. Every visitor, he said, was struck by the health of the natives and the clean appearance of the town. In addition to the town hospitals, twenty-three district dispensaries had been opened, in which swamp—were being carried out. With regard to education, experts who had visited Zanzibar had commented favourably on the scheme of elementary education which had been inaugurated. There was no land question in Zanzibar, as, with the exception of some Government plantations, all land belonged to the natives.

The health of the chairman was proposed by Major C. S. Goldman. Lord Buxton briefly responded.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

TOBACCO AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

Mr. J. A. McDonald's Advice.

Mr. J. A. McDonald, who recently returned to Rhodesia after a six months' tour of the Old Country, made some interesting suggestions in the course of an interview at Bulawayo concerning the colony's tobacco and other problems.

He said that in England he found Rhodesian tobacco very well spoken of in London and elsewhere, but the Rhodesian cigarette could not be said to be a success. The cigarettes had not caught on well, though large numbers of them would appear to be smoked. There was a great difficulty in creating a new taste for anything of this kind.

"Some people," said Mr. McDonald, "complain that the cigarette is too long and does not fit their cigarette cases, and that they would rather have twelve of the ordinary size than ten of over-length. Others say the cigarette creates a slight dryness on the palate. Further, the name 'Rhodian' itself had not caught on. On the other hand, Rhodesian tobacco for pipe smoking and for blending with other cigarettes outside 'Rhodian' is undoubtedly making good headway, and I feel sure that if the tobacco continues to be well pushed the demand for it will continue to increase satisfactorily, provided, of course, good quality tobacco only is put on the market.

Mr. Hopkins' Work.

"I should like to mention here," added Mr. McDonald, "how very hard Mr. H. S. Hopkins has been working in the interests of tobacco-growers, and of Rhodesia generally. His untiring energy is wonderful, and there is hardly any part of the country from Bristol to Aberdeen which he has not visited. Wherever I encountered business men who are interested in South Africa they have either come across or heard of Mr. Hopkins's activities."

Apropos of the export of Rhodesian cattle to England, Mr. McDonald said buyers in Liverpool with whom he had discussed the matter were not very hopeful of Rhodesia doing anything very much in the markets at home for some time to come. At any rate, they pointed out Rhodesian beef was what they termed "somewhat on the dry side," and that there were no signs of any interlarding of lean and fat streaks such as there are to be found on animals fed up at home or from the Argentine.

The Liverpool buyers added that if Rhodesia desired to create a market for beef the colony would have to establish a standardised grade and guarantee regular supplies. They added, further, that they were not now looking for bulk in cattle, as smaller roasts were being called for, and that there was very small demand for beef that was over three years of age. Quality, again, was what they urged the colony to aim at.

BULAWAYO WELCOMES THE NEW GOVERNOR.

Sir Cecil Rodwell Recalls His Previous Visit.

Sir Cecil Rodwell, the new Governor of Southern Rhodesia, received a most hearty welcome on his arrival in Bulawayo. In expressing his appreciation, Sir Cecil recalled his earlier acquaintance with the town. He assured the townspeople that any knowledge he may have accumulated during his twenty-eight years' service in South Africa and other parts of the world would be devoted wholeheartedly to promoting the welfare of this colony.

His Excellency added that he had the pleasantest recollection of previous visits to Bulawayo, the first having been made as long ago as 1902. He little thought then that he might be returning a quarter of a century later to take the high appointment upon which they have been good enough to congratulate him and upon which he felt himself so greatly honoured.

Remarkable Progress.

"Neither," he added, "would one have ventured at that time to predict the remarkable progress which has been made. Although it is but a week since I arrived, I am already becoming imbued with a sense of strong optimism in regard to the future. I heard enough in London, on my way out, and at the Cape to convince me of the confidence in Rhodesia which is felt outside. I have been equally gratified since my arrival by the atmosphere of confidence which, notwithstanding one or two set-backs in certain quarters, appears to prevail among Rhodesians themselves. There is nothing like confidence, especially when it is based not merely on the abstract ground of future expectations, but on the more solid foundations of success already achieved, and it will be a matter of surprise to me if, in the next five or six years, we do not see not only a continuance but an acceleration of progress and development.

"As to Bulawayo itself, the improvements and extensions effected since I first knew it reflect much credit on those responsible for its municipal administration. I shall watch with great interest the completion of the further undertakings contemplated. I was pleased to find that upon the old site so closely identified with the early history of Rhodesia a residence is still preserved for the Governor. My wife and I will regard it not only as a duty, but as a pleasure, both to spend a few days occasionally and at intervals to make a more protracted stay, when we shall hope to be allowed to participate fully in local affairs and interests. I thank you again, gentlemen, for your address, and warmly reciprocate the good wishes with which it closes. I shall duly forward through the proper channel your expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King, for whose restoration to health prayers are being offered up by millions of his subjects throughout the Empire."

PRESENT-DAY PROGRESS IN ZANZIBAR.

SIR CLAUD HOLLIS ENTERTAINED BY THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

(Special "African World" Report.)

Sir Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., British Resident at Zanzibar, who was the guest of the African Society at luncheon at the Trocadero Restaurant on Wednesday, gave an interesting account of modern developments in this progressive East African Dependency. The Rt. Hon. Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., President of the Society, presided.

Among those present were Lady Hollis, the Hon. A. Buxton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson, K.C.B., and Lady Wilson, Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Lt.-Col. W. H. Murphy, D.S.O., and Mrs. Murphy, Captain H. Bertin, M.L.A., S. Rhodesia, Lady Gould-Adams, Mrs. Bethell, Miss Brown, Mrs. Charles Bruce, F. P. Castellain, Esq., Dr. F. Charlesworth, Miss Charlesworth, Major C. H. Dale, O.B.E., F. Corbett Davis, Esq., C.M.G., V. Dean, Esq., and Mrs. V. Dean, Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., and Miss d'Egville, Col. C. J. Elkan, D.S.O., D.B.E., E. Douglas Fox, Esq., J.P., and Mrs. Douglas Fox. Lord Edward Gleichen, Dr. D. Gawler and Mrs. Gawler, Miss E. M. Godman, Major C. S. Goldman, Hon. Mrs. Goldman, and Miss Hazel Goldman, Dame Alice Goodman, D.B.E.

Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Mrs. Hankey, John Hicks, Esq., and Mrs. Hicks, Michael Holland, Esq., M.C., and Mrs. Michael Holland, Miss Hollis, E. Preston Hytch, Esq., Captain Lees, Miss Ledingham, G. J. Lethem, Esq., Mrs. Longman, Col. David Lyell. F. W. H. Migeod, Esq., and Mrs. Migeod, H. H. G. Mitchell, Esq., and Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Philbrick Nelson, Col. E. H. O'Farrell, Miss Reynolds, Col. W. Rigby, D.S.O., John Scott, Esq., A. A. Somerville, Esq., M.P., Alan Sullivan, Esq., and Mrs. Sullivan, d'Arcy Sullivan, Esq., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mrs Curtis Thomson, A. R. Thomson, Esq., M.L.A., Miss Thomson, Charles Watney, Esq., W. A. Wills, Esq., and Mrs. Wills.

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creased by 50 per cent. during the last five years, and though more recently there had been a setback, further expansion of the industry in the future was assured. Cacao, struck by the natives and the advantageously grown. In addition of these industries was treated last year. Further facilities were of great importance. With 312,000 cases were treated by the town. In regard to the former, a magnificent lighterage appeared to be carried out. wharf and jetty had been con-the Creek—in the past a malaria-infested structed, and first-class lighterage facilities—were being opened, in which were available both at Zanzibar and Pemba. swamp on the Zanzibar had commented favourably on the Regular communication between the islands scheme of elementary education which had was maintained by two Government steamers. There was no land ques-There were 150 miles of excellent motor tion in Zanzibar, as, with the exroads, superior to many country roads in England, in the island, exclusive of town roads.

Readers Views.

The Department of the Comptroller of Stores.

[BY E. T. N.]

The Editor, "Naledi."—

I thank you very much for bringing to the notice of the Basuto public the anti-Native policy of this department. At the head of this department there is a man of the type of Europeans that the Basuto brag most about because they say they are not Africans. They come from the King's land, and they have not come to South Africa or Basutoland because they were in want of "bread and butter," as you put it Mr Editor. They left the shores of England because they loved the Basuto subjects of the Great Queen Victoria and have come to live among them in spirit of fellowship and to take charge of the Basuto tutelage in truth, faith, and exemplary loyalty to their King who is also our adopted King and to represent British tradition of justice.

This type of officials coming from overseas are those that Basuto look upon them as real blood and take pride in them, because they claim that they are the true sons of the Royal house to they belong which themselves by adoption.

By your remarks and the conversations I have heard with other intelligent Basuto, I must conclude that you are now being disillutioned.

I personally would like to see these offices of trust among us Basuto held by people who have grown among us and knew our needs, than to see them given to men who are given these offices in respect of the fame of the houses from which they sprung in England. Those people would never always have a right feeling for the people like Basuto who are incomparative to their stage in life and who from their birth have received an influence to abhor men who grew in poverty.

I must tell you Mr Editor that I doubt if the head of this department is aware that he does you any wrong. Most things are done unconsciously, There are very few officials who may have the inclination to bring themselves to the level of the Basuto when they consider things or matters affecting them. They are not even conscious that you supply them with "bread and butter" you speak of and all the comfort they have. They have picked up a lost pearl which nobody has come forward to claim.

In my opinion I think it is time some industrial organisation is started in Basutoland. If the Government does not see as far as our needs, then some medium must be got to bring our needs within their horizon.

I have read your remaks about transport. But I think this department as far as trek-oxen transport was concerned has been fair with the Basuto. They paid what I call reasonable sums at times.

Where I must admit there is no fair-play is in respect of Lorries. After reading your leader I drew the attention of one of Truck owners to it. He told me that this department won't take tenders who asked a pound more than they paid to wagon loads on the same distance. He recalled to me an instance when this department paid a wagon transport to Teyateyaneng £12 per load, and told me that last month over the same distance paid a truck below that figure, Of course this is not the department's fault, it is the fault of the man who made that foolish tender. However, it is not fair that any man in official capacity over blind people should have taken advantage of their blindness.

I presume that the Government commercial truck is condemned in view of their tenders for larger numbers of trek-oxen. and owing to the fact that I no longer see it going to and fro between Northern and Southern camps of Basutoland. And I take it that it must have plunged the government, within this short period, to heavy accounts for broken parts that had to be replaced. The repairs become so expensive that the government must presumably, condemn the truck! But however there is nothing serious to be expected after this because the inventor or the sellor of the truck has been paid his money.

Now come to consider the case of that Native in the same circumstances as the government on heavy accounts accruing out of repairs, on a truck which he has only paid the seller or hirer, as they are taken on that system, one-fourth of the price, and has heavy monthly instalments to pay besides other amounts that are paid daily or even hourly for petrol, oil and etc. Is not the government by taking advantage of his foolishness helping to force him to the wall of bankruptcy? Will anyone deny that the department has its hand in his downfall.

Mr Editor I hope, through my remarks I won't be considered politically. I have no political viewpoint in the matter as I look upon the whole position as that of father and son. A father, naturally may take his son as a hot-head for the remarks he has made, but a true and faithful father never ens there. He must see that the caus of his son's burstings are remedie

Mr. Editor I am not looking on one side of the matter only. Blunders are made by Native tenders themselves. They either want too little or too much, and as is the case in tenders, there is no chance to point out the mistake made by the tenderer. But I would suggest that in case of Natives, especially in respect of lorries transport should be distributed between truck owners, and the price shonld be fixed between the Assistant Commissioner and the Basuto truck owner. The price must be reasonable to both parties.

I believe my system would meanwhile answer to the position of various truck-owners. It may even suit other Basuto contractors on different lines of business in Basutoland. This I think is constructive.

FLOGGING SENTENCE.

Jack Nafte, the Bethel farmer who flogged a native to death, and upon conviction on a charge of manslaughter was sentenced to receive ten lashes, has made a further appeal following the refusal of the Government to modify the sentence.

Sentence, it will be recalled, was suspended following the intervention of the Prime Minister, but it was announced in a Reuter cable on Monday that the Acting Minister of Justice had, after full consultation with the Cabinet, decided he could not recommend the Governor-General to exercise the prerogative of mercy in the case.

Nafte flogged a native to death because he had threatened a white woman, and he was charged with murder, but the jury found him guilty of culpable homicide and recommended him to mercy.

Mr. Justice Soloman, in sentencing Nafte, said that the crime was horrifying in its cruelty, and that his punishment would, therefore, not be adequate unless it also included the infliction of physical pain.

It was revealed that Sixpence, the deceased, was first bound to a wagon and flogged by Van Niekerk, a foreman, and Nafte. He was then dragged into the kitchen of the farm, and as he lay on the ground was stoned by Nafte, who also stamped on his chest as he lay helpless on the ground. Sixpence was later tied to a tree with one leg in the air, his head bent down, his body half reclining on the ground, and in this position was again flogged by Nafte

A great sensation has been created throughout South Africa by the decision (states the Central News). Racial feeling between white and black has been stirred to its highest pitch by this decision of the Union Government.

increase the wages of their Native workers. The minimum to be 3/6 to 5/- per day.

The Magistrate who gave the deputation every opportunity to state their side of the case made an appointment with the Location Superintendent to visit the Location on the 4th Feb. and asked the members of the deputation to be present when he with the Medical Officer of Health, would visit the Location for inspection.

The secretary thanked the Magistrate on behalf of the deputation and the Native population of Port Elizabeth for having a father to whom it will always be accessible for the Natives to meet whenever they had some matters to be referred either to the Government or to him for advice.

This interview lasted from 11 a.m. to 12.45 p.m.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN FOLKLORE

QUEER YARNS BY AN OLD COASTER.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Dear Sir,—Your "West African Echoes" by "W. F. H." are always interesting. I like his folk and animal tales in THE AFRICAN WORLD of the 20th instant; they are quite delightful.

Let me add to them, without mentioning the names of people and places, one I came across in a place one day where, so I was told, exists a number of stones which formerly were human beings. My informant told me that the people of the locality were so fond of gambling that the Deity decided that if they did not cease their evil practices He would turn them to stone. For a time they took notice of the desires of the Deity, then they slipped back into their bad old ways. One night, when the gamblers were at play, the Deity did turn them to stone, and there they are to this day as a warning to those who deliberately defy God. I had had a long march, so I did not weary my men by "side-stepping" into the bush to see the stone people. I went on to my halting-place. When I had finished my work I asked to be taken to the place, but no reward nor inducement could obtain a guide for me, and I did not see the gamblers who were turned to stone.

On another patrol I was shown a hill looked upon as sacred by the people of the locality. They told me that when a person died the spirit could be seen walking up the hill carrying a bundle of clothing on its head. When the spirit got near the top a door would open in the side of the hill and the spirits of the other world would appear on the summit of the hill singing and clapping their hands, welcoming the new arrival. The door was actually pointed out to me, but I could see nothing but bare earth!

I knew of one chiefdom of which it was said that if the paramount chief wished to "keep his crown" before he was crowned, a live virgin must be buried beneath the floor of his sleeping chamber.

Many stations in the bush are lonely. At one rather particularly lonely spot my house stood between a river and, in the rainy season, a swamp. I was told by a friend that the swamp was haunted by a spirit which took the form of a light moving on the surface of the water. On several nights I went out in a canoe and saw the light, but I never got near it. *Ignis fatuus?*

A well, alleged to possess supernatural powers, was another African "mystery" I never solved, simply because nobody would show it to me. I know that the water from it was used for, from a "civilised" point of view, illegal purposes. For instance, I received information of the death of a man in suspicious circumstances. Making inquiry, it transpired that the man was a victim of the magic water, as the calibash containing the water was found near the dead body. My informants told me that if the death of a person was desired, all one had to do was to approach the well backwards, drop down a calabash into the water with the back turned to the well, and walk away, no matter how many miles, without looking back at the well, to where the person to die lived, then leave the calabash outside the house, and that person would surely die. There was one condition attached to ensure the efficacy of the magic water: not a drop was to be spilled on the journey between the well and the house of the victims.

Woman or Crocodile?

The mysterious disappearance of men, women, and children led me to a town on a river. It was situated in most picturesque surroundings. High up on a bank was perched the village. In the distance loomed huge on the horizon great blue hills. The sand on the opposite bank gleamed in the light of the sun, and on the sand played dozens of monkeys. At sunset and on a moonlit night the scene was perfectly fascinating. By secret arrangement, a young woman was indicated to me as being the person responsible for the disappearance of various people. After some conversation with her, she told me that she could leave her body and enter the body of a crocodile, but that she was not responsible for what the crocodile did, or words to that effect. I laughed at her, and she said, "If you will come to my hut to-night I will show you." I went to her hut that night. She was lying full length on the sofa. I spoke to her and she did not answer. Then I lifted an eyelid and touched an eyeball with my finger, and she did not flinch. I shook her, and this had no effect, so, with my servant, I went down to the river. We sat down. It was a lovely night, and the moon shone brightly, as only an African moon can shine. Presently I saw the head of a crocodile coming slowly toward me. My man urged me to shoot. I didn't. I returned to the hut to find the young woman sitting up. She greeted me with a smile and what amounted to "Now what about it?" I suggested that a tame crocodile was rather a dangerous pet to her fellow villagers, and that I hoped I would hear no more of mysterious disappearances. I didn't. I hesitated to shoot the beast because it flashed through my mind that if I did I would find a dead woman in the hut. I wonder if I was right? One more story and then I will stop. "Medicine" plays a large part in the social life of primitive Africa—at least, what we look upon as "primitive" Africa. Some "medicine" is "good" and some "bad"—"very bad." I have had it "put on me" on several occasions. A "good medicine" was once "put on me" to ensure my return to a certain area after my leave. I did return to that area and the "medicine" became "stronger" for all good purposes.

"Bad Medicine."

Now to "bad medicine," Receiving complaints of a "bad medicine man" operating in a remote village, I made my way there, and, by pre-arranged signal, I entered his hut and confiscated his box of "medicines." In open court I went into the case against him, and not a witness could I get. Then I turned my attention to his box. I pulled off the lid, but before I took anything out everybody present covered their eyes, and many of the women fled. "Finding" another box of "bad medicine," I turned it upside down on the ground, and out rolled a "thing" like a football, among other "things." Nobody would unwrap the "thing" for me, so I began to do it myself. My senior man, a very good fellow and an old soldier, then volunteered to help me. We unwound wrapping after wrapping, until we got down to a human skull filled with "something." The "something" contained old beads, pieces of iron, mica, and what might have once been brains and blood. The people were horrified, and left the two of us to the task. I was told that I would "catch a bad sick" for what I had done, and I certainly did get very ill, but I kept on at my job. My ears went wrong, my jaws ached, my hair turned grey, and my skin began to go "piebald." Then, to my lasting sorrow, I was invalided. A skin specialist told me that what I had suffered from was due to exposure to the sun, anxiety, overwork, and "nerves," the culminating effect of which had affected the pigmentation of my skin, producing the white spots and grey hair, both quite harmless. Behind each ear I bear patches of grey hair which might be mistaken for a pat from each forefoot of a leopard! Anyway, the specialist said one thing, and the people said that if I had left the skull alone nothing would have happened! The "bad medicine" had "caught" me! Who was right? The specialist or the people? Perhaps both. The skull is now in the British Museum.

Yours very truly,

"IN SIGHT OF THE LAST FENCE."

April 25, 1929.

UNITED AFRICA CO.

Coming Removal to London Headquarters.

The headquarters of the United Africa Company—the £23,000,000 company formed by the amalgamation of the two great Liverpool concerns—the Niger Company and the African and Eastern Trade Corporation—are to be transferred from Liverpool to London.

The momentous decision, so anxiously awaited on Merseyside for many weeks, was announced by Sir Robert Waley Cohen, chairman of directors, to a meeting of some 300 men and women employees, in the company's offices at the Royal Liver Building, on Wednesday. It is indicated that many of the 1,000 employees will be dispensed with under the new scheme.

Sir Robert indicated the new company's intentions with regard to the staff. The Liverpool staff of the Niger Company numbers about 600, and that of the African and Eastern about 400.

Sir Robert reminded his hearers that the removal to London must inevitably mean some cutting down of staffs here, but said a committee representing the staffs had gone into the subject with the directors, and all could rest assured that the question had been examined with the fullest sympathy in the interests of the staff and of the company.

A considerable body of employees would be invited to go to London, and the company would bear the expense of the removal. Others would still continue at the Liverpool offices, but there would be many for whom it would not be possible to find employment in the new concern.

The company was by no means unmindful of the work done by these, some of them over periods of twenty, thirty, and even forty years, and those who would unfortunately have to be eliminated would receive either pensions or compensation, according to service.

It is understood that the transfer will be made gradually. Mr. Nicholson, secretary of the company, is already in London, together with certain leading members of the office staff, such as accountants.

The date of the transfer and details of the necessary changes were not announced at the meeting.

Loss to Liverpool.

The removal of the company's headquarters to London will affect seriously many sections of Liverpool's trading community, says the "Liverpool Echo."

The possible loss of trade to the port will, it is feared, assume large dimensions. For many years the West African trade has ranked with cotton and shipping in Liverpool, and it has been estimated that its removal might entail a loss of wages of £175,000 a year, a big increase in unemployment, a decline in railway traffic, and empty warehouses and offices.

In addition, over 200 independent firms, mainly agents and produce brokers, dependent upon the West African trade, will be hit by the removal of the managerial department of the Africa and Eastern Corporation to London.

Registration of the Company.

The United Africa Company was registered as a private company on April 29 with a nominal capital of £13,000,000 in £1 shares (6,500,000 "A" and 6,500,000 "B"). The "A" and "B" shares rank equally save as regards the rights in respect of the appointment, removal and replacements of directors. The subscribers are:—

African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Royal Liver Building, Liverpool (W. Nicholl and A. A. Cowan, directors, and H. A. Stephenson, secretary), one "A" share.

Niger Company (E. H. Bell and W. E. Snelling, directors, and E. A. Enfield, secretary), one "B" share.

The number of directors is not to be more than 12, of whom the holders of "A" shares will be entitled to appoint, remove and replace six (called the "A" directors) and the holders of the "B" (called the "B" directors). The first directors are not named. Until otherwise agreed by a majority of the "A" directors and a majority of the "B" directors, there will at all times be two joint managing directors, one of whom will be selected by the "A" directors and the other by the "B" from among their respective numbers.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Lourenco Marques.

LIQUOR PROBLEM IN MOZAMBIQUE.

The Drinking of "Baly Sope."

LOURENCO MARQUES, April 6.

In the Government Council, the discussion was continued on the Government's proposal to suppress the manufacture of certain native drinks (notably "baly sope," which is made from sugar cane) and to regulate the trade in others.

To this the elected member from Inhambane, Dr. Nobre de Melo, replied with a contrary proposal. The Acting Secretary-General described this as "a hymn to 'sope'," and a vain attempt to resuscitate a dead question. He said that when he was Administrator of Inhambane he came across scenes which made the journey on the road, on Saturday eve, there was unbridled drunkenness, even amongst women and children. Furthermore, "-sope" seriously affected the sale of Portuguese wines.

Dr. Archer Silva, in regard to this last remark, said the Colony gave more protection to the industries of the home country than did the home country to those of the colonies, as was shown by the Lisbon attitude to Mozambique tobacco.

Mr. Santos Gil then proposed that the Government measure be remodelled, the gist of his proposal being that the manufacture and sale of native drinks be rigorously controlled in a manner which would avoid the disagreeable scenes which had been brought to the notice of the Council, and this was agreed to by seven votes to six.

The Governor-General said that this proposal represented the rejection of the Government measure and, as he did not agree with it, he had decided to submit the matter to the Central Government at Lisbon.—Reuter.

MOZAMBIQUE NATIVE LABOUR ON THE RAND.

Criticism at Lourenco Marques.

LOURENCO MARQUES, April 6.

In the Government Council Mr. Onellas (the elected member for Lourenço Marques) referred to the Rand criticism on his recent speech regarding Mozambique native labour employed on the Transvaal mines, and said that the figure of 200,000 victims in the last thirty years of emigration also took into account the natives who died at their homes as the result of disease contracted in the Transvaal, and he believed the total was actually higher than he gave. He intimated his intention of moving for an inquiry into the matter.

Regarding the statement that Mozambique natives were better in health as the result of their life on the mines, Mr. Onellas said humanity was always trying to find something definite about the philosopher's stone and the elixir of long life, and lately Prof. Voronoff had discovered that a certain graft limited the ills of caducity, but it had now been proved that the Chamber of Mines had discovered something more effective. He denied that he wanted to continue forced labour, but he maintained that the system which the new native labour code was designed to end existed on the mines, since the natives could not select their own employer, and so he invited the Government to apply the code to these natives.

He still maintained that the W.N.L.A's recruiters made presents to chiefs which were not customary, and he declared that those presents undermined the prestige of the administrative authority.

Mr. Onellas concluded by saying that the colony lived in ostentation at the cost of the life and of the money of the natives who went to the mines, but they must not forget that the mines would some day come to an end, and then the Portuguese would have to abandon Africa, because therein they had achieved nothing.—Reuter.

OUR LISBON LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LISBON, April 28.

Lecture on the Benguela Railway.

Before a very select and large audience at a meeting of the Geographical Society on Wednesday, Com. Alvaro de Melo Machado gave a very notable lecture on the Benguela Railway, of which this gentleman is a director. His Excellency the Minister of Colonies took the chair, and in the audience were some of the most prominent colonial magnates in Portugal. Before the chairman's table, on a stand, there was a complete model of a railway engine C. F. de B. and a restaurant coach and a first-class passenger coach, which attracted the attention of all present and caused great admiration.

Conde de Penha Garcia, opening the conference, introduced Com. Machado as a man to whom Angola already owed much, as most of the Portuguese colonies owed many and valuable services to his well-known ancestors, Sir J. J. Machado and Mariano Machado. Speaking about the Benguela Railway, Conde de Penha Garcia stated that this company had accomplished the most important work done in Angola, and the name of Sir Robert Williams should be mentioned always in connection with this great improvement.

Com. Melo Machado then read his paper, in which he traced the history of the Benguela Railway, once more paying a high tribute to Sir Robert Williams, who has been the soul of this big enterprise. A cinema film of the Benguela Railway and Lobito Port was then shown, from which everyone could realise the wonderful work the company has accomplished. The conference came to an end after long and loud cheers for the lecturer.

Commercial Movement in Mozambique.

Last year Mozambique imported for consumption merchandise to the value of Esc. 13,308,200$00. In the same year she exported colonial products to the value of 8,387,555$00 and 326,184$00 national exports.

The Limpopo Valley Scheme.

It is said that the Governor-General of Mozambique has approved Engineer Morais' project for the Limpopo irrigation, and that he will have the direction of the works. Colonel Balfour's project had been first approved by a committee of engineers in Lisbon. This decision of Mozambique's Governor-General has been a matter of discussion in the Lourenco Marques papers. "If Engineer Trigo de Morais is a Portuguese, the engineers who approved Col. Balfour's project in Lisbon are also Portuguese," writes a collaborator of "Noticias" newspaper, of Lourenco Marques.

Colonies at Seville Exhibition.

The Agent-General for the Colonies is succeeding well in securing representation for Portugal's vast colonial dominion in the great exhibition at Seville, to take place as from May 9 next. The colonial stands are already well up, and literature on our colonies will be sent for distribution. Films showing typical parts of the colonies will be shown. Dr. Cortezao, the Agent-General, has been very active in his efforts to make the Portuguese colonies a great success at the show.

LUIS LUPI.

MR. A. J. BREWER.

In the House of Commons last week Mr. Hore-Belisha, M.P., asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he could now make a statement with regard to the case of Mr. A. J. Brewer, and whether a reply had yet been received from the Portuguese Government to the representations made by His Majesty's Consul at Lisbon.

Sir A. Chamberlain replied: I am not yet in a position to make a statement on this case, as the Portuguese Government have not yet replied to the representations made to them. I am, however, asking his Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon to inquire when an answer may be expected.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

SLEEPING COACHES FOR THE NYASALAND ROUTE.

New Vehicles Completed.

The new sleeping coaches for the Trans-Zambesia Railway, which have been under construction in England for some time past, have now been completed by the manufacturers and were inspected last week. They will be shipped shortly to Beira, and, on their arrival, the new and accelerated passenger service between the port and Blantyre, which will reduce the journey time from thirty-six to twenty-four hours by eliminating the night now spent on the Zambezi ferry steamer, will come into operation. The train for Blantyre will then leave Beira in the evening instead of in the early morning as at present. With a twenty-four-hour service and two passenger trains a week in both directions, Nyasaland will be provided with greatly improved travel facilities. The traffic is growing, and on a recent occasion nearly fifty white passengers had to be accommodated on the mail train from Beira to the north.

Accident at Pungue.

Owing to the points leading to a disused spur on which some native huts had been built being left open by mistake, a number of natives were killed and others seriously injured by a goods train at Pungue station on the Beira Railway. The train, which should have run into a siding ordinarily used for side-tracking, was diverted into the spur and knocked down several of the huts. Six natives were killed outright, and two others died on reaching hospital at Beira.

Rhodesian Maize Exports.

During the fortnight ended March 23 over 8,000 bags of Rhodesian maize were shipped from the port of Beira, and 1,170 bags awaited shipment on the date named. Reports from Southern Rhodesia indicate that a record maize crop is likely this season.

New Agency.

A well-known South African firm is establishing a clearing, forwarding and shipping agency at Beira under the style of Fred Cohen, Goldman, and Alcock (Proprietary), Ltd., with Mr. J. Alcock as Beira director. The company is in process of formation.

Very hot and humid weather was experienced at Beira at the beginning of April—unusual conditions so late in the season.

Ocean Freight Rates.

The text of the resolution passed at the Congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia at Bulawayo relating to ocean freight rates to Beira was as follows:—

"That as the port facilities at Beira have been improved and brought up to date, thereby avoiding undue delay in the discharge of vessels, the Conference Lines be requested to reduce freights to the port relatively to the freights charged to South African ports. One effect of the existing freights is seriously to handicap those portions of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia which are compelled by their geographical position to use the port of Beira. Further, that the Government be requested to exert its influence with a view to obtaining reductions of these rates as above indicated."

Work on the new deep-water wharf at Beira is well up to schedule, and it is expected that the new wharf will be brought into use on July 1.

DEATH OF MAJOR BATEMAN.

The death has occurred at Beira of Major L. C. Bateman, local secretary of the Beira Port Works, Ltd. He was well known in South African business and financial circles, and was formerly secretary of the City Club at Cape Town, and private Secretary to Sir David Graaff.

Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and Mr. Sugimura, Under-Secretary-General, have accepted an invitation from the Portuguese Government to pay an official visit to Lisbon soon.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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General Hertzog emphasised, however, that while there was no reason why the Nationalists should not co-operate with the National Council section of the Labour Party at the election, that section had made further co-operation with them in the Government impossible.

Dealing with the Native question, the Prime Minister stated that General Smuts, by laying the Native Bills before the South African Party Congress at Bloemfontein for consideration from a party point of view had, to General Hertzog's amazement, thrown the question into the political arena and made further co-operation between the Government and the Opposition upon the question impracticable.

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Abandonment of Force Threats.

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On Saturday, according to Reuter, newspaper correspondents claimed to have discovered the existence of a "mystery camp," supposed to be inhabited by Lichtenburgers, outside Port Nolloth. According to reports reaching Port Nolloth, the police attempted to arrest the leader of the "camp," but were prevented from doing so.

Thus the tropical tranquillity of Port Nolloth was almost hourly disturbed, and throughout the night mysterious motor lorries with armed men moved about outside the district. Lorries filled with armed police are also said to have been prowling about. The police returned to Port Nolloth in the morning.

The Official View.

The official view of the situation was tinged with anxiety, and a further batch of 120 armed police was expected at Port Nolloth. The Government realised the extreme difficulty of pacifying the local farmers, who have been victims of the prolonged drought. Feeling was running very high at Port Nolloth, and on Monday, the day on which the diamond diggers had declared their intention of holding a meeting to receive the Government's reply, and, if this were not favourable, to rush the State diggings, was being anxiously and impatiently awaited there.

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The Lichtenburg threat was the outcome of the Government ban, which prevented the company working certain rich claims. The company, however, it is said, disregarded the ban and recommenced work on the claims this month. The diggers maintained that, if the company could flout the law, so could they. They would therefore attempt to seize 2,000 claims.

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THE BELGIAN CONGO.

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The hospital facilities, indeed, are apt to strike one as being far in excess of what is normally needed. Much research work is done in the laboratory attached to the hospital, and the visitor from the south is rather surprised to find white-coated natives intelligently handling and examining blood-smear slides.

Tremendous Development.

Nobody returning to Elisabethville after an absence of even a few months would fail to realise that, on the surface at least, there is tremendous development. The main reason for it seems to be that Central Africa is being opened up much more rapidly than we in the south generally realise. Railway and

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These huts are vermin-proof, and though they may be a little expensive in the matter of capital cost, the expense of upkeep is very small indeed. Practically no structural damage can be done to the huts, and all that is needed is a periodical whitewashing. The wives and children of married native employees are on the strength so far as rations are concerned, and the children are taught (both in a native language and in French) in classrooms in the compound. They are even given a small sum monthly in recognition of regular attendance.

How far these things have an influence on the native I cannot say, but it is a fact that more and more boys are signing on at the Union Minière for periods of three years. The hospital facilities are splendid, with electrically equipped laundries and disinfecting plant and with the latest devices in steam and electric cooking. The hospital facilities, indeed, are apt to strike one as being far in excess of what is normally needed. Much research work is done in the laboratory attached to the hospital, and the visitor from the south is rather surprised to find white-coated natives intelligently handling and examining blood-smear slides.

Tremendous Development.

Nobody returning to Elisabethville after an absence of even a few months would fail to realise that, on the surface at least, there is tremendous development. The main reason for it seems to be that Central Africa is being opened up much more rapidly than we in the south generally realise. Railway and

road construction are being pushed on, and the air service is being extended quickly.

To a great extent these activities radiate round Elisabethville. The population of the town grows, but it is an open question whether there has been a proportionate increase in the British section. There has been a fairly large influx of Italians, who do much of the construction and contracting work, particularly that where cement is used, as it is used very extensively. There is much building going on and contemplated, including Government offices, which, to the casual observer anyway, seem necessary, as the offices now are far from concentrated. In a British colony which has reached the stage the Congo has there would have been a demand for some form of local and national government, but, I understand, no such demand makes itself known in the Congo.

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The courteous treatment received everywhere, the exceptionally kind helpfulness of the British community, and particularly of the British Vice-Consul and Mr. Coxhead (the Consul, by the way, looks after the interests of 12,000 Northern Rhodesian natives in the Congo).

The British people seem willing and anxious to lend the hand of assistance to the British stranger within the gates. Another impression is that of terribly bad roads and none too careful driving by the majority of motorists over those roads. The roads, I am told, have deteriorated; they were good, but the large amount of heavy traffic over them seems to have resulted in great wear and tear, and the authorities do not seem able to keep pace in the matter of maintenance.

The average motorist in Elisabethville (and there is a car for every three inhabitants, which is about as high a percentage as anywhere in the world) seems to drive car or lorry at any speed which suits him or her over and through potholes which the most careless of Rhodesian drivers would negotiate with the utmost caution.

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Dr Mitchll, Secretary for Public Health, Pretoria, addressed the Conference on the Haalth, Growth, and Welfare of the Native peoples of the Union: Native population of the Union and its rate of increase.

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A Government Native Medical Service was favoured by the Committee, which also felt strongly that such a service, should possess qualifications equally high with those held by European doctors. It was considered that such Native medical officers should be trained in South Africa, and the Committee had recommended as a suitable centre the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, which had agreed to incorporate in its activities a Native Medical School. The estimated initial cost was £60,000, and the subsequent maintenance would probably involve an annual outlay of £15,000. There was uncertainty concerning the source whence the necessary funds might be obtained.

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Mrs. Bennie suggested the following resolutions to the consideration of the appropriate Committee :—

"That this Conference approach the Examining Board representing the Royal Sanitary Institute in South Africa, with a view to ascertaining whether the Board is prepared to grand some form of Health Visitor's Certificate for Native women who already hold a midwife's qualification, the certificate to be called a Health Assistants Certificate."

"That a deputation, consisting of three members, chosen by the Committee, be appointed to interview the Chairman of the Board and to discuss the proposal with him."

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Race Problem - 1929

A SIERRA LEONEAN'S DIARY.

By One Behind the Scenes.

Strolling down the town last Saturday with the object of gaining some constitutional advantage I came in contact with some gentlemen of renown who readily admitted that they were engaged on some privileged conversations. Switching the topic of conversation to some public matter, they essayed to discuss the advisability of Government securing the services of Local Barristers of integrity to fill the positions of District Commissioners and Legal Assistants in the Colony and Protectorate, thereby supporting the views I treated in my last Diary. One of them condemned the recent actions of Government in appointing two more Europeans as Assistant District Commissioners.

Turning to the other side of the lantern, another volunteered the information that in his view R.N.H. was the most gentlemanly and dandyish of his legal confreres. "Hats off then" I said to "R.N.H." I have known himself and family for upwards of forty years since I was a stripling. He carries the same courteous, inoffensive and harmless demeanour; an independent gentleman whose trait of character might as well be patterned by some of (the young professionals). Of course R.N.H. could boast of a good, healthy and Christian up-bringing; and had not the veteran sage, Honourable Tuboku decided to retain his seat in the Legislative Council—and that he *will* seems inevitable—I would have engineered a deputation to counsel R.N.H. to stand in place of some of the names one hears about.

x x x

The Editorial of the *West Africa Mail and Trade Gazette* of the 19th ultimo made to me very interesting reading in that it paid a fine tribute to the Elected Members who are about retiring and also supported their return. It may not be generally known that this indefatigable Editor holds the enviable position of President of the Local Bar Association and ranks second in Seniority at the Bar; the old and genial A.S.H., once known as "Jigger" now over forty three years at the Bar still leading; making allowance of course for the absence of that gifted and eloquent son of the soil P.A.R. or "Pet" as he is affectionately called in his home. How I generally enjoy the company of this veteran legal luminary is indescribable. Intelligent, brilliant, resourceful, and patriotic, his company ought to be sought for by every young man who is gasping for encyclopædic knowledge of his fatherland. To know P.A.R. is to admire and respect him.

x x x x x

I am sure many of those who know him either as Attorney-General or a Legislative Councillor would learn with regret that Asher Carlyle Vincent Prior, Esq., is soon to say good-bye to Sierra Leone, for the appointment has come to him and soon he will adorn the Bar of Nigeria as its Attorney-General, Mr. Prior is a brilliant Jurist and one who carries his profession with dignity; a gentleman above board; he had already raised the tone of the Judicial Bench since his temporary occupancy of it. Many were disappointed when it became known that he was not to have the permanent appointment of Chief Justice, but the appointment he now carries is no loss to him from a pecuniary stand-point. We may some day welcome him here as President of the West African Appeal Court. It was usually a treat to sit in the gallery of the Legislature and listen to him defending Government's policy. *Au revoir* I say to this upright gentleman.

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A good old friend of the West African is within a few days leaving finally Sierra Leone's Shores. It is no other than the Hon. Waterhouse Jones, Manager of the Bank of British West Africa. I fortunately saw a letter the honourable gentleman wrote to an African colleague in the Legislative Council intimating him of his pending final departure from these shores and expressing his regret in leaving so many friends. Our friend Mr. Waterhouse Jones is an old Coaster like Major Hartje who relieved him during his last temporary absence from the Legislative Council. His genial disposition, kind actions and considerateness to his African clients have made his Bank still the *persona grata* amongst the people. We only wish his successor will follow in his footsteps. Now that the honourable gentleman is saying good-bye to us, we take the liberty herein of wishing his devoted wife and himself *bon voyage* and sincerely trust that Sierra Leone will always find a suitable corner in their hearts, we further trust that Mr Jones will enjoy better health in his homeland and will always help Sierra Leone and Sierra Leoneans wherever the opportunity offers itself.

It was most amusing to me to learn that my observations on some matter in my last Diary created offence in certain quarters which necessitated the pouring out of some exuberations and innuendos which could be easily ignored. The most exhilarating part of the joke is that this insignificant personnel never crossed my mind when I was penning down my Diary in question; this naturally reminds me of a humorous story told me sometime ago which I herein narrate. The Beasts of the field agreed to have a Banquet and decided that the Lion should preside on the occasion. After a sumptuous repast Mr. Lion ordered that the ugliest amongst them should bring water to have their hands washed; without naming any of the beasts, the Baboon began to cry.

I must confess to some ignorance of the English language which necessitated my consulting a dictionary as to the real meaning of the word "dishonesty." Really unscrupulous men are always daring. It seems a huge joke that men whose dishonesty is both inherited and acquired should attempt to sling mud on men of high probity. I hold my pen until my next when I shall present some facts about the unscrupulous propaganda having reference to what is termed "disquieting rumours" particularly as my early friend gives the Signal—listen to him—Coo-Coo-RE-O-Coo.

NATIVE RACES IN BRITISH AFRICA—BOND OR FREE?

Continued from our last.

I.—POLITICAL.

When we find ourselves on the horns of a dilemma, as we are here, there is a fallacy somewhere. The fallacy here is in the way by which we interpret democracy and work it out in representative government. Democracy expresses itself in different ways in different countries, but all the ways are, not exhausted. Africa is so different to Europe that for Europeans to introduce democracy on European models, without variations to suit African conditions, is obviously absurd, and leads to impossible anomalies and injustic, breeding antagonism, provocative of revolt and leading away from unity of purpose. If democratic principles are to be the prevailing form of government in Africa, Africans cannot be excluded from government by the people for the people. Neither can they, because of their superior numbers, be allowed to become the dominant factor. Intelligence and powers of initiative more than counter-balance the fact of numbers. It is necessary to find some plan of representation that will accord to each their respective values. 7-27-29

This can be done and a true balance kept by certain modifications of the existing system. Instead of the present qualification for the franchise, i.e., a male of European descent of full age, it would be necessary to make other qualifications applicable to all irrespective of race or colour. Such as these :—(1) Age fixed so as to suit all classes. (2) Every voter must be able to read and write the official language—this would prevent an influx of ignorance and may exclude some of the Whites. And (3) monogamous morality. This would shut out that mass of barbarism whose social conditions are incompatible with civilized institutions. Thus the franchise would be open for nearly all the Colonists and for a comparatively few, but growing numbers of Africans—a number that, as repressions are removed and equality of opportunity given, would, in an appreciable time equal the Whites and must ultimately outnumber them. But this can be neutralised by the arrangement of the constituence.

(1) Each constituency should be represented by two members: one by the suffrages of the Whites, the other—not because of their colour, but because of their numbers, or prospective numbers—by the suffrages of the Africans. This would prevent that which is felt so undesirable in the old Cape Colony plan where the "blanket" vote exerts an undue influence. At present constituencies are based on White population, but in order to equalise, as far as possible, the Native vote it would be necessary to have some measure of redistribution and base constituencies on area modified by consideration of both Colonial and African population. (2) As we have no colour bar both would be at liberty to return an African to Parliament. Naturally the Whites never would, and probably the Africans would seldom, do so. (3) If ever the time came, or it happened in any constituency, that the numbers of one race far exceeded those of the other it would not mean extra representation on either side. Our next suggestion is extraordinary—but then so is Africa. We have to meet the fact of two different peoples, coming from two different continents brought into contact with one another and having to find a common ground for existence and growth. We propose, therefore—(1) that the House of Representatives should be bi-cameral—not one inferior to the other, but like two kernels in one nut. In one chamber the Whites would sit, deliberate and vote, and in the other the representatives of the Africans. (2) The members of both have equal privileges. (3) As the Chambers are absolutely equal in all things the Ministry can be drawn from either. (4) The measures that entirely concern the one or the other would only need to be passed by the body concerned, while those common to both would need consideration and a majority in both chambers, or by both voting together. But get your double-member constituencies and your bi-cameral House and all the rest is a matter of arrangement.

We venture to think that not only do the circumstances of the Union of South Africa demand such a plan, but that for those other Colonies of Africa which are pressing for Responsible Government a scheme of this sort is necessary. The suppression of legitimate aspirations will make disappointment dangerous; but let the native come with us into the responsibilities of enlightened citizenship and a beneficent civilization will result in the true progress of Africa.

THE FRANCHISE IN SIERRA LEONE.

Before dealing with the franchise or the right to elect certain representatives for the purpose of assisting in the making of laws for our government, it might be relevant to compare the different types of Colonial Governments. Between the form of government which vests absolute power in a Governor, unassisted by any assembly of any sort, and Dominion form of government which vests the Sovereignty in the people, there are varying forms of government, partaking more or less of a representative or responsible nature. All Colonial Governments which have not attained to Dominion Status may be said to be in a transition stage, and changes are taking place periodically according to the development that the Colonial Office is satisfied the people have made. 4-10-29

The principal types of government may be summarised as follows:—government consisting of a wholly nominated nature, such as we had before 1924, in which the right to appoint a few unofficials to colour the official aspect of the assembly is provided; government of a Legislative Council with a nominated and a partial representative element as we have had since 1924. In both these forms of govern-

ment, the official element predominates and the determining authority is, of course, the Governor of the Colony.

There is still another form of government of a representative but non-responsible nature, that is a Legislative Council with an elective majority, but with no member in the Executive Council. This is the type in Ceylon and some of the West Indian Colonies.

Then the last type is Dominion form with full representative and responsible elements. This is as yet confined to those Colonies where the European community has settled permanently in the country, and its status consists not only of the full and uninterfered right of internal control,—but some measure of external control—that is the right of a determining voice in the Foreign policy of the Empire.

We will now confine ourselves to Sierra Leone, and examine our franchise.

Sir RANSFORD SLATER in commenting on the change of the constitution which took place, emphasised certain points, namely, that elective representation was preferable to the hitherto nominated representation, because as he said:—

> "It is reasonable to expect that a member whose re-election depends on the popular vote is likely to take more pains than others to keep himself in close touch with his constituency in order to voice their views."

Further he stated that in order not to force the growth of the delicate plant, "capacity for self-government," the ultimate responsibility for the good Government of Sierra Leone" would remain with the Governor and the Executive Council."

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE CITY COUNCIL HELD AT THE WILBERFORCE MEMORIAL HALL, ON MONDAY THE 10TH JUNE 1929, AT 2.30 P.M.

PRESENT:—The President H. Michell, Esq., Councillors Dr. J. M. Mackay (Senior Sanitary Officer), Major J. R. Gwyther, (Acting Public Health Engineer), Captain C. S. Rayner,. G. Eleady Cole, Esq., L. E. Campbell, Esq., J. D. Oldfield, Esq.

ABSENT:—Councillors The Honourable R. Waterhouse Jones and Edwin Taylor (on leave).

AGENDA.

1. Letter of appointment of President
2. Reading and confirmation of Minutes of 13th May, 1929.
3. Confirmation of Minutes of the Objection Court held on the 27th, 28th and 29th May, 1929.
4. Approval of Valuation Lists for 1929/30 and their deposit.
5. Confirmation of recommendations of Finance Committee re established posts for the purpose of the Freetown Municipal Officers Superannuation Ordinance 1929.
6. Refund of Rates from sufferers Regent Road Fire.
7. Approval of payment to Architect for preparing Plans and Specifications of Cemetery Chapel.
8. Contract for Construction of Chapel. Application for Tenders.
9. Any other business.

1. LETTER OF APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENT.—Before commencing the business of the day, Mr. H. Michell asked the Town Clerk to read the letter from the Government regarding his appointment as President. The Town Clerk then read H. C. S. letter No. F/25/1929, dated 26th May, 1929 appointing Mr. H. Michell, President of the City Council, Freetown, as from the 2nd June 1929, during the absence from the Colony of Mr. Edwin Taylor. The President then took the oath of office, and signed the declaration book.

2. READING AND CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF 13TH MAY, 1929.—The Minutes of the Meeting of the 13th May, 1929 were read and on the motion of Councillor G. Eleady Cole, seconded by Councillor Dr. J. M. Mackay, Senior Sanitary Officer, they passed Council, and were confirmed accordingly.

3. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF OBJECTION COURT.—The President asked whether Council would take the Minutes as read and confirm them, as the Objection Court was composed of all the Councillors. Councillor Eleady Cole moved that the Minutes be taken as read and confirmed. This was seconded by Councillor J. M. Mackay, and passed Council.

4. APPROVAL OF VALUATION LISTS FOR 1929-30 AND THEIR DEPOSIT.—The Valuation Lists for the Central, East and West Ward were laid on the table, and the President informed Council that the necessary corrections had been made, in accordance with the findings of the Objection Court. The President asked whether it was the wish of Council that he should sign the Valuation Lists. Councillor G. Eleady Cole moved that the Valuation Lists be approved and signed; this was seconded by Major J. R Gwyther and passed Council. The President then signed the Valuation Lists, and intimated that, in accordance with the Ordinance, a Notice would be published in the Government Gazette, of their deposit in the Town Clerk's office, in order to enable anyone who may be aggrieved against the Valuation Lists, to appeal to the Supreme Court.

5. CONFIRMATION OF RECOMMENDATION OF FINANCE COMMITTEE re Established posts for the purpose of the Freetown Municipal Officers Superannuation Ordinance, 1929.—The President said that a Meeting was held on the 16th May, 1929, by the Finance Committee to consider the above question

those who claim to be entitled to vote to make their application to be registered as Electors.

The provisions as to eligibility and incompatibility of some of them, require close study and attention, and these we will deal with in our next issue.

Home Industries For Natives.

(By Professor G. Papp.)

Concluded.

Blankets, towels, mats, carpets, sheets, shirt and dress materials made on the loom can be used in this way even if they buy the wool, or cotton yarns they pay 100 percent less.

(b) The second would be, that they sell the goods amongst themselves, or as is done in many locations, rather exchange them.

(c) The third to place the goods on the home market of the Europeans.

(d) The fourth to export well designed mats and carpets to foreign countries as North Africa and the whole of Asia does.

This 1st stage of development depends on the workmanship and that can be acquired in a few years time. Nearly all depends on the willingness of the Government and Missions to teach this craft to the Natives; and on the good organisation, which would save very much time and expense.

First of all the Government has to decide, whether these crafts especially spinning and weaving should be handed over to the Native, or not. (In my opinion white, coloured and Native could spin and weave with success, without interfering with with each others circles). If once the principles are laid down, nobody should interfere with the development. Secondly the Government has to be ready to sacrifice something for establishing these crafts and willing to pay the salaries of industrial teachers in this line, just as they pay teachers of other subjects and industries.

The looms and implements could be purchased privately, but from one

Up to now the English Church in Tsolo (St Cuthberts) Transkei has for many years done very good work and has trained many workers. I believe their present number might be 80 to 130, but very few (10 to 5) started work on their own account, because of the expensive implements. (I apologise for any mistake in the numbers, but have guessed them more or less, as I have not enough data for accuracy.)

At present the London Miss. Society in Tiger Kloof (Vryburg District has opened up a spinning and weaving department, where I have solved the question of cheaper looms for the Natives. In an other article I shall speak of it). In a few years time many villages should have their weavers huts, in which they make their blankets, towels, sheets, mats shirt and dress materials.

I heard of some Natives, who started on their own, but have not enough knowledge to speak of their work But all these are much too small a beginning. If we want to establish a Native home industry, we have to do it thoroughly.

From the Native point of view, it is worth while because he does not value his time in so many pounds per day The advantage of the home industries is that the little periods of time which are usually lost in idleness can be converted into a piece of cloth, carpet, or towel etc.

From the mission point of view it yields the expenses plus interest, if the teacher is, as in all other instances paid by the Government.

From the Government point of view, I believe it pays to have industrious citizens—and raise the moral standard of the Natives, by bettering their material fate.

Another point There are some people, who think that this work interferes with the shopkeepers. This is not the case. The Native, even if he makes a blanket for himself will, with pleasure, buy something else for his money. The trade will get the same amount of money and I believe, that for the shopkeeper it is just the same, whether he sells blankets or gramophones, if he gets his profit.

I shall be pleased to give information to anyone interested in this subject.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

A Cry to the Native South African Tribes.

BY THEODORE M. KAKAZA

(A South African In America.)

(continued.)

To the coming convention which is to meet in Jamaica next August we advise you to see to it that you send your men of brain and influence Weighty matters, in which African affairs are inseparably interested will come up for discussion. You must work in hand with the Negroes of this western world for the accomplishment of those things which will result to the ultimate benefit of Africans the world over. In view of the present critical and unstable conditions as exist in the lot of the South African Negroes, we advise them to link up with this organization, which will enable them to solve to a successful end the problems that now confront them.

We are not endeavouring to excite you nor instigate you to undertake the performance of such things as will mitigate against the performance of those things, that should in the end lead to our emancipation, but we warn you not to be lulled to a state of coma by those Africans who believe that our salvation lies in being a part of the alien races, and fail to recognize and realize the latent potentialities that you possess. God hath created Negroes out of the same clay that he has created other races, he has endowed us with the same mental powers and it is our prerogative as to whether we shall give full vent to those powers Let there be no tribal barrier to obstruct us in our determination to arise, whether we are Zulus, Basutus, Matembus, Pondos, Barolongs or Amaswazi, we are first and last sons of the same mother Africa and let this be the dominant and paramount thought to lead us in our just endeavours.

The organization we proclaim to you is the organization that will help you annihilate those tribal differences. The Universal Negro Improvement Association gathers into its fold all Negros regardless of tribe or religious affiliation. So long as they are blacks and Africans, she classes them as her members and she asks them to rally to the rescue of their motherland Africa, Africa that is now bleeding because European races under the guise of Christianity, taking advantage of the ignorance of her children, have despoiled and ravished her

The Universal Improvement Association being a human organization has had its mistakes and blunders but it has also had its glorious victories and it is only organization that holds a ray of hope to the millions of downtrodden, oppressed and subjected sons of Africa. Its mistakes have been footsteps to greater achievements, its blunders but greater incentives in an onward march to nationhood, in spite of her faults, the hope of victory has been a stimulus to draw into her fold negroes by the hundreds. It is the only beacon light that shows the way as we sail o'er treacherous seas to reach that much desired port of racial peace and contentment—nationhood.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is the new religion that has captured the hearts of negroes everywhere and no negro should call Africa his fatherland who does not worship at the shrine of this new religion. "Africa for the Africans;" those at home and abroad. Let South African blacks take up the strain until her valleys and her hills re-echo even to the disquietude of alien races who but bolster up by cruelty and injustice a tottering self imposed superiority.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, July 20, 1929

THE RACIAL QUESTION IN WEST AFRICA.

Weekly News

WE always regard it as a wise policy to refrain from all subjects which seem to accentuate racial differences in West Africa. But the publication of an article in our contemporary *West Africa* of the 22nd June, under the title, "Native Races in British Africa—Bond or Free" sufficiently justifies our departure from this policy.

It will be remembered that a few years ago, Mr. JOHN HARRIS of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society published a book on the subject "Africa Slave or Free."

9-20-29

The writer of the article that we are about to review had in mind, conditions in South Africa when he wrote; but the general principles he enunciated, and the questions involved in our opinion apply in an equal degree to West Africa. The subject is divided into three heads,—Political, Social, and Economic, and we will endeavour to treat it in the same order. The writer's opinion is, that the unequal political treatment to the African is due to the impossibility in all but the idealist to realise that the position of a strong nation does not necessarily mean the enslaving of the weak. He sees in the South African racial difficulty the existence of a mentality which regards the African as the children of HAM who according to some European interpretation of the Biblical pronouncement must be enslaved and their lands possessed, and that they are destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. The South African Native Policy is directed towards this end. The writer condemns this policy as unsound, and states the consoling news, that many of the British Settlers are being educated to regard it as such. But, as he pertinently pointed out, since the Government of South Africa depends upon the vote, and the majority cannot be regarded as educated to the true realisation of the position, the disfranchisement and other political disabilities of our kith and kin in South Africa will continue.

Tillotson Literature

One cannot but condemn such a mentality, but the greatest hindrance to the solution of the problem is the nightmare of the apprehension of the end of the existence of what has become known as **white prestige.** It is the fear that if the Africans are granted equal political rights and privileges, they will far outnumber the Europeans, and will in time, rule them. This argument is as fallacious as it is un-British, and the best reply to it is that afforded by the writer of the article under consideration as follows:—

> "But the African has the right to be regarded as a man. When he emerges from savagery and reaches the civilised plane he ought to be treated as a civilised person. And when he has become a British subject, equally with ourselves, we have no right to debar him from the rights and privileges of citizenship."

It is gratifying to read or hear these pronouncements of our rights or claims as British citizens. Our sincere wish is that those who govern our destiny may fully realise their full meaning, and the necessity for their application. Sometimes we admire the high-spirited enunciations of guiding principles, the noble-hearted professions of recognition of certain axioms, and we equally admire the dexterous manner in which exceptions are grafted into these principles and axioms, and what were regarded as of universal application are limited in operation. The practical suggestions made by the writer convince us that he is sincere. They are intended principally to meet the position in South Africa; but as the wish is expressed that they might be adopted in other African Colonies, we propose to refer to them.

The writer suggests the following as qualifications for the franchise:—

1. Age limit.
2. Intelligence—Every voter must be able to read and write the official language. This of course would place English at a premium, and would materially affect vernacular education.
3. Monogamous morality.—This will certainly merit the deserved criticism of Mohammedans, and is not likely to meet with anything like favourable reception universally.

The other suggestion is for the constitution of two Chambers of representatives, of equal status, composed respectively of Whites and Blacks. The measures that entirely concern the one or the other should be deliberated in that one, and what is common to both should need consideration by a majority in both Chambers, or by both acting together.

The only criticism that can justly be levelled against this scheme, is its recognition of segregation; for the adoption of any system of political segregation will have a reacting effect in the whole of the Continent. It would certainly awaken race-consciousness in the African, but it might be carried to an unreasonable extent and might in time outdistance Garveyism. The only true solution is that which regards the presence of both races

in Africa as necessary for the progress and development of the respective races and of the country. It is time the European, whatever he may be, realise that if he comes out to Africa to earn his daily bread, which he otherwise might not have succeeded in doing in his own home, he must recognise the natural necessity for the presence of the African-owners of the country. And if in the order of things, it becomes practicable for him to settle in Africa (as in South Africa) the true position of the African must be given him in the place of political development.

The controlling factor should be, not racial differences but personal qualification; and if, in the order of things, more Africans in Africa are qualified to exercise the franchise, and incidentally, to rule, it should not be regarded as unnatural, but rather as the result of the uniformity of nature.

The tendency must be political growth and advancement of the African, and no sidetracking in the nature of the hybrid system of "indirect rule," will in anyway stem the rising tide of progress.

The duty of the European is to so fit the African, that when in the order of nature, control will pass into the hands of the African, he will be capable to carry on the work from the point it was left by his European confrere.

Liberia's Resemblance To The United States

Cooperation of the United States with Liberia in the investigation of labor conditions in the latter country, plans for which were recently announced by the State Department, adds one more chapter to the many recording the assistance extended by the great American Republic to its small copy in Africa.

A bulletin from the National Geographic Society, based on a communication from Harry A. McBride, who has traveled in Liberia, describes the little republic and its capital. "Nowhere in the world," writes Mr. McBride, "can there be found a foreign country so like the United States in history, language, customs, and form of government. After traveling up the West African coast, touching at ports in British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies, all of which are decidedly foreign, distinctly West African, and altogether 'far-away' and different in character, most Americans experience, when the slow West Coast steamer turns its nose into Monrovia Bay, a feeling of being much nearer home than the 4,000 miles which actually separates them from the nearest American port."

* * *

The steamer, cautiously approaching the shore, finally drops anchor and awaits a brave little surfboat pulled by twenty stalwart natives in white duck uniforms, at first a tiny speck in the huge wave churning so threateningly over the dangerous bar. This feeling of interest is intensified when the boat approaches nearer and a flag is made out at its stern, so like the Stars and Stripes as to be readily mistaken for it. The Liberian emblem, however, has only eleven stripes and one lone star.

Next the customs officer approaches—his English is decidedly American in accent—and demands that each passenger landing in Liberia prove that he has $100 in his possession. This requirement safeguards the republic from having to care for public charges. And he doesn't speak of pounds, francs, or pesetas, either; he says, in plain American, "one hundred dollars"—another link with home, the only place in Africa where the currency is the same as ours!

Monrovia, the capital, named for an illustrious American President, is the largest town in the republic, and few cities in the world have a harbor so picturesque.

Nature seems to have lavished great care on this cut-of-the-way tropical stopping place. Monrovia Bay is about seven miles wide, and vessels enter the harbor in the center, with Cape Mount far off toward the left and Monrovia Point, high and rocky, on the right. Between the Cape and the Point is the oval background of sandy beach and majestic palms.

Because of the bar, steamers are forced to anchor a mile or more from the shore, while passengers and freight are landed in surfboats. Often this landing is an exciting experience, and the passenger always marvels at the canny judgment of the native "headman" in choosing the wave that will be the longest and safest to "ride in on."

* * *

The landing is disappointing. The wharf is small and untidy and the main business street along the waterfront—Water Street—is none too wide, none too straight, none too well paved, and none too clean. The business premises, most of the more pretentious kept by British, French and Dutch firms, are poor, with the first floor usually built of cement and the roof of corrugated iron. Water Street could, however, easily be made to compare more favorably with the main business centers of Freetown or Dakar.

Climbing the hill, two or three blocks, one comes to Ashman Street, the chief residential thoroughfare, which is very pleasing in aspect. The Executive Mansion, the foreign legations and consulates, the War Department Building and the Representatives Hall lend to its importance. On this street are also several of the best residences, well constructed of brick, after the fashion of American houses of the Colonial days with columns along the front.

The Executive Mansion is a large, white, three-story structure—and it has its "East Room."

Liberia occupies that corner of West Africa which juts out into the Atlantic as if in an endeavor to reach across the Brazilian shore, on the South American continent. Only a few years ago the maps showed it to comprise a large area, extending northeastward almost to the Sahara; but the geographers themselves were unable to place definite heavy lines for Liberia's interior frontiers.

* * *

Then came the dreams of African empires by European nations, and little by little the area accredited by the mapmakers to the weak little republic has dwindled until today its coastline is only 360 miles in length and its frontier farthest in the interior is only 200 miles from the seacoast. Its present area, about equal to that of the State of Ohio, is one-third what the Liberians originally claimed, and their claims were probably as good as those of many of the powers which undertook the colonizing of the Dark Continent.

Here and there along the coast the original settlers—Negro freedmen from the United States—founded little towns and settlements. They were sent from America back to the land of their ancestors by the American Colonization Society, in which such men as President Monroe, Henry Clay and others were interested. This movement began in 1816, and the first vessels, sailing schooners chartered by the American government, set forth from New York in 1820-23.—Albany Herald.

A BIG GAME HUNT IN ETHIOPIA
BY A NATIVE ARTIST: A PAINTING IN OILS BY ATO BELATCHEOU, an Abyssinian, Which Has Been Brought to Paris by Herman Norden, Author and Explorer.



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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

III.

We endorse the comments of our contemporary *West Africa* of the 10th August when it advocated the formation of Committees in the different West African Colonies for the purpose of suggesting schemes which would merit consideration under the Colonial Development Fund.

We do so all the more when we observe that there is the further suggestion that Africans should be appointed as members of these Committees. The idea prevalent in some quarters that the African is incapable of thinking out problems for himself is, to use a metaphor, though triumphantly slain still alive and would not die. The African has demonstrated his ability for constructive thinking, and as the purpose of the fund is to benefit the African primarily, we are of the opinion that his views should be obtained, and so long as it is based on reasonable assumptions, due regard should be given to it. Whilst considering the developments mentioned in our last issue, we think special regard should be taken of Bonthe. The importance of Bonthe as a shipping port is increasing as a comparison of its trade returns will show. Owing to the facility of river transport, its export trade is on the progressive side. In view of these we are of the opinion that the port of Sherbro, the avenue through which the produce is transhipped, should receive some benefit from the scheme. There is no drainage system in Bonthe, the sandy soil allows water to collect in the streets to the great inconvenience of the public. These could, with a little expenditure, be made in a manner that would be conducive to the health of the people. Whilst we are writing of Bonthe, we deem it our duty to refer to the possibilities of river transport on the Sherbro and other rivers.

At certain time of the year, some parts of these rivers are not navigable, and as such, much of the produce which should be brought down to increase the revenue are locked up and lose their proper marketable value. An amount to dredge some of these rivers to make them navigable the whole year round would be a great contribution to the improvement of the country and of the revenue. Then again, the Fishery Industry, we are convinced, needs impetus from the Government. It is not sufficient to leave it to the initiative of the people. The expense of the Commissioner who investigated and reported would be lost, unless the Government would come to the rescue by making provision, as we believe was done by His Excellency the Governor when he was at Seychelles, for imparting instruction to those engaged or interested in the Fishing Industry for the curing and preserving of fish for local sales and export, and to give some practical tests. The Colonial Development Scheme, provides for the advance of money to Public Companies or private individuals for undertakings of a public nature. This seems to us a provision which could be made of public benefit, and we trust due attention will be given to it.

Then again, the Harbour requires great attention and extension, and now that the fund is available, the opportunity should be taken advantage of.

Freetown has the best natural harbour on the West Coast of Africa, and with a little attention it could be made to command the admiration of all, and to be the most attractive. Already the sister-colonies have, by the expenditure of money, made their harbours more convenient means of landing than our harbour affords. With the want of funds, the neglect of attention of our harbour might be disregarded, but now, that the fund exists, we are convinced, is the best time to improve our harbour by extending the jetties and modernising them.

We have indicated some of the undertakings which might prove of benefit directly or indirectly to the cause of unemployment in the United Kingdom. As we do not pretend to have exhausted the list, we are prepared to accept and to publish suggestions from our readers and trust to be favoured with their views.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IV.

In continuing this subject we propose to refer to the question of the development of the products of Sierra Leone. As was emphasised by the Governor on the eve of his departure from Liverpool on the 11th instant, the staple crop of Sierra Leone is palm-kernels. Already there is the likelihood of Sumatra seriously competing with Sierra Leone, and the necessity therefore exists for the production of the highest quality of crop. Whatever therefore the Government could do to improve the quality should be done, and provision of money from the Colonial Development Fund for this purpose as well as for the development of Agriculture by the introduction of machinery and the sending of our youths abroad for scientific training would be a good investment. The mineral resources of the Colony and Protectorate are at present, in a nebulous state. It has been proved that minerals abound in both the Colony and Protectorate, but for some reason or other there has not been that keen attention paid to their development as had been anticipated. With the exception of Marampa, where the African and Eastern Trade Corporation Limited, are engaged in huge undertakings, we hear nothing of other workings of either the platinum or gold areas.

The field of geology must be thoroughly explored if other resources for export are to be found. We are of opinion a thorough Mineral Survey should be undertaken directly under the Government's supervision in order to determine the whole extent of the mineral areas of the Colony and Protectorate. In *Reuters* Telegram of the 14th instant, we observe that Sir Edg. Sanders, the Chairman of the Association of West African Merchants, suggested that Britain should make loans to West African at a low rate of interest so that new areas might be opened up where British produce might be readily available.

The demand for new products is therefore recognised, and we venture to suggest that some amount from the Colonial Development Fund might be ear-marked for this purpose.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES.

II.

We propose to examine the "Manifesto" issued by the Officials of the several Election Associations in the City headed as it is by the Venerable Archdeacon of Sierra Leone, and to see if there is anything in it which conflicts with popular opinion, or whether the statements it contains are supported in anyway from other sources. The document referred to "the invaluable and devoted services rendered" by the two Urban Members in the Legislative Council. We ask, can this be honestly disputed by anyone?

The Editorial of the *West Africa Mail and Trade Gazette* of the 20th July supported this when it stated:—

> "We believe the Honourable gentlemen who were sent to the Council the last time about five years ago and whose term of office is now nearing completion may offer themselves for re-election, and if so, there is the strongest presumption and every reason to believe that they will be returned unopposed so satisfactorily and admirably have they performed their public and official duties and won the confidence of their respective constituencies."

Even the Editor of the *Aurora*, cannot get out of the truth, for its earlier publications before heat and passion were introduced in its contributions, in effect admitted the great services rendered to the Country by the Urban Members.

On the 21st June, the following was written:—

> "The present members of Council should welcome other nominations so that a contest ensues. If as is probable they succeed in retaining their seats their position and prestige will be thereby fortified and enhanced. The elected members have performed real live spade work during the period of five years and the thanks of all classes should if only for courtesy's own sweet sake, be accorded them. The local hansard affords pleasant reading of their contributions in the battle for freedom and liberty, championing the people's cause; and without the slightest scintilla of doubt they have made a magnificent show."

There may be found other contributions in this same journal which may appear to contradict the clear statement of services rendered by the Elected Members, but they should rather strengthen than detract from the clear admission of the efforts of the Elected Members, and might lead any reasonable person to disregard the attempts at journalistic acrobatism which seemed pregnant in the other contributions.

The "Manifesto" of the several public bodies expressed the opinion that a change in the present representatives is undesirable and would not be to the best interest of the Country. This view, as we have been able to ascertain is shared by a large majority of the people, and it is the reality of it which is responsible at the present moment for the normal political atmosphere which seems to prevail after the feverish excitement a few weeks ago to poison public mind and to thwart their resolutions. The "Manifesto" further referred to the undeniable public spiritedness of the two Urban Representatives. We ask can this be honestly denied?

And in this regard we may again remind our readers of the testimony paid to the Elected Members by the *Aurora* of the 28th December, 1928, when the Editor wrote as follows:—

> "This should be an encouragement on the part of the Elected Members of the Legislative Council who have played such heroic and self-sacrificing part in defence of the liberty of the people. They ought to bear themselves strong, realising that not only it is the fact that he is twice armed whose cause is just, but also that sooner or later the cause of justice must triumph so long as the sun . . . . . rules the day."

No greater testimony could have been paid to these men, and it is unfortunate that

when others say the same things in different words, they should be victimised. Bonthe Sherbro, and York Island have contributed their own share of appreciation, and the popular opinion has now reached a proportion that it seems to us that any opposition to this declared will of the people is fore-doomed to failure.

EAST AFRICA.

The Wilson Report.

Sir Samuel Wilson's long-expected report on the commission to East Africa which he undertook by direction of the late Government is published with a note that the Secretary of State for the Colonies desires to make it clear that although Sir Samuel Wilson's recommendations deal mainly with the machinery of government in East Africa it must not be thought that the views of the Hilton Young Commission on questions of future policy are being overlooked.

"Concurrently with their consideration of Sir Samuel Wilson's report," the Colonial Office statement adds, "his Majesty's Government are giving their closest attention to the detailed recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission on such matters as the relations between the natives and the immigrant communities, which naturally could not have been adequately discussed by Sir Samuel Wilson within the limited time at his disposal in East Africa."

Sir Samuel, who is the Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies, was sent out by Mr. Amery to visit Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda when it became clear that the reception of the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission upon the closer union of these territories was not generally favourable. His instructions were to proceed to East Africa in order to discuss the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission for the closer union of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda (and such possible modifications of these proposals for effecting the object in view as might appear desirable) with the Governments concerned and also with any bodies or individuals representing the various interests and communities affected, with a view to seeing how far "it may be possible to find a basis of general agreement." Sir Samuel was to ascertain "on what lines a scheme for closer union would be administratively workable and otherwise acceptable."

Sir Samuel reports that he found every section apprehensive of the proposals of the Hilton Young Commission. The Europeans in Kenya feared that their native policy would be brought into line with a policy "suitable for Uganda and Tanganyika," the Indians that closer union would put "their interests at the mercy of the Kenya settler," and the natives that they would lose "their right of direct access through the Governor to the Secretary of State" and that the Kenya native policy might invade Tanganyika.

Finally, however, he reached a scheme of closer union which he considered "administratively workable and generally acceptable." The scheme includes the appointment of a High Commissioner. He "met no one in East Africa who was in favour of putting the general control of native policy directly under the control of a central authority," but "after discussion with the different bodies interested I think I can say that the great majority of people in the three territories were agreed as to the desirability of putting the essential economic services under the control of a central authority, always provided that—

(a) A legislative body to be called the Central Council forms part of the organisation of the central authority.

(b) The powers of the Central Council are strictly limited to the transferred subjects and the present freedom of debate on these as well as on the non-transferred subjects is preserved to the members of the local Legislatures.

He proceeds to outline a scheme for co-ordination of economic services by a High Commissioner.

The report deals at length with the position of the Indians in Kenya, and recommends three alternatives for reconstructing the Kenya Legislature. In two of them the number of elected Europeans would be increased from nine—the present number—to thirteen, and in the third scheme there would be fifteen elected Europeans. "It is assumed," he says, "in Kenya that the acceptance of the recommendation of the Hilton Young Commission concerning the abandonment of the official majority in the Kenya Legislative Council will be a sine qua non in any scheme of closer union that may be agreed to, and all my discussions with the European communities in Kenya were carried out on this assumption." He also suggests that there shall be seven or eight nominated Europeans to represent native interests.

SOUTH AFRICA SEEKS TO SEVER EMPIRE TIES

Republic Embracing All White Citizens Is Aim.

OBJECTS TO LEGAL BOND

Sponsors of Movement Desire to Maintain Friendly Feeling With England But Declare Progress Demands Separation.

CAPE TOWN, Sept. 28.—A new movement, started in Ptchefstroom, in the Transvaal, to establish a Republic [illegible] aiming at a severance of the tie with the British Empire, is revealed by the South African [illegible] journal "Ons Land." The sponsors of the movement propose to break away from the Empire on purely constitutional lines.

The promoters, it is explained, desire a South African Republic, not a Dutch Republic, embracing all white citizens irrespective of race or religion.

As a first step towards this end, the movement is aiming for a revision of the Act of Union, and, while it desires to maintain a friendly, even an allied relationship with the British Empire, its draft constitution obects to the British crown on the grounds that loyalty to King George V implies a bond and duty to a foreign power, which "upsets our internal racial relations and leaves us open to the danger of undesirable foreign interference."

It objects to any legal bond with the Empire as part of the Empire because it implies a diplomatic unity and co-operative imperialism, also because it is unnecessary for safety or progress of South Africa.

"Ons Land" attributes this and similar movements to General Hertzog's attitude towards sovereign independence.

Local feeling, however, in the union says that this movement and other movements perhaps of a more revolutionary character can be expected in the future. They blame the reluctance on the part of the Home Government to explain to the populace the true sate of the sovereignty as it now exists—in other words is South Africa a sovereign state or is it just a minor dominion in the Commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire?

THE CAPE Native Teachers

Rouwkoop House,
Rondebosch,
21st August, 1929.

The Genral Secretary,
Cape African Teachers' Association,
Lovedale.

Dear Mr. Mdledle, 9-10-29

Your letter dated 3rd July arrived when I was on a holiday tour in the Eastern Province and the Transkei. Since my return, there has been much to do in connection with new duties undertaken, and fresh adjustments.

I would ask you to convey to your Association my deep appreciation of the message it has sent through you, and to say that such expressions, coming from the Native Teachers, are specially valued. If any thing has been done to improve Native Education in the Province, much of the credit must go to the teachers, who gave me their confidence and support, even where they themselves were not very sure of the changes introduced. It has been a source of great satisfaction to find that some of the innovations that were at first looked at askance are now appreciated at their true value.

I was glad to learn from your President that the Association has for one of its aims the setting up of a high standard of character and conduct. Nothing will do more to exalt your nation than the attainment of such an aim.

Next should come the aim of efficiency and thoroughness in the teacher's professional work. The Association might well adopt Aggrey's motto for its own—"Nothing but the best is good enough for Africa."

I shall always be interested in the welfare of your Association. May it flourish and be a power for everything that is good. And I trust that the African teachers of the Province will give to Mr Welsh the same confidence and support that they gave me.

I am, Dear Mr. Mdledle,
Yours very truly,
(Sgd) W. G. BENNIE

NATIVE COMPETITION.

9-24-29

Is the native population of South Africa an economic menace to the white workers? Professor Clay, lecturing on "Native Competition" to the Capetown branch of the Economic Society gave reasons why in his opinion it should not be so regarded. At the outset Professor Clay explained that his hypothesis was based on a purely analytical view of the problem such as must be taken by one from outside the country. "The hypothesis I want to put forward," he said, "is that native competition is not the explanation of the poor white problem." The lecturer argued that the advance of the natives into new fields of industry would increase their demands for the products of other industries, and there would be a demand for additional labour, both native and white, to meet the increased demand of the natives. "Most important of all," said Professor Clay, "the relation of natives and whites in a country of mixed nationalities seems to me to be more complementary than competitive. The employment of one class depends upon the employment of the other, and if either is eliminated the opportunities of employment for the other class will be reduced." Dealing with the fear of undercutting by native labour, the lecturer said it had been shown that whites could live on rates which natives were able to earn, but he admitted that the native standard was lower in general than the white man's and must remain so for many years. The difference between the standards, however, was greater than the economic difference between the capacities of the two peoples. Native wages were lower than was justified by the economic standard of the native, so his standard was limited by his wages and his wages seemed to him necessarily low.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

SOME LETTERS OF DR. E. W. BLYDEN.

The place of Dr. Blyden in the progress of West Africa is by no means easy to define, for, staunch upholder as he was of African institutions, a group of letters written in the latter part of his life exist which would show, if published in full, that few more than he deserved the title on which he himself—with a different conception of its meaning—always heaped so much ridicule—that of "Black Englishman." To him, of course, this name meant the unfortunates for whom partial education had led to a complete upset of poise, whereas it should be applied to Dr. Blyden as representing the type of Englishmen that has laid the foundations of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria, well-educated in European and Arabic lore, and with a liking for "the untouched African" so intense as to blind them to the difficulties besetting his more sophisticated brother in the coastal towns.

The letters referred to, written to a friend in Africa, and recently very kindly placed at my disposal, are remarkable for the frankness with which Blyden expresses his views, a frankness which is almost unavoidably coloured by his aversion from the political and other shifts of the little world of Freetown in which, as a West Indian, he evidently found himself a stranger—the more so since, in his almost French reverence for the official order, he did not hesitate to class as disloyal the most ordinary of the flamboyant criticisms of the Colonial Government by local journalists, nor could he see any creditable future for a people that, through the machinery of appeal courts, could wish to drag the decisions of its rulers before the British Government. That Freetown in such circumstances gave little honour to the prophet within its borders is comprehensible, especially as, in a nominally Christian community, Blyden, with the prejudices of his class and his day, looked with the greatest suspicion upon every product of Christian missions, from great Africans like Sir Samuel Lewis and Bishop Crowther to the "hopelessly Christian" condition of the Creole population.

It is not in his relations with Freetown, however, that the letters are of the greatest interest, but in Blyden's views on general policy. He saw clearly that the future of the largest part of West Africa was bound up in agriculture, but the greater vision blinded him to the less, that if products were to be marketed there must be a considerable body of non-agricultural Africans, and he never seems to have realised in his polemics against Freetown, for instance, that the much-abused Sierra Leonean has played an important, if technically unproductive, part in the development of Africa.

His views on education, of course, are already well known from his published writings, but his appreciation of the work of Bo School shows that he favoured a course consisting chiefly of English, Arabic, mathematics, and geography, and for the future of the S. B. Thomas Agricultural Academy (the plans for which, even then, had hung fire for some years) he had little hope, but here again one must remember his strong views regarding the particular part of the educated community that controlled the trust. He showed no favour for the educated African who chose to live abroad, instead of using his gifts for the benefit of his country, and almost as little for the type of lawyer who came home and lived, as he says, by fomenting family quarrels over property, but of doctors he says little, although he evidently thought that the evolution of African methods would suffice.

It is curious that with his strong love for things African, Blyden had no belief in the introduction of the elements of self-rule, even in communities where it was obviously impossible to resurrect any form of African social order, and his distrust of what he regarded as the mission-trained man went so far as to make him doubt the value of such individuals as soldiers, as well as in civil life, a doubt which, had he lived until the Great War, he could hardly have continued to entertain. Indeed, had Blyden lived another 20 years, he would have found that many of his plans for the improvement of the "untouched African" had been incorporated in the general policy of all Governments, with the addition, which the Doctor in his Sierra Leone days would certainly have been unable to appreciate, of a conscious attempt to reach back at the same time and to unite the civilisation of his despised "Black Englishmen" to that of the "uncontaminated African." It is interesting to note that, as with many a present-day European in Africa, Blyden's criticism is levelled at classes, and that in his relations with individuals he preserved a great-hearted charity that spread itself even to the old friends whose misunderstanding darkened the latter days of his existence.

E. R. J.

LEST WE FORGET OR IN CASE WE DO NOT KNOW.

JOTTINGS FROM DEBATES OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

By X.

No. V.

The First Urban Member (the Hon. Beoku Betts) continuing said *inter alia* :—"It must be agreed that the unsullied administration of Justice, and the realization of the fact that justice should prevail even though the clouds are rent assunder are essential to the maintenance of porsonal liberty . . . . . Carlyle said 'A deeper law than any parchment law whatsoever, a law written direct by the hand of God protests against injustice.'"

Lord Erskine in the defence of Tom Paine made use of these words :—"If I were to ask you gentlemen, what is the choicest fruit which grows upon the tree of English liberty you would answer, security under the law."

It was an appeal which summed up in my opinion, the highest principles of religion and is, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you."

Our complaint is against the law . . . . . so long as there ig trial by assessors, and no right of appeal in criminal cases and the Perjury Ordinance is what it is, I make bold to say that there is no guarantee of personal liberty and that there will be no security against miscarriage of justice.

It is clear that the Assessors Ordinance was introduced as a result of what has been called "Spaine's case." From its incipiency the Ordinance was regarded by the people of this community as an Ordinance introduced with the object of oppression. An Ordinance to be used when the Crown felt that it had a weak case. From that time people have felt that in every case when trial with assessors was asked for, Government was determined to have conviction and the record shows that in the majority of cases the persons tried are convicted. From that time up to 1905 nothing seemed to have happened to justify further extension of the Ordinance. Considering the fact that nothing had been shown to prove that trial by Jury had failed, but it was only found to be a convenient method of trial . . . it acked moral support. . . . . I wish to invite the Council to consider the position in the other Colonies. In the Gold Coast and in Nigeria there is trial with the aid of Assessors, but it is not of such general application as it is here . . . . . I now pass on to deal with the absence of the right of appeal in criminal cases. . . . . The position in this Colony is that our property is protected . . . . . but when it comes to our personal liberty . . . . we have no right to appeal. . . . If we allow these matters to go on without calling the attention of Government to them they would think that everything is alright . . . But even if I am to become a marked man I shall go on in peace satisfied that I laid before Gaverument the defects of the law . . . although it may be said that in the Government of the Colonies the unofficials are in the minority and any view that may be held by Government is the correct one, yet we are the mouthpiece of the people Men have suffered by these pernicious Ordinances and I hope the conscience of Government may be awakened to the sense of responsibility imposed upon them as trustees of the people.

Mr. Songo Davies said *inter alia* :—With regards to the Assessors Ordinance, when this Ordinance was first introduced into this Coiony, I was not very much in sympathy with it. According to my light and information at the time as regards this Ordinance, it is likely that I signed a petition that was addressed to the Secretary of State against it. I do not now remember, but if ever I did subsequent events have made me to alter my view . . . . I may not be speaking as a representative of the community as such in this Council, yet I may be voicing the opinion of many as regards the Jury and Assessors Ordinance. If I should say that the Assessors Ordinance, as a whole be abolished, I think I shall be doing injustice to this community, and I may be doing injustice to future generations. The community, as a whole is not for the abolition of the Ordinance, and up to two nights ago, I had conversation with men of high position, and previously with others of different classes in the community those to whom I have spoken are dead against the abolition of the Ordinance. There is what one may call local sympathy that exists in this community in one way or another ; sympathy may run with a man who has done a crime and who happens to be in a high position, and that sympathy may lead to prejudice, and that prejudice may lead to miscarriage of justice. Also in this our community certain special interest may exist towards certain people, or certain individuals or certain class who may likely fall into the hands of the law, and influence might be used which may lead to travesty of justice.

The Second Urban Member said *inter alia* :—Your Excellency (I wish you to believe that no one regrets more than any of the elected members of this Council that a motion of this nature should be brought up at the initial stage of Your Excellency's administration, but it is felt that the existing grosa miscarriage of justice is continuing to embitter the feelings now existing between Government and Governed) and because the elected members feel that at this incipient stage of Your Excellency's administration you should know the feelings of the people. I would first of all like to call Your Excellency's attention to the charter under the reign of His Majesty King George III in 1808 . . . . After certain recitals, His Majesty said :—"We therefore having considered the premises and being willing and desirous to afford all fitting assistance and encouragement to the said Sierra Leone Company for the advancement of trade and the promotion of justice. Mark the expression "the promotion of justice." I would also remind Your Excellency of the words contained in the proclamation of the late Good Queen Victoria : "There shall not be in the eyes of the law any distinction of qualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed, but the protection of the law in letter and substance shall be extended to all alike"

I think Your Excellency will agree that the basis for the development of families, races and nations are the same, and that these developments are born by regulated laws. When, therefore, your grandfathers introduced British laws into this country, despite the educational standard of the people at that time, it was because they recognised that whatever may be the educational standard of the Colony at that time it was the right principle that everybody must be tried by his peers. I wish to call attention to this fact, that at the incipient stage of this colony it was considered necessary to give this privilege to our forefathers who had just been emancipated from a state of slavery ; it must therefore be surprising to any reasonable man that in these days when the educational standard has been raised to the height it is at present this Government should consider that the administration of justice should assume a retrograde step.

. . . . . .

Our next series will be the most interesting.

Ethiopia and U. S. Sign Peace Treaty

Washington, D. C., Sept. 27.—Ethiopia is one of 14 countries which have concluded arbitration agreements which are now in force, according to information obtained from the treaty division of the department of state on Wednesday. The United States began negotiations for arbitration treaties two years ago with 31 countries. Conciliation treaties were also proposed to 22 countries.

The status of the treaties with Ethiopia, according to the text of the statement given out by the state department, is as follows:

On Aug. 5, 1929, the ratifications of the treaties of arbitration and conciliation between the United States and Ethiopia signed at Addis Ababa Jan. 26, 1929, were exchanged at Addis Ababa and the treaties simultaneously came into force.

ZIMBABWE'S MYSTERY.

Miss Caton-Thompson's Theory.

African World 10-5-29

Lecturing before the Cape Town branch of the Women's University Association recently, Miss Caton-Thompson said: "It is inconceivable to me how the theory of a Semitic or civilised origin for the Zimbabwe ruins came to be held. Instead of a degenerate offshoot of a higher Oriental civilisation, we seem to have a vigorous native civilisation, showing national organisation, originality, and surprising industry," she continued. "The problem is now largely an ethnological one. The physiognomy of the Bantu natives from the Limpopo to the Zambesia shows them to be saturated with alien blood. Yet this does not give evidence of invasion leading to permanent settlement by Asiatics. The complete absence of inscriptions in Rhodesia alone is, I think, weighty evidence against any such idea.

"One can, on the other hand, positively affirm that the material culture of these people is typically Bantu—from the earliest deposits to the latest."

Rich Field for Research.

Miss Caton-Thompson urged that the scientific world of South Africa should not be contented until it had equipped South African students of archæology and ethnology to undertake the work which would lead to a fuller understanding of this forgotten civilisation of the past, of which the modern Bantu appeared to be the degenerate descendants.

Miss Caton-Thompson turned to Zimbabwe, where tests yielded important results. The top 12 ft. 6 in. consisted of dagga clay, full of iron implements and fragments of soapstone. Between 13 ft. and 15 ft. pots, phalli, and bangles were found. On rock bottom more black pots of Bantu type.

Investigations on the site of the Acropolis, which was terraced, brought them to a curious stone structure whose purpose remains a mystery. Items of interest were found in the various strata all proving that they represented the earliest period of Acropolis débris. In the vicinity of the Elliptical temple results were the same: coiled wire bangles, spindle whorls, phalli, soapstone bowls. From all this investigation no objects came indicative of great antiquity.

In the Sabie Reserve.

Miss Caton-Thompson then gave a brief survey of ruins she had visited in the Sabie Reserve. Matindere was remarkable for its strip of dentelle pattern built into its girdle wall. Here many beads, fragments, and bangles similar to Zimbabwe were found.

Chiwona, a fortified terraced kopje site, only reported last November, and only seen by four white people before Miss Caton-Thompson visited it, yielded similar results.

Mshosao, a kopje stronghold, had relics of massive walls and a true Zimbabwe style of entrance, and had a fine rock passage recalling the Zimbabwe Acropolis. Chiboumani was found to be of the same age as the Zimbabwe and Dlo-Dlo later in date.

Here an interesting discovery was made in the lowest stratum, of a burnt hut, including the owners, intact. The two women had much bronze jewellery, with about five yards of beads round their necks. Nine perfect pots, a complete Chinese bowl, and Arab glass were found.

Miss Caton-Thompson said the report on the innumerable beads found had not yet been received from the expert: but he had said that some came from S. India not later than 500 A.D., and others from Borneo and the Malay Archæpelego between 600 and 1100 A.D.

Mrs. Grant, president of the Women's University Association, introduced the speaker, who was thanked by Professor Barnard, who hoped that she would visit the country again, and assured her that she would then find an increased interest in archæology and provision for the training of more archæologists.

INDIA AND EAST AFRICA

Hilton-Young Report Reviewed.

Manchester Guardian Weekly

Reuter telegrams from Simla say that in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday of last week Sir Frank Noyce, Secretary for Education Health, and Lands, in reply to a series of questions, laid upon the table of the House an important cable sent by the Government of India to the Secretary of State on March 19 expressing the Government of India's tentative views on the Report of the Hilton Young Commission on East Africa. The cable ran—

9-27-29

Immediate.—The Hilton Young Report has been examined, and we now submit our views on its main points. It is an eminently fair document, and we earnestly hope that its basic principles will be accepted by his Majesty's Government and that a High Commissioner will be deputed to conduct inquiries and consultations in the terms suggested by the Commission. Our comments are as follows:—

Vol. 21, No. 13

(A) CLOSER UNION.

The size and influence of European settlers in Kenya create apprehension that in any scheme for closer union their political ideals will profoundly affect the policy of the central authority established to co-ordinate administration and policy in matters of common interest. For this reason any plan of political coalescence, immediate or future, which would reduce the three territories of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika to the provinces of a unified State exercising both executive and legislative powers is open to objection from the Indian standpoint, but we are not opposed to the appointment of a Governor General to co-ordinate native policy and the administration services like Customs and transport on the understanding that it is recognised that—

1. Such a step is not the prelude to full-fledged political federation.
2. That Indians are adequately represented on the General Advisory Council which the Commission recommend should be set up in East Africa.
3. That the headquarters of the Governor General are located at a centre free from racial animosities.

Further, if the Governor General is appointed his instrument of instruction should lay due emphasis on the duty to enforce interracial justice in an impartial spirit and with a firm hand. It is also suggested that the Indian point of view be represented on the Advisory Council which it is proposed should be set up in London, and that unofficial Indian representatives be asked to participate in the periodical conferences which the Commission suggest should be held in London.

(B) NATIVE POLICY.

We gladly accept the principle of the paramountcy of native interests, subject to the condition that in practice the principle should not be interpreted or applied to discriminate against the immigrants of any particular race.

(C) LAND SETTLEMENT.

Indian settlers should be free to share on equal terms with Europeans in any scheme of land settlement that may be inaugurated by the Government of Tanganyika, after setting apart land to meet the requirements of the natives. Whatever the position may have been in the past, in future the Indian demand for land settlement in Tanganyika, and probably also in the lowlands of Kenya, is bound to be substantial. It is not suggested that the financial facilities offered by his Majesty's Government to settlers from Great Britain should be extended to Indians.

(D) ASSOCIATION OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES OF GOVERNMENT

We should like to emphasise that such association should not be confined to representatives of the European settlers only, but should include representatives of all immigrant communities.

(E) KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The chairman's proposals are not acceptable to us, but we welcome the Majority Report as opening the door to the satisfactory settlement of the vexed question of a common versus a communal electoral roll. The civilisation test is also approved in principle. On the question of replacing four officials by four members nominated to represent native interests, stress should, we think, be laid on the need for treating Indians as eligible to represent natives. It is, however, suggested that if the extension of the experiment of replacing more officials by such representatives at some future date is contemplated, the effect of such extension on Indian representation be carefully examined.

(F) We agree to the appointment of a High Commissioner for the local investigations and discussions recommended by the Commission, but we attach great importance to allowing the Government of India to send a representative to East Africa to assist local Indians in presenting their views to the High Commissioner.

The Wilson Report.

Sir Frank Noyce added that it was intended to convene a meeting of the Legislative Assembly's Emigration Committee at an early date to see if anything more could be done before Sir Samuel Wilson's report on East Africa was published on October 5. After the publication of the Wilson Report, it would be necessary to consult the Standing Emigration Committee on the report soon after its publication, so that his Majesty's Government could be at once informed of the Government of India's views on it.

General Notes

Imvo Zabantsundu 9-24-26

A NEW BOOK

Kuguluza Amatongo Book

We have received another interesting Xosa booklet from the pen of Rev. B. J. Ross, called *Imiteto nezinye inxoxo* (60 pp.) (Lovedale Press 1/3). It is in four chapters. The first explains the principles of evolution in the natural world; the second deals with primitive customs compared with modern; the third discusses Ntsikana, the first Xosa convert; the last is a reprint of a series of articles that appeared in this paper last year provoking a warm debate, headed Izitanda Bomnyama. In our opinion the first two chapters are alone worth double the price of the book for they contain matter which could revolutionise the social life of the Bantu if they were studied closely by all who understand this vernacular tongue. While the remaining chapters are highly controversial, we do not hesitate to recommend this book to our Bantu readers as a valuable addition to our growing literature.

Standard Limited By Wages.

Imvo Zabantsundu 9-24-29

Kuguluza Amatongo Book

"Native wages were lower than was justified by the economic standard of the Native, so his standard was limited by his wages and his wages seemed to him necessarily low," so said Professor Clay in a lecture before the Capetown Economic Society a fortnight ago. This explodes the very common fallacy that is used as an argument by Europeans in justification of keeping down the wage of the Native. The white worker rejoices in supporting his claim for a living wage by maintaining that as a white man he was in danger of degenerating to the level of a Native if such a wage was denied him. The basic fact was always lost sight of; the fact that the low standard of living in which the Native finds himself is not the result of a shortcoming in his earning capacity, but an assessment on his ability to eke out a living on an enforced meagre wage. No worker, black, white or yellow ever strives for a low standard of existence. It is bad economics for the white race to submit that the Native's wage must of necessity remain where it is to-day in order to protect the white worker. Earning capacity alone must be the deciding factor in the classification of workers for high or low standards of living if a healthy advance in our industry must be maintained

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

ZIMBABWE RUINS.

Very shortly the world is likely to be favoured with most interesting and perhaps startling revelations as to the mysterious origin of Zimbabwe and numerous other ancient ruins buried for many years between the Zambesi and the Limpopo. Before the historical present meeting of the British Association closes at Johannesburg it is likely that both Miss Cator Thomson and Professor Frobenius will each give a report of their recent investigations at the great ruins of Southern Central Rhodesia. Dr. Frobenius has already stated in South Africa that he is firmly convinced that, from tangible evidence in hand, an Indian race came to Rhodesia more than 7,000 years ago, and bases his ideas on the well-known fact that Indian culture of the period is the only one which has left no written evidence. He believes these Indian emigrants mixed with the African bushmen of the period, and were themselves practised miners with a considerable knowledge of chemistry. They were able to make articles in bronze and nickel, and their mining shafts and adits, especially near some of the Waterberg tin mines of the Northern Transvaal, are viewed as wonderful displays of deep mining, which, according to Dr. Frobenius, cannot be equalled to-day. The discovery of these mines, also of native Royal tombs, in the hills of the Limpopo Valley by the German expedition, will make the interest in the forthcoming report by Miss Cator Thomson and her colleagues keener than ever.

THE LATE HON. WILLIAM T. FRANCIS.

American Minister's Body En Route to U.S.A.

High Government officials attended the funeral service for the Hon. William T. Francis, United States Minister and Consul-General for Liberia, which was held at Monrovia on July 25.

President Charles D. B. King, members of his Cabinet, several hundred Liberian officials and others were present at the services at the United States Legation. Thousands paid tribute and viewed the remains lying in state.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Barclay, spoke on behalf of the Liberian Government, and paid high tribute to Minister Francis. Mr. Wharton spoke for the United States Government.

There were many beautiful wreaths, including one from the President of the United States and one from the Secretary of State of the United States.

Mrs. Francis Bringing Body Home.

According to latest reports, the body is due to arrive in New York City about August 15. It was shipped to the United States on the steamship "Otho." Mrs. Francis is accompanying the body on the 5,000 mile trip.

Funeral services for Mr. Francis will be held in St. Paul, Minn., Dr. Emmett J. Scott, a close personal friend, said Mrs. Francis had informed him. The burial will be in Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Francis died from yellow fever in Monrovia on July 15. He had been ill since June 16.

RACIAL SEGREGATION.

Colony Embarks on Definite Line of Native Policy.

It is officially announced that the Imperial Assent has been given to the Land Apportionment Bill, as is specifically required by the provision in the Southern Rhodesia Letters Patent which reserves Native Legislation for the express sanction of the Crown. The measure is of paramount importance as marking the embarkation of the Colony on a definite line of native policy and as inaugurating the principle of racial segregation, being, in the words of the Premier in introducing the legislation, a step in furtherance of a policy of "segregation of the ownership of land."

The enactment, the "Cape Times" correspondent at Bulawayo points out, divides the Colony into five areas—namely, "the native area," "the undetermined area," "the forest area," "the unassigned area," and "the European area," while provision is also made for the establishment of Native Village Settlements in the vicinity of other centres. Schedules to the Act apportion 7,464,566 acres in various parts of the Colony, chiefly adjoining the present Native Reserves, as the Native Area. In relation to this, it is provided that indigenous natives and, in certain cases, alien natives may acquire and occupy such land, and that Europeans shall not hold or occupy land in the area. The area likewise set aside for European ownership and occupation comprises in round figures 48,000,000 acres. It is provided, however, that land granted or acquired for schools for natives, or to or by missionary bodies working among natives in the European area, shall continue to be so used or may be let to natives or alienated to persons other than natives.

Undetermined Area.

The undetermined area consists of 88,540 acres, and therein the free disposition of land is allowed subject to the proviso that, upon acquisition by a native, such land shall form part of the native area. The forest area, which is reserved for afforestation purposes, comprises 590,000 acres. The unassigned area aggregates 17,793,300 acres, in relation to which it is enacted that the Governor-in-Council may, from time to time, with the approval of the High Commissioner, assign portions of the area to either the European or Native Areas, and that, pending such assignment, no alienation of such land shall be permitted. It is further provided that leases of land in this area may be granted in blocks not exceeding 10,000 acres for periods up to forty-nine years.

The Act is to be administered by a Land Board appointed by the Governor-in-Council.

The disproportion between the areas allocated for European settlement and for native settlement, ostensibly 48,000,000 acres and 7,500,000 acres respectively, was explained by the Premier in his speech at the second reading of the Bill, when he said that, apart from the area set aside for future determination, "which I think we can regard as native," the extent of the present native reserves brought the total allocation to native settlement up to 29,500,000 acres.

The measure precludes natives from occupying or purchasing land in townships other than land specifically set apart for such settlement. In regard to the further provision for native settlements contiguous to the towns, the Opposition was able to effect a modification, whereby it is enacted that natives may not acquire ownership of such land as distinct from occupation, which latter remains permissible in such settlements.

It was sought also by the Labour Party, and by other members of the Legislative Assembly, to amend the provisions of the Bill so that, instead of the native area being constituted of blocks of land in various parts of the colony, a definite area of the country should be so demarcated. It was contended that this would constitute a real segregation; but the decision of Parliament was against the proposal.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Marriage Customs.

The most interesting article in the latest issue of "Africa"* is one on "The Principles of Bantu Marriage" by the eminent traveller and ethnologist, Professor E. Torday, who deals in an admirable commonsense way with polygamy, dowries, and other topics, about which much nonsense has been written by ill-informed, superficial and prejudiced observers. The practice of polygamy, especially, has been put forward by missionaries and others; the supposedly debased condition of women in polygamous society being used as an argument in support of the inferiority of the peoples among whom it is practised. Polygamy is certainly widely prevalent in Africa, but as Professor Torday says, "a little elementary arithmetic will easily prove that general polygyny (or polygamy) is a practical impossibility, for if every man has only two wives (and they are usually reputed by careless observers to have more) the women of a tribe must outnumber the men by two to one." Where does the surplus of women come from? Wherever we have reliable accounts of the sex rates of births we find no evidence of any great discrepancy between males and females. "The census of the whole of the Belgian Congo shows that the adult population consisted in 1926 of 2,537,775 males and 2,603,780 females; in 1927 of 2,584,208 males and 2,652,119 females," or 100 males to 102.6 females. "Of course, there are areas where the females are more numerous than the males, in Nyasa the proportion is 115 to 100, among the Baile 110 to 100," but the excess rarely exceeds 5 per cent. Whence, then, can the plurality of wives be obtained? The fact is that they exist only in the stories of credulous travellers. As Professor Torday says, "the path of the field worker is strewn with pitfalls. If he is a passing traveller he will mostly have to deal with chiefs and men of importance, who are the real polygynists. He has no social intercourse with the common people who form the bulk of the population." These common people are, perforce, monogamists, a plurality of wives being limited to the powerful and wealthy, a retinue of wives being as much a mark of rank and wealth as a retinue of male followers. The Professor believes that polygamy is a comparatively recent encroachment. "customary with a small minority only," on the original Bantu idea of marriage as "the union of one woman with one man for the begetting of legitimate children in whom one of the two souls of each parent is perpetuated."

Dowry.

With the organisation of the social unit and the institution of property there arises the need of regulating questions of kinship, inheritance, and succession to the chieftainship. Hence customs regulating marriage are among the first to be fixed, and so elaborate "marriage customs" are to be found among primitive peoples who have hardly any idea of rule in other departments of life. One of the most widely spread customs is a gift to the bride's people, commonly known as "dowry," or "bride-price," misleading terms which have led to the belief that a man "buys" his wife, who, therefore, becomes his chattel-slave. As Professor Torday points out, "the native word never implies buying and selling"; he proposes the substitution of "earnest" for these misleading terms, and quotes a number of authorities that "the reason of the dowry payment would appear to be a species of guarantee" of fair treatment by the husband and good behaviour on the part of the wife. Among the Akan tribes of the Gold Coast payment of "dowry" is an essential feature of marriage, but a married woman remains a member of her mother's family; she retains her independent individuality; her husband has no control over her property; her children are members of her family, and not of her husband's. The dowry is paid by the prospective husband to her family for the exclusive marital right to her body and her domestic services. The high position of the mother in the Akan polity is proof that marriage does not make the women slaves. The misunderstanding as to the status of the African woman has arisen from a misconception of the nature and purport of the premarital payment. As the wife remains free there is no sale and no purchase; she remains free except in regard to the marital relation.

Practical Applications.

In "Social Systems of Africa" Dr. Richard Thurnwald, Professor of Ethnology, Folk-Psychology, and Sociology in the University of Berlin, emphasises the importance to the Powers which have taken control of Africa, and thereby charged themselves with the task of leading the African peoples along the difficult road of civilising advance, of "a definite knowledge of the actual state of affairs, of the facts which to-day represent the fundamental conditions determining the direction in which the native life is developing." That life has been moulded by the conditions of the habitat—climate, soil, and the animal and plant life existing therein. To-day "we see the product of all these influences in some completed form, already toned down and welded into a harmonious whole by the course of events, in the shape of social organisations, intellectual ties, opinions, and prejudices." Among these influences are the domestic habits and ways

of living, as we see in the important position of women among agricultural peoples as compared with their status among hunting and pastoral peoples. Human institutions have grown out of the circumstances of natural, primitive life, which must be understood by those who seek to mould the future of Africa, if mistakes, mortifying to the teachers, and of cruel consequence to their pupils, are to be avoided. Professor Torday shows the danger of indiscreet legislation, which is, unintentionally, facilitating polygamy among the wealthy and powerful, and, imposing celibacy on the poorer classes. The remedy is in knowledge of the fundamental principles on which African custom is based. "It is not so much new legislation which is required as a revival and general recognition by the natives themselves of the fundamental laws which regulate Bantu marriage," but they must not be led astray by the mis directed efforts of would-be reformers.

W. F. H.

POLYGAMY IN WEST AFRICA.

(To the Editor of "The African World.")

Dear Sir,—"Marriage Customs," under the title of "West African Echoes," by "W. F. H.," in THE AFRICAN WORLD of August 10, is very important, in that the subject-matter deals with the very foundations of social happiness in British West Africa. It is not my experience that polygamy is confined to "chiefs and men of importance," nor that the "common people are, perforce, monogamists." What may suit one nation may not, necessarily, be equally suitable for everybody. Is our marriage custom satisfactory? If the clergy were given the power of dissolution of marriage, is it not a fact that the churches would be filled with applicants eager to dissolve a partnership which ought never to have been made? . . . Are all our marriages happy? Our newspapers throw a little light upon this unhappy feature of cultured, refined civilisation. There is something wrong somewhere, and, if this is so, are we wise in endeavouring to force on the polygamous people of British West Africa a custom which has not been found to be satisfactory in every country where it prevails? Unless we can replace polygamy with something as good, or better, then we are doing wrong in encouraging monogamy among the people of British West Africa, and we are hindering the spread of genuine Christianity. Islam welcomes all to its fold, and the result is that Islam is spreading in all parts of British West Africa. It is all very well and so easy for Christians adversely to criticise Islam, but it has its very good points, as I know.

If polygamy is an unmitigated evil, it will die out, but is it an unmitigated evil? I can prove that this is not so from personal observation, and our Press and the literature of the day to be found in all libraries prove that monogamy is not an unmixed blessing by any means. "Unofficial" polygamy exists in every cultured and highly developed civilised country.

A clean-living, hard-working, intelligent polygamous Christian people are of far more use to God and the Empire than can be an adulterous, hypocritical, discontented, Westernised people professing to call themselves Christians. Before we "pick holes" in humane polygamy let us "fill up" the "holes" in our marriage custom; then we can with real reason say something and do something to help, not before.—Yours very truly,

WILLIAM ADDISON.

August 18, 1929.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Romans in the Sudan.

Long before Rome began to extend her power beyond the Italian peninsula by the conquest of Carthage, rumours of a mysterious river flowing through the country of the Blacks were current in North Africa. As the country through which it flowed was reported to be rich in gold, there were, no doubt, many attempts to establish communication with it, of which no memory has been preserved. It is probable that a trade route across the Sahara to the "Land of the Blacks" had been established through Fezzan and the series of oases which formerly existed between Tripoli and the district of Lake Chad, then a large body of deep water. It is certain that the Carthaginians carried on a regular trans-Saharan trade, and that from them the Romans learnt that there were large nations of black men dwelling in a rich and fertile country under the Tropics. The earliest Roman attempts to reach this country are recorded by Marinus of Tyre, whose works have perished, save for some fragments preserved by Ptolemy of Alexandria in his great work on geography. According to Marinus a Spanish general in the Roman service named Cornelius Balbus was despatched from Gabes in Tunis, about 50 B.C., with instructions to reach the country of the Blacks, but did not get further than Jerma, about 70 miles south of Murzuk. A few years later another Roman general, Septimus Flaccus, is said to have led his army on a march of three months across the desert, with the assistance of the king of the Garamantes, who had become a friend and ally of the Romans. It is possible that this ally supplied the army with camel transport, and that the country traversed was much less arid 1,900 years ago than it is to-day; it is certain that within the last two or three centuries several oases along this route have dried up. There is no information as to what happened to this expedition, and it is not known whether it succeeded in reaching its goal and returning. About 45 A.D. Suetonius Paulinus, who afterwards distinguished himself in Britain, crossed the atlas range and proceeded as far as the palm-fringed valley of the river which Roman geographers called the Ger, and the Berbers still know as the Gir. Both these words are probably corruptions of the name conferred on the river by the aboriginal inhabitants. A century later (about 150 A.D.) Julius Maternus started from Garama, then the capital of a semi-civilised district under Roman rule, and after marching for four months across the desert reached a country which he called Agisymba, swarming with rhinoceri. Besides these expeditions there were, no doubt, many adventurers who made the journey to seek the gold and profit to be gained in the Black Man's country, from which they brought back reports of a great river, another Nile. It was Ptolemy, the geographer, who named this river the Niger. Its course was as great a mystery as the source of the Nile. Most geographers, following a statement by Herodotus, believed the two to be branches of one river until, in the nineteenth century, the Landers solved the mystery by proving that the Niger debouched into the Atlantic Ocean.

The Moors in the Sudan.

As long as the Moors retained their supremacy in Spain their attention was given exclusively to that country, but the loss of their "Beloved Andalus" diverted them to the quest of the gold-producing country of the Blacks beyond the Sahara. In 1590 Ahmed V. (Mansur), son of the victor at the famous "battle of the Kings" at Al Kasar, proclaimed a jehad, or Holy War, against the infidels of the Sudan. He called upon Ishak the reigning Prince of the Songhai, to acknowledge his supremacy and to pay a tax of one mitkal (ducat) on every load of salt extracted from the mines at Tighazi. On this demand being refused Ahmed marched an army across the desert and captured Timbuktu and Guago. He is stated to have obtained an enormous amount of booty, one batch including 1,200 slaves, forty loads of gold-dust, four gold-mounted saddles, and large quantities of ebony, musk, and civet. Of gold he is reputed to have brought back seventy-five quintals from Guago and sixty from Timbuktu, making altogether 16,065 lbs. avoirdupois (257,040 ounces), of the value of £1,000,000 sterling. Fourteen hundred punches were kept busy coining the gold; his gold coins were celebrated for their purity. Among the booty was an elephant whose Sudanese keepers brought the first tobacco seen in Morocco. On account of the wealth thus acquired Ahmed was surnamed Ed-Dhahebi, the Golden. Eighty years later the Sultan Er-Rasheed is stated to have advanced to Bambarra in pursuit of a fugitive, but to have retired without fighting. He was succeeded by Muley Ismail (whose mother is reputed to have been a negress), the most famous of the Moroccan sovereigns, who reigned for fifty-five years. He was a redoubtable builder, many of the most beautiful palaces and mosques in the country having been erected by him. He owed his long reign mainly to his military abilities, and the army of the Sudanese mercenaries which he formed by collecting all the Sudanese negroes in his kingdom, and recruited by importing large numbers of slaves from the Sudan. These were established (as a caste apart from the Moors) in great camps which Ismail directly supervised, making a personal inspection annually. At each visit he carried away all the children of ten years of age. The girls were taught washing, cooking, and housekeeping in the royal palaces; the boys were put through a training which lasted five years. In the first year they were apprenticed to craftsmen; in the second they learned to ride mules; in the third to make and ram concrete for Ismail's vast building operations; in the fourth to ride horses bareback; and in the fifth year to ride with saddles and to shoot. Ismail was succeeded by his youngest son, Ahmed bin Ismail. Some historians credit this Ahmed also with having conducted an expedition to Timbuktu, and with having brought thence immense quantities of gold, but they give no details, and are probably confusing him with his predecessor of the same name. It is certain, however, that constant intercourse was maintained between North Africa and the Sudan by two caravan routes. The western caravans proceeded from Fez to Timbuktu, and the eastern from Tunis, via Murzuk, to Bornu and Kano. Immense quntities of salt from the Sudanese salt mines were brought to these markets until their coarse produce was superseded by the fine salt carried up the Niger from the Guinea coast. The Moorish traders brought back gold, both raw and in the form of jewellery of Hausa manufacture, frankincense, ostrich feathers, elephant's teeth and rhinoceros' horns, highly steemed by the Mohamedans for making sword-hilts, guinea grains, gum, copal, asafoetida, ebony, cam, sandal, and other precious woods: indigo and other dyes. This trade was carried on until a cheaper and quicker route was opened up by the Niger Company's river steamers and the Nigerian Railway. Nevertheless, the life, religion, and culture of Northern Nigeria will always bear the impress of its long communication with the Moors and North Africa. W. F. H.

MYSTERY OF ZIMBABWE.

Dr. Frobenius's Remarkable Find.

A remarkable find has been made by the expedition led by Dr. Leo Frobenius during excavations of newly discovered ruins of the Zimbabwe civilisation in the Tati concession of Bechuanaland, which may assist in establishing the date of a hitherto lost civilisation, states the Central News.

The expedition has discovered finely preserved ceramic figures of birds identical with the famous steatite or soapstone birds which formerly adorned the temple walls at Zimbabwe. They disclose an age of pottery akin to that of the Ceramic period of the Eastern Mediterranean of the later Stone Age. The steatite birds were carved from soft rock, which lends itself easily to the tool of the artist and is very durable, but the discovery establishes beyond doubt that the ancient Zimbabwe artists understood the manufacture of pottery even at a remote time.

Ceramic Birds.

One significance of the discovery of these ceramic birds (or hard pottery) lies in the fact that they may conceivably establish a definite link between the ancient civilisations of Assyria and Zimbabwe. The find once more focuses attention on the great ruins of Zimbabwe, whose origin has provided so much discussion for the past sixty years.

The "temple" referred to is, the "Morning Post" points out, the elliptical temple at Zimbabwe, an ancient stone structure 292 feet long and 220 feet wide, which is supposed to have been used for religious rites. Another theory, however, is that it is simply a fortress round a native kraal.

The steatite birds adorned the temple walls where they were placed on the tops of tall monoliths. One of the monoliths is in the British Museum, but the bird has been broken off. The Cape Town Museum possesses several of the steatite figures. The tallest of the birds stood 5 ft. 4 in. in height.

The late Mr. Theodore Brenta, the African explorer, had little doubt that these birds were akin to the Assyrian Astarte, and represented the female element in creation. Similar birds were ascribed to Astarte among the Phœnicians.

The temple at Zimbabwe, according to the theory advanced by Dr. Frobenius, was built by Indians who had settled in Africa at the time of a very ancient civilisation. On the other hand Mr. David Randall MacIver, the famous archæologist, in his work on "Mediæval Rhodesia," maintains that the ruins and remains at Zimbabwe are typically African.

At the recent meeting of the British Association at Johannesburg, Miss Caton Thompson, reporting on her excavations at Great Zimbabwe, said evidence precluded the idea of the ruins having stood for thousands of years.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

Lashes for Life.

[By "Iota."]

7-23-29

Sir,

Allow me few inches of space in the columns of your widely read paper to express my sympathy with the unfortunate Natives who have been, from time to time, victims of brutal assaults by Europeans of the Nafte stamp. I refer especially to those Natives who have recently suffered in connection with the Lilyfontein shooting affair which took place on March 5, 1929, and in which there was not even the least offence on the part of the victims.

I would only feel and not express my sympathy in a case where there has been even the least offence. If pointing a gun with threatening words to an innocent Native man or woman, as in this case, is not a crime worthy of punishment nothing else is.

Most Natives were satisfied with the substitution of lashes for life "in lieu of" life for life" than no punishment at all. And consequently, thought that lashes for life might be sufficient for the prevention of the crime of murder. But unfortunately cases of culpable homicide seem to be the order of the day.

Why are the patriots, to whom the mandate of "life for life" was given regarded as having been below the scale of human beings or lower in the scale of being than ourselves if lashes for life is not a sufficient barrier to us against the perpetration of murder? Are not the Natives also of more value than many sparrows?

A little white ago I read the following: "On Monday a case of wilful and aggravated cases of cruelty to animals came before the Assistant Magistrate of Cape Town. The accused," a white man, "had deliberately hacked off the ear of a dog with a pocket knife for no reason, so far as could be ascertained, but a lust for inflicting pain. The dog was in court and bore eloqrent testimony to the torture inflicted upon it by this bloodthirsty ruffian. Yet the magistrate, in imposing the maximum term of imprisonment of three months, was content to warn the prisoner that he could be sentenced to a whipping in addition. Much as we dislike criticising magistrates, it is necessary to point out that last year after some heated debates and at least one failure, the enlightened members of the Legislature succeeded in placing on the Statute Book a one clause measure which authorised whipping as a punishment for wilful and aggravated cases of cruelty to animals. The Act was passed with a definite object in view and it is the duty of magistrates to apply its provisions in a proper case. If this is not to be considered a proper case, the act must be a dead letter and the intentions of parliament overridden We sincerely hope that misplaced leniency of this kind will not occur again—"The East London Daily Dispatch" May 18, 1929."

As we are all aware the Lilyfontein case which appeared on the above mentioned paper of 21/6/29 was sent after the preparatory examination to the Solicitor General who in return remitted the case to the magistrate of East London for trial.

In giving evidence on his own behalf the accused, a European, admitted having pointed the gun at the girls in the trees And according to the evidence for the Crown he said he would shoot unless the girls got down. Two other girls were on the ground. But he denied having pointed the gun which he said was half cock to the two girls on the ground whom he shot. And the other girl died from injuries inflicted while the other ran away wounded.

In giving judgment the Magistrate said he had had some difficulty in arriving at the penalty to be inflicted. The accused was too old to come under the provisions of the Act which would allow a magistrate to order a boy of 16 years of age to receive a good whipping, nor did he (the magistrate) consider that a few years at a reformatory would meet the case. He could not very well send him to prison in view of his clean record and his youthfulness, and therefore a fine of £25 or three months' imprisonment, suspended for 12 months on the proviso that accused out of his earnings paid £2 1s. 8d. per month was the only alternative.

If "prevention is better than a cure" pointing a gun with or without threatening words to a human being especially a female being should be considered a crime worthy of whipping to a youth and a heavier sentence to an adult.

Manures and Manuring.

Specially written for "Imvo" by

J. L. B Max Bekwa

6-6-29

HINTS FOR THE AGRICULTURALIST.

A good deal of attention is being paid to the important branch of crop growing by the Native agriculturalists In many cases the lands that have cropped for many years have begun to yield less than formerly and steps are being taken to remedy this Many agriculturalists are dropping a more intensive system of farming their lands, and this is a very welcome advance leading to increased production with the same extent of land under cultivation. Before entering into the question of actual manure itself it would be advisable to give a rough outline of the manure in which the plant feeds and its requirements in the soil The soil itself contains a very large amount of plant food, but to be of value to the plant it must be soluble either water or in the weak acid manufactured by the plant. All plant foods that are taken up from the soil are taken up dissolved in water. Thus the reason why rain or water, being the chief factor in crop production in most parts of South Africa. The plant roots may be surrounded by plant food, but without the water to dissolve them the plant will perish. The manure in which the plant takes up its food from the soil is also of great interest The plants roots' are composed of small cells containing certain liquids. The plant food in the soil when dissolved in water, surrounds the roots and the dissolved food passes through the walls of the cells into the roots and from those is conveyed to other parts of the plant. As the soluble food in the soil becomes used up, the roots travel in all directions searching for more food in a dissolved state. Through ploughing by breaking up the soil it enables the roots to move quickly through the soil and enables a great amount of food to become available by decreasing the size of individual particles and thus exposing more surfaces to the dissolving effect of water

The plant is also therefore always reducing the amount of soluble plant food available in the soil, but fortunately there other factors such as the influence of weathering which slowly increase the amount of plant food available. When, however, the soluble plant food is withdrawn quicker than Nature can replace it, the crop yields from the lands becomes less.

There are three main plant foods that require special consideration namely Nitrogen, Phosphates and Potash. These three plant foods are required by our crops, but different crops take up different proportion of these foods. Wheat for example requires a fair amount of Nitrogen available in the soil; mealies require less and beans and peas require less—in fact the two latter actually add to the Nitrogen available in the soil. The amount of crop produced from the land depends chiefly upon these plant foods available, and upon the plant foods availabe. Let us assume for an example, that a crop to produce a normal yield requires new parts of soluble Nitrogen six parts of soluble Phosphates and four parts of soluble Potash, and that the soil contains 20 parts of Nitrogen 3 parts of soluble Phosphates and six parts of soluble Potash. We find that a land will yield a half crop. Although there is sufficient Nitrogen and Potash available, the Phosphates available are only one half of what they should be and the crop is consequently very much smaller than usual. Soils have often a sufficiency of one or two of these plant foods, but because they are deficient in the third and the yield from the crop grown is very low. In South African soil the lack of sufficient Phosphates is the cause in a large number of cases of the low yields obtained. There are two common methods of increasing the available plant foods in the soil:—

(1) By the use of complete Manures.

(2) By the use of Fertilizers.

Complete plant foods not only add plant foods to the soil but at the same time they improve the condition of the soil. Manure used in Native areas is Kraal Manure composed of droppings of cattle, sheep, goats. It is a very valuable form of the manure, but it is often cut into bricks and used as fuel. In the Transkeian Territories the value of this manure has been realised and whereas formerly large quantities of this manure could be purchased for a small sum, it is to day all used on the lands. It is usually carted to the land in winter, spread evenly on the land and then is ploughed in. It has one great disadvantage and that is a vast number of weeds, that germinate after its application This must be expected, for large quantities of weed seeds are not digested by the animals as they pass through them and these seeds germinate when conditions become favourable. For this reason kraal manures should be put on the land as early as possible and then

ploughed in. After the first rain and when the seeds have germinated, the land should be ploughed again to destroy the first and usually the largest crop of weeds. Another complete manure is the green manure. This is an excellent manure for the following reasons :—

(1) It costs very little but at the same time adds large quantities of plant foods to the soil.

(2) Large quantities of vegetable matter are added to the soil and as this vegetable matter is broken down by soil bacteria plantfood is formed.

(3) Because of this veg. matter in the soil more water is held in the soil as it acts as a sponge and holds moisture.

(4) This veg. matter improves the condition of the soil as it makes clay soil easier to work and sandy soils less open.

(5) It helps to make available the insoluble plant foods present in the soil.

(6) As the crop has gathered plant food from the depths of the soil during its growth when it is ploughed in, this plant food soon becomes available for succeeding crops.

The crops grown for green manuring are generaly of the bean or pea family. The reason for this being that these store a valuable supply of nitrogen on river roots and to a certain extent in the plant itself. This plant food they obtain from the air. The best method of applying green manure is to divide the land into three parts and plant one of these parts with cow-peas or of the ordinary Native beans The rest of the land can be planted with mealies or kafir-corn as usual. When the beans or cow peas are in full flower then the crop should be ploughed in, care being taken to cover all the vegetation.

Healdtown & Glen Grey Titles

(By C. A. W. Sigila).

[By reason of an imperfect impression which rendered the reading of the following contribution in last week's "Imvo" difficult we take the opportunity of republishing this important article for the benefit of our readers. [Editor "Imvo."]

That the Native Affairs Department is found to have given instructions to local officials to carry out, at Healdtown, the objectionable change of our Sir George Grey Titledeeds into the Glen Grey system, in spite of a written protest based on grounds not without reasonable possible comprehension.

The protest by Healdtown was but their individual, independent and well-considered answer to the measure as introduced to them by the Chief Native Commissioner and the Peelton Convention of individual Title-holders, on behalf of all places surveyed under the fixed tenure system of Sir George Grey Healdtown included), passed a resolution which practically endorsed the Healdtown protest, and thus all places were bound together inseperably by that Peelton decision.

Hence the references to that same decision, made later by the Secretary for Native Affairs at King William's Town. All he said there in defence of his department, or in refutation of certain statements made at Peelton, or in explaining certain advantages derivable from changed titledeeds in terms of the draft regulations, if adopted, is supposed, it appears, to have allayed our so-called misapprehensions, or to have dealt a death blow to our recalcitrant attitude, —his urgent request to reconsider or reverse our decision, and suggest amendments to the draft regulations, despite.

If this be the case, then we might be forgiven to come to the conclusion that the Native Affairs Department has ceased to be sympathetic and tolerant with and towards us. Otherwise the Department, in its fervent desire to carry out these regulations or at least, to accomplish this proposed change in land tenure, has adopted itself a policy of "Divide and Rule"—a policy most inimical to the best interests of the people to whom it is applied. It perhaps well served the purpose of European Governments or Colonists in breaking down the power of and taming and civilising, the savagely barbarous nations of Africa and other lands. To-day such a policy is extremely repulsive to modern civilisation which is the only begotten son of Christianity which is embraced also by the Native races of South Africa. In consequence of such a policy trouble must inevitably be the reaction.

The magistrate of Fort Beaufort called together a meeting of the headmen of Healdtown at his office on the 29th June 1929, and told them that he had instructions to go out and visit each location in turn, and take all title deeds which the headmen must tell the people to hand to him. Fresh title deeds affording greater advantages or privileges will be issued instead. He said he would commence duties on the 14th of October 1929, and concluded his talk by enjoining the headmen to go and tell the people accordingly.

A mass meeting of all Healdtown was convened at Ntoleni on the 6th inst., and after a full discussion it was decided to reply in writing as follows :—

"We, the undersigned headmen of the Healdtown locations on behalf of the Healdtown locations on behalf of the people of our respective locations and of ourselves, humbly beg hereby to submit the decision of the people resident in our respective locations, as arrived at and pronounced at a meeting held at Ntoleni on the 6th inst., as convened by us, individually and severally, for the purpose of giving the report of the meeting with the magistrate on the 29th ultimo :—

Resolved (nem. con.) "That the alteration or convertion of Title deeds notified to commence on the 14th October 1929 in the Healdtown area, into the Glen Grey system of land tenure, is most strenuously and resolutely protested against by all the people in the Healdtown locations and that the enforcement of same, under any pretext, in spite of reasons previously advanced to the contrary, will be regarded as an act of tyranny."

This was signed by the headmen themselves and handed to the magistrate on the 10th of July 1929. But they met with a serious rebuke from the magistrate who said that they should not have associated themselves with the decision of the people, much less to have signed it themselves, as they are the servants of the Government

Now these headmen are men nominated by the people with the approval of the Government, ofcourse) for two objects, namely, (1) to maintain order and discipline in their respective locations; (2) to be a channel or a go between the Government and the people. On the side of the Government, from our standpoint, at least, (1) they are the constitutional channel whom the feelings of the people can be ventilated to the Government through the local officials (2) they are the channel through whom the Government through the local or other officials can get at the people. But nevertheless they are as much the servants of the people as of Government.

The Government, however, or its administrative officials, like to alienate these men from the people altogether, and they try to set them against their own people. They are thus encouraged to act antagonistically to the people whom they were pointed to serve, and no matter how they bargain away the interests of their people, if only they serve the selfish ends of the Government. Naturally every man knows which side his bread is buttered,—but do we have these men in our locations for our detriment?

The Senate Elections.

The government has elected as Senators under article 24 of the Act of Union Messrs P. A. De Lange, P.W.L.R. van Niekerk (Transvaal), C. J. van Rensburg Smit; J. C. Van Rooy (O.F.S.), T. Boydell, A. V. Spies (Natal), W. A. Hofmeyr, F. C. Thompson (Cape). These gentlemen are elected by virtue of their special experience in Native affairs. Special experience would necessarily carry the implication that such a Senator would be well-known for his broad-mindedness in handling Native matters. If ever there was a Senator that filled this office to the approximation of perfection it was Dr. Roberts of the Native Affairs Commission. The disappearance of his name among representatives of Native interests in the Senate has occasioned much disappointment among the Bantu races of South Africa. This Senator missionary acquitted himself most creditably in championing the rights of black people in spite of the additional position he held as Commissioner which latter position would always militate against freedom to express his wishes as he otherwise would. Mr P W. van Niekerk, another Native Affairs Commissioner retains the dual office of Senatorship, and we hope that the blunder he has made viz. that of recommending in his evidence that it was not necessary to obtain the views of Natives in legislation affecting them—will be more than rectified when the earliest opportunity offers for him to do so. It is since this catastrophical expression that the statutory Native Affairs conference under Act 23 of 1920 ceased to be summoned for two years in succession, thereby showing the mighty influence the Native Affairs Commission wields with the government as against representations made by all Native political bodies. The position with Senators representing our people is still more important, and the omission of the names of popular ex administrators in Native territories like Col Stanford, W. T. Brownlee and a legion of other better known men seems to suggest that these government appointments are not receiving the serious consideration they deserve from the cabinet.

Race Problem-1929

Africa

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

African World 10-19-29

Canned Ladies.

The lady who delights in the sheen and sharp rustle of her silken garments is probably unaware that pure silk is as dull and silent as wool. The Chinese mandarin's blue jacket of pure wool looks like an Englishman's blue serge reefer. In mid-Victorian days, when it was every Englishwoman's ambition to possess a black silk gown for wear on State occasions, the sound of the long train trailing behind her was like the rustling of forest leaves, which the French denominated by the imitative word "froufrou." Those who are old enough to remember the time when Sardou was the leading dramatist will recall his play, entitled "Frou-Frou," whose pathetic heroine was so nicknamed from the sound of her trailing silken skirts. Every woman then prided herself on the thickness and weight of the fabric of her black silk dress, and proud indeed was the woman who could say, "My dear, it's as thick as cardboard; it'll stand up by itself." About the time that the Nigerian tinfield was discovered fashion decreed that the well-dressed woman must wear swirling silken petticoats, whose jangling announced her coming. The ladies were delighted with the shimmer and sound of the material, but were discouraged by finding holes appearing in the substance of their cherished garments. Both the shimmer and the sound were produced by impregnating the fabric with salts of tin, which rotted the silk. Means of preventing this deleterious action were discovered, but ladies continued to wear a mixture of silk and tin. The introduction of artificial silk has in no wise diminished the use of tin in "silkwear." So many women are under the impression that weight is a proof of quality in silk that manufacturers have been obliged to pander to the idea, and accordingly instruct their dyers to load the fabric with salts of tin. A lady arrayed in artificial silk may be said to be canned, because her garments may contain as much as 40 per cent. of tin salts. A moderate amount of "weighting," as it is euphemistically called, does not unduly impoverish the silk, but when the tin content is too high it quickly rots. The custom has been carried to such lengths that manufacturers have had to take steps to check it by establishing a maximum of loading, and, after the 1st of January next silk conforming to the agreed standards will be hallmarked as a safeguard against excessive adulteration. Nevertheless, the demand of the artificial silk trade will remain large enough to be a factor in fixing the price of tin.

Tin and Palm Oil.

West Africa is affected by the tinplate trade in more ways than by its demand for the metal. It surprises most people to learn that the tinplate trade is one of the largest consumers of palm oil, and that it is West Africa's best customer for the finest qualities of palm oil. Tinplate and galvanised iron consist of a sheet of steel or iron coated with tin or zinc. The coating is effected by dipping the red-hot sheet into molten tin or zinc. As red-hot iron has a great affinity for oxygen, and the coating metal will not adhere to any part of the plate which has been oxidised, the plate is plunged into a bath of oil as it issues from the furnace, the coating of oil preventing oxidisation as the plate is passed to the coating bath. Palm oil is used for the purpose on account of its viscidity; castor-oil is more viscid, but is too expensive. As the oil is destroyed in the process, enormous quantities are required. I have been informed of one factory which uses up twenty tons of palm oil per working day, its annual consumption being 6,000 tons. This oil must be as free as possible from acid; therefore, the trade buys the best qualities. A large quantity of lower-grade oil is used for greasing the tinplates to prevent their sticking together when packed. A large manufacturer told me that seven ounces of palm oil per case are used for this purpose. Most of the palm oil consumed in the United States is used by the tinplate industry, which is powerful enough to prevent the Government imposing a heavy duty on it for the protection of the cotton-seed-oil industry.

The Future of Tin.

While the makers of ladies' apparel are reducing the percentage of tin in their goods the canning industry has found it necessary to call a halt in reduction. For some time the policy of makers has been to decrease the weight of the tin coating on tinplates. As the degree of protection which the coating gives to an iron or steel sheet depends largely on the thickness and continuity of the coating, it is evident that there must be a minimum below which the protective coating cannot be safely reduced. Manufacturers have come to the conclusion that this minimum has been reached, and are increasing the percentage of tin. The reversion of policy is shown by the trade statistics. In 1928 the average proportion of tin in tinplates was 33.350 lb. per ton, but the maximum coating had risen to 53.58 lb., as against 45.07 lb. in 1927. This is important, for "as little as one added lb. of tin per ton of tinplate represents an increased consumption of nearly 1,000 tons of metallic tin in the course of a normal year." ("Tin," August, 1929. An increasing demand for high-class tinplates is assured by the expansion of the canning industry. As the demand for canned fish, meat, and fruit grows the canning industry is being established in new centres and countries, and yet the supply is barely keeping pace with the demand. There will certainly be large developments in the next few years from which West Africa will derive a share of the advantage, for every increase in the canning industry means an increase in the consumption of the metal and a corresponding increase in the consumption of high-grade palm oil.

W. F. H.

RACE PREJUDICE AND IMPERIAL INTERESTS.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The question of colour bar in Great Britain is now beyond the realms of doubt. The problem has, so far as I am concerned, assumed a new aspect. The existence of this particular form of race prejudice is admitted by all who have made any pretensions to inquiry. The economic influence of American dollars is given by some as the chief cause of the trouble. It may well be that the flagrant insults offered to cultured and educated people of colour flow from this source. My postbag, however, shows that hotels and restaurants have been openly expressing a prejudice which, while it remains hidden, nevertheless exists to a greater degree than most people imagine.

West Africa

In many quarters it is stated that the White population of the world, being in every way superior to all other races, must guard against the degeneracy which it is alleged follows intermingling. The safeguard which they propose is segregation. Even if their assertion of White superiority were proved, is there any reason to believe that this policy of segregation would be successful? If their method should prove successful, what would be the result? 11-9-29

No one doubts that the White people have a contribution to make to world civilisation, and they are free to make it. Have the Coloured peoples no contribution to make?

For good or for ill, White people and Coloured people are intermingling everywhere, and let it be remembered that the White peoples have provided the facilities which make this increasingly possible. The world has become exceedingly small, and races which were thousands of miles apart in the days of our grandfathers are now next-door neighbours. We must open our eyes to the fact that more and more we are bound to rub shoulders with Coloured people from all parts of the earth, and we must adjust our ideas to modern conditions.

The question is a vast one, covering education, legislation, and administration, and to it all capable persons of goodwill should turn their attention.—Yours, etc.,

JAMES MARLEY, M.P. N. St. Pancras.

House of Commons, November 5.

The following death-notice appears in the "Manchester Guardian":—

"On October 31, fortified with the rites of Holy Mother Church, at The Home, Whalley Range, Lilian Kathleen Berthoud, the dearly loved wife of Louis Alfred Berthoud of 11, Alexandra Road South, Manchester. R.I.P."

PLAYING WITH FIRE.

African World 10-26-29

Not content with the great power that success in the last General Election in South Africa brought them, the extremist section of the Nationalist Party seemingly seek to ride roughshod over the Constitution of the Union and alter it in such a manner as will enable the Prime Minister's very controversial Native Bills to be placed on the Statute Book without the two-thirds majority which at present entrenches the Cape native franchise. Happily there is little likelihood of such an arbitrary course being pursued, but even so, it is meet that emphasis should be laid on the danger of playing with such an idea, which is a revolutionary one, and which, if persevered in, might quite conceivably precipitate a crisis as grave as any that has threatened to jeopardise the well-being of South Africa. It should also be borne in mind that any such step would have repercussions far beyond South Africa's shores, for Great Britain, as has been very trenchantly demonstrated on more than one occasion, has a deep interest in the native problem of South Africa; incidentally Great Britain has control of Basutoland, Swaziland, and parts of Bechuanaland which may eventually be incorporated in the Union. The extremists also lose sight of the fact that in the Union itself there is a very powerful section of the people who would never countenance any tampering with the Act of Union. Fortunately for his Party, General Hertzog appears to be fully alive to the position and the trouble that would inevitably follow any revolutionary measure of this sort, and he has wisely come out into the open and, in unequivocal terms, expressed his strong disapproval of the hotheads' proposal. Apropos of the contention of some of his supporters that a two-thirds majority is not necessary, the Premier rightly points out that even if there were some technical justification for the thesis, to act upon it would be a breach of faith, because in 1909, when the approval of the four Provinces was desired in connection with the Act of Union, that approval was given on the distinct understanding that Article 35 (that dealing with the Cape native franchise) could be amended or cancelled *only* by a two-thirds majority of a combined sitting of both Houses of Parliament. We congratulate the Premier on the stand he has taken, and feel certain that his attitude will do much to dispel the unfortunate impression caused recently in the Union and overseas by Nationalist decisions which could not be interpreted as typifying the spirit and unity of Empire.

THE POPULATION OF THE UNION.

African World 10-19-29

To judge from a Government Blue Book for 1927 dealing with migration statistics in the Union, older people were lost and younger people gained during the period 1924-1927. Of the arrivals between those years, 84 per cent. were under 40 years of age, while the percentage of persons under 40 relinquishing domicile was only 70.

There was, however, a second and less favourable feature to be observed. This was the loss of population born in South Africa. During the four years 1924-1927 no fewer than 7,811 persons born in the Union stated their intention, on departure, of not returning to the country.

There is a notable increase shown in the influx during the period under review of immigrants from Eastern Europe, and, to a less extent, from Southern Europe.

The restrictions placed by the United States of America on immigration in recent years have practically closed the door against Eastern Europeans. In 1924 Australia also tightened up her immigration regulations in regard to that class of immigrant. This may account for the large and increased movement of persons from those countries into South Africa.

In the period 1924-1927 the loss of British population amounted to 1,624, while there was a net gain of 1,031 Germans, 431 Netherlanders, and of people from Eastern Europe of 4,744.

The shortfall under the head of "British" was made up of 14,899 British assuming domicile, less 7,811 South African born and 3,712 other South African British relinquishing domicile.

It is shown that of the Eastern European immigrants 92.5 per cent. were Hebrews. This shows clearly that the only section of the Union European population which gained to any marked extent by immigration was the Jewish section.

Migration statistics given show that in 1924 1,106 persons entered the Union on business visits, and 5,090 were holiday visitors

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

By Sierra Leonean Abroad.

As an illustration to expose the skeleton of the arguments advanced by certain would be guides of public thought, who advocate a change in the choice of our representatives to Council, during the forthcoming election, the following instance would be very appropriate. Elijah, that great Prophet, who was taken up to heaven without dying, when his life was threatened by the wicked Jezebel, in order to preserve it, he sought refuge in the wilderness under a juniper tree a day's journey from the nearest city, only to grow despondent and court death by beseeching God to suffer him to die. At the time of his flight, he entirely lost faith in the Almighty who had once preserved him with food administered by ravens, and who had once given him power to bring back to life the widow of Zarephath's son. Elijha lost all faith in God and ran from death to court death.

It is evident from the following citations culled from a letter written to the *Aurora* of August 16, 1929, and published in the issue of that date, that there are some people, who, together with the leaders who misdirect them, are full of perverted ideas in the arguments they advance in advocating for a change in the forthcoming election.

"I cannot say these men have not done their best nor have they fulfilled their task worthily. But why should it be a sort of Property bequeathed to them . . . . . how long will our community lack courage to tell the truth at certain times and let these men know they should give equal chances to others? Can't they after five or ten years be replaced?" "Sierra Leone's day is done when it can or should be said that we have only two competent men to speak for us or represent us in our Legislative Council."

"When can it be said in the annals of West Africa History that Sierra Leone can only boast of three men? Why should three men think they are the best and fittest without giving chance or chances to others?"

"Supposing Liberia had offered a softer bed for some of our now would be patriots should we have seen them here till now?"

Can there be worse perpetration of misconceived and perverted ideas than the above quotations?

When in my last contribution to this subject, I remarked that it had been my studied observation that West Africans generally are extremely proud of a West African's achievements, but envy and hate the individual hero concerned, I never dreamed that in so short a time my view would have been so wholly confirmed by a writer with such a natural style of reasoning.

Think of it! a man confesses that conscientiously, he has nothing to complain of against the retiring members, who he admits have "fulfilled their task worthily," but yet in his opinion, there ought to be a change just to give other worthies a chance and save the appearance a longer stay would create of a Personal "Property," etc.

Countrymen! listen now to reason.—

Firstly, is there any among you so vile that would not love his country? If any speak! for him have the two retiring Urban Members offended.

If there is any among you, any real citizen who professes a dear and patriotic love for Sierra Leone, to him I say that Dr. Bankole Bright's and Lawyerr Beoku-Betts' are no less a love for the motherland.

Here are two sons of the soil, whom you elected and sent up to the Legislative Council to represent you, five years ago. Right through those years and up to the present they have been unswerving in their devotion to your interest, never yet been guilty of seeking their personal advancement instead of yours.

Here are two of yourselves, of whom you can always be proud; men who have openly proclaimed that they do not care if they ever become marked men by Government in consequence of the fearless manner in which they denounced a wicked legislation—patriots in the real sense of the word, who have gone through the testing fire and proved pure gems!

Countrymen! these are men who intentions are unimpeachable; you have seen what they are capable of doing; they have been under probation for full five years and are in every sense very promising.

Would you allow men of such tried and proved calibre to be put aside whilst you experiment or gamble with your safety by sending up fresh heads to replace them for the mere sentiment that others should have a chance?

Countrymen! If for all their lifetime they prove loyal to their trust, then by all means let them remain in that Council; the day any of them changes policy, down with him! We have many more loyal hearts swelling with passion to serve the country and West Africa.

Patriotism inspires a great deal of forgivable selfishness. The patriot is so all absorbing, so full of self, ever desirous of closing all accessible avenues to others, belongs to serve his country always and alone. Consequently, that individual is very sadly mistaken who thinks that either Dr. Bankole Bright or Mr. Beoku-Betts is going to surrender his seat meekly to any would-be-contestant.

If Sierra Leoneans could drink in the principle of how irrational it would be to expect the boxing champion to calmly yield his hard-earned title to another rival champion, without first fighting like a tiger to defend and retain it and preserve his dignity thereby, then I am sure many of us presently with perverted ideas over this election question would understand that the present retiring members should and will fight to retain their enviable seats even unto their lives' end.

The "survival of the fittest" is the password around the seats for the elected members of Council. The only fair means of ousting the occupants from those seats is by a deadly contest at the polls, where the final figures would decide. No sentiments. We want no risks As long as B.-B., and B.-B., are true to their trust, by all means let them retain their seats. Three cheers for them in anticipation.

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THE East African problem is one of such long standing that to many it will sound almost foolish to issue a warning against undue haste now, yet that is what Professor R. Coupland (Beit Professor of Colonial History) has done in a very fine letter to the "Times," in which he shows that with the approach of the question there is real danger that, amid problems of closer international importance, the establishment of principles of policy that must ultimately affect all tropical Africa under British or foreign domination may receive far less than the attention they demand. The matter, he adds, is one of the three supreme internal questions with which the British Empire has had to deal in this post-War age, and, regarded imperialistically, he is correct. Regarded in its moral aspect, however, the matter is the second, and greatest, racial question that has ever challenged European ideals.

The first was that of the physical servitude of what are too often called "backward" races, whereas the present is that of their permanent economic enslavement,—as permanent, that is to say, as the system can be in a world where all slavery inevitably brings decay upon those who practise it. Permanent economic enslavement may seem a strong term, but that can be the only result in the long run of any policy depriving a people of its land, and to maintain the great British anti-slavery ideals of the past a material sacifice is once again demanded, for once again in the correction of the errors of the past a body of our countrymen is in danger of suffering from difficulties that, like those of the Emancipation, are not of its conscious creation.

On the broad principles, there can be no two opinions when the many different sides of the matter are considered. Tropical Africa, which includes the area immediately under notice, has never yet been successfully colonised by peoples from Europe, nor is there any sign that it ever will be, in spite of our advances in knowledge. On the other hand, the European races possess capital and directive power that are of the most evident value to the Last Continent, for they represent what is at present most lacking among the Africans. For their part, the African races bring a physique which is the result of an evolutionary process of far longer duration than that which has given us our capital and directive power, and they possess a land in which, in spite of short-sighted methods of agriculture,—methods which we can help them to improve,—they produce results of such economic importance as we have been unable to equal without them. On no higher motive than that of the world's need therefore, co-operation with them would be a good policy. It is possible, of course, to steal their land, but it is not, in these days, possible to steal their labour and by no trick of legislation has it yet been found possible to compel labour without working serious hurt ultimately both to the fount of that labour and to the poorer classes of the compelling race.

As Professor Coupland says at the conclusion of his letter, there can be no durable settlement until the cloud of suspicion that poisons the atmosphere has been dispelled, and although he is speaking rather of the mutual disagreements of the various groups in East Africa, how much more important is the removal of that inter-racial suspicion regarding land and exploitation that is at the bottom of half the difficulties of Africa! Given security of land tenure and power to offer his labour in the open market, the needs created by his increasing civilisation will draw the African into production far more surely than he can be coerced by artful methods of taxation and the like, and the opportunities open to foreign capital and directive ability remain as large as under any other system. The opportunity has arisen for Britain to take a stand that, once taken, must in the end lead the whole world to a conception of trusteeship that has only hitherto been reached in the exalted moments at the close of the Great War. The facts that she is pledged, in the acceptance of her mandate, to such a stand in Tanganyika, and that she has taken it voluntarily, with the happiest results, throughout West Africa, leave no other honourable course possible for Britain.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

AFRICAN NEGRO REVOLT RISING OVER CONTINENT

Looks to U. S. to Give Aid and Guidance

By WM. WILSON.

The flame of colonial revolt has reached Africa. The inflammable material of the ruthlessly oppressed African Negroes has been touched and the conflagration bids fair to sweep the whole continent.

The British imperialist press of course, sees in this a "Moscow plot" against the Empire. The London papers speak of the unrest as coming from organizations in touch with the Communist Party and "instructed by the Communist International." The "Manchester Guardian" is forced to admit however that "a serious and wide-spread revolt" is on against virtual slavery.

Passport laws subjecting the natives in their own country to every conceivable restriction by brutal police, confining them to native "compounds" at night in cities; poll taxes forcing them off the land and into mines where they are paid in company money and known by a number; the color bar keeping them from schools, libraries and theatres; the Native Land Act which reduced the area in which they are allowed to live so that no possibility exists of their making a living at farming; these outrages the "Guardian" cautiously admits "might create distrust"!

But even this picture is incomplete. The depth of poverty and misery in the country-side is indescribable. Here the Negro natives physically attached to their tribes are herded upon reservations of the poorest land, their native customs forcibly abolished and the people subjected to the imperialist exploiters' demand for cheap native labor.

Feudal Forms of Robbery.

The primitive agricultural methods used does not allow even the possible use of the inadequate land allotted. The reservations are densely packed with people and the consequence is that disease takes fearful toll, with infant mortality extremely high.

Here share cropping, quit rent and other feudal and semi-feudal forms of tenacy are used by Dutch and English landlords to increase exploitation and profits. Unable to meet the excessive demands of landlords by labor, the desperate natives are offered a "helping hand" by usurious money-lenders, and once in their clutches the native tenant is bled to death.

In industry the "color bar" has barred solidarity between black and white worker. The attitude of the white workers toward the native and colored workers has been one of open hostility. Certain menial jobs have been "Kaffir work" and no white man would engage in them. Where employed at the same work, the wages of the white worker were often three or four times those paid the black worker. Negroes were rigidly excluded from trade unions of white workers.

Such is the backgéround. The life of the native is a living death. There is no need to look to Moscow to find the cause of unrest. While there is friction between two bourgeois political parties: the nationalist party of the Dutch farmers and the South African party of the colonial bourgeoisie and the imperialist Chamber of Mines, this friction is overshadowed by the conflict between the native masses and the capitalist class as a whole. Both parties of the bourgeoisie stand for exploitation of the native masses.

"Only the Communist Party!"

The only organization with a program for solution of the native problem and the problem of the poor whites (whose numbers under capitalist rationalization is increasing rapidly), is the Communist Party. The Hertoz government (Nationalist) is aware of this and hence a whole system of police terror, fascism and military repression is being loosed against the Communist Party in hope to break its influence.

In South Africa we see full and tangible proof of the correctness of the Communist International estimation of growing colonial struggle. The upsurge is spreading to every corner of the "dark continent." It needs guidance and leadership. American Negro proletarians must join the Communist Party and school themselves in practical tasks of leadership, fitting themselves to give guidance to the revolutionary masses of Africa. Long live the African revolution, a part of the world revolution.

A Remarkable Doctrine

The slogan of "Africa for the Africans" preached by the world-famous Marcus Garvey has been adopted by the African National Congress in the Union. It is a remarkable doctrine, having the superficial appearance of consummate selfishness. And yet another remarkable doctrine is preached by the same political body—that of non-cooperation between Europeans and non-Europeans wherever practicable. Still more remarkable is the adoption of the doctrine that non-Europeans secede from white churches. One may wonder why Natives adopt an attitude of arrogance and hate as above quoted; despite the benefits of education, civilisation and Christianity obtained under the tutelage of the race from which they now thanklessly seek to tear adrift.

The reason is not far to seek. All this acrimony and vindictiveness is the direct outcome of a policy of consisent pin-pricks and pernicious slogans adopted by the extreme element of the European race from cabinet rank down to the man in the street. "Keep the nigger in his place," "a white South Africa," and the insidious methods of politicians to make discriminating laws (e.g. The Old Age Pensions Act and the Colour Bar Act) down to the seemingly harmless but wicked proposed Nationalist—S.A.P political alliance advocated by would—be friends of Natives whose object would be to finally disfranchise Natives. Evil begets evil, and if the European ruler with authority in his hands means to use such authority in a manner calculated to undermine the black race economically and politically he must expect as a natural corollary the hatching of sinister and clandestine machinations by the black race in the circumstances of enforced submersion. The more resolute the extreme white element becomes, the more necessary it will be for the oppressed to invent protective measures for self-preservation. It will be a sorry day for civilisation when the energies of the Bantu millions in Africa are automatically concentrated on a common defensive front as a result of systematised oppression.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION, 1929

RURAL ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGN

ACTIVITIES OF THE HON. A. E. TUBOKU METZGER, M.A., J.P., RURAL REPRESENTATIVE.

Following in a way the practice obtaining in some other countries on electioneering, the Rural Member has been justifying his candidature for re-election to the Legislative Council in the forthcoming Election. The Hon. Mr. Tuboku-Metzger has been quietly yet efficiently lifting the minds of his constituents towards arriving at unquestionable decision and use rightly the privilege of the sacred trust devolving on them to cast their votes on ensuring grounds and elect the right and best person to represent their needs to Government with constructive help on the many legislations which will be brought forward and otherwise. The principle by which electors are to be guided and on which they can justifiably cast their votes is brought to the knowledge of the registered electors, who are to be regarded as people whose intelligence can be pronounced as worthy and their sentiments as reliable.

On Saturday 28th September, the Honourable the Rural Member addressed the electors at Wellington village under the Presidency of Mr. P. A. Pelham, a Wellingtonian. The assembly was representative and included His Lordship the Bishop and Canon J. N. Grant. The assembly regretted the way matters were presented to them in speeches of infusion by one of the candidates and his supporters who had addressed them recently, which speeches were non-educative and couched in language intended to sway them as if they are people having no equilibrium, being tossed by every wave and blown away by every wind. Spontaneously they voiced it out that it was, i is, and it will be for them to show themselves people of sound mentality and will do the right thing when the time comes. The chairman and some others gave the Honourable Rural Member assurance of the reservation of their votes supportable of his candidature. The members then thanked the honourable member and passed on him a vote of confidence.

On Sunday 29th September, Mr Tuboku Metzger met the electors of Aberdeen village, consisting of the Christian and Muslim inhabitants. It was a representative meeting presided over by the Headman. The Honourable Member's address was followed by speeches from the electors in which the Rural Representative was thanked for his untiring efforts and zest in the interest of his constituency in general and for what he had done and obtained for Aberdeen village in particular. The Rural Member was then assured of the votes of Aberdeen electors, who are whole-heartedly supporting his candidature, and will help to educate others who may be ignorant of his interest, which he had manifested by constructive action for his Constituency.

The meeting at Aberdeen was followed by meetings with the electors at Congo Town (presided over by the Headman,) Murray Town, (presided over by Mr. G. W. Fraser.) Rokelle, (presided over by the Headman) and Hastings (presided over by the Headman) at respective dates up to 10th October current. Each of the meetings was representative of the electors and marked by thoughts of progressiveness and sound

common-sense. In each meeting thanks were accorded the Honourable Rural Member followed by unanimous votes of confidence supportable of his candiature for the forthcoming Election of the Legislative Council. At Cong Town those present included Barrister R. N Hebron, Mr. J. C. Beckley and Mr. L. R. Shorunkel Sawyerr; atMurray Town the electors present were dignified by the presence of old Daddy T. C. Fraser J.P., who spoke in terms unswervingly supportable of the candidature of the Honourable Rural Representative. This very elegant speech which shows he old man a *sage* with retentive memory of historical events admirable for his age of 85 years, was followed by two intelligent speeches from young men of Aberdeen, who showed themselves as actually aspiring to leadership.

In the meeting at Rokelle the address of the Honourable Member was followed by speech of the Headman, supported by Mr Williamson Taylor, with the unanimous approval of all present, who are unhesitatingly supporting the candidature of Mr. Tubokn Metzger.

At Hastings the meeting was well represented and like all the others very orderly and attentive The attendants included the responsible residents of Hastings village as well as the Pastor and Minister of the Anglican and Wesleyan denominations who showed the serious and important duties of electors, appealed to the people to lay aside sentiments and view the question from a constructive angle with the interest of the whole Colony at heart and cast their votes conscientiously. Motion of thanks was moved, seconded and carried as having been due to the Honourable Member for his five years' work in the interest of his Constituency and particularly for Hastings village in relation to the Ginger trade. In this meeting a unanimous undertaking to support the Honourable Member's candidature was given.

Knowledge of the ways and means being adopted by some candidates supportable of their claims for election to the Legislative Council brings vivid remembrance of the incidents in Ancient Greece which caused the memorable Oration of "Demosthenes' on the Crown," and the Fate of Demosthenes' rival—Aeschines. There is no harm in constructive competition supportable of any candidate's claims to a seat in any assembly as the Sierra Leone Legislative Council, but it is distrustful and jeopardizing for any candidate to make incorrect and unwarranted statements.—*Verbum Sap.*

RURAL.

12th October. 1929.

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE REV. H. D. HOOPER, M.A., C.M.S. SECRETARY, BY THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE SIERRA LEONE CHURCH.

Rev. H. D. HOOPER, M.A.,

C.M.S. SECRETARY.

Rev. and Dear Sir,—We. the Undersigned, Clergy and Laity of the Sierra Leone Church, desire to express our right hearty welcome to you representing as you do, the Parent Committee of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East.

Our deep sense of gratitude to the Church Missionary Society is an everlasting one, because they undertook the great work of educating and christianizing us even from the time when the civilized world considered us as descended from Anthropoid Apes, incapable of anything beyond the rôle of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Through the untiring efforts and wonderful sacrifice of men and money on the part of that great Society whom you represent, and through the Grace of God, we are what we are to-day, and the Duke of Devonshire and others with the Society have convinced the civilised world that they hold a Trustee-ship in regard to us. Our warm sense of indebtedness to that time-honoured and great Society is so deep and far-reaching, that words are inadequate to express our abounding joy when we see before us to-day a representative of our greatest benefactors on earth. You will, therefore, forgive us when we seize this opportunity of placing before you, for our Parent Society, some of our outstanding difficulties and anxieties.

1. The last visit of the C.M.S. Secretary for Africa took place about 32 years ago. This was in about 1897 when the Rev. F. Baylis, M.A., visited these shores. The purpose of that visit was very similar to that which seemed to call forth this viz:—the consideration of events connected with Fourah Bay College and the C.M.S. Grammar School. The result of that visit was gratifying as it led to the widening of the curriculum of Fourah Bay College with the resultant effect that two Hostels had to be engaged to accommodate the overflow of resident students. We fondly hope and pray that now that the future of educating and christianizing West Africa is in your hands to make or mar, still greater results will follow this visit, and the Sierra Leone Church will in consequence become a thriving vigorous plant. We are children, but we are growing and thinking, and we need our elder brothers in education, civilisation and christianity from Overseas who come to discharge this trustee-ship to be encouraged to work with us, and not only to work for us.

2. The relation between the Sierra Leone Church and the C.M.S. institutions in the Colony need to be made closer. The Parent Committee had promised this, and the New Constitution of the Sierra Leone Church anticipates it. The C.M.S. Grammar School and the Annie Walsh Memorial School according to the promise of your Society, are to pass automatically to the Sierra Leone Church. In regard to Fourah Bay College, which is to await the formation of a Province of West Africa now overdue, we very humbly and respectfully suggest in the meanwhile that the local Executive Committee of the C.M.S. and the College Council would profit, if co-operation is the end in view, by having in them an official representative of the Sierra Leone Church, and that these bodies should be given a free hand and final word in the determination of the staff, and the non-University Curriculum, especially in the training of Pastors and Missionaries. The impression the present administration gives is, that the Sierra Leone Church must take whatever is settled for it by the College Council authorities and that the C.M.S. Local Executive and the College Council are bodies which have no status or rights.

3. The training of Teachers of all grades of educational work requires special attention at the present time, especially those to man our Secondary Schools and perform Tutorial work at Fourah Bay College. We here would pay very high tribute to the attention Dr. Denton gave to this, as exemplified in his sending two of our African Educationists to England for further training, and to the Principal of the Annie Walsh Memorial School, Miss Hamblett, for starting to follow Dr. Denton's footsteps.

4. It is significant that since the affiliation of Fourah Bay College to the University of Durham, very few of its Alumni have attempted the Honours Course either in Mathematics or Classics, although we have had Principals of the College who have attained to these standards. Seeing the official relationship of the Principals of Fourah Bay College with the C.M.S. Grammar School, where suggestions from them can lift up the standard of that School to any matriculation standard, we desire that encouragement should be given to students desiring to take the Honours' Course.

5. We are glad that a Chair in Science has been founded. We highly appreciate the generosity of the late Dr. Johnson and the self-denying sacrifice of his widow which has made this possible. We desire that steps should be taken to popularies the knowe lge of Science by afternoon lectures to be given to our young people who desire to develop a scientific out-look on life; and practical utility in the direction of Agriculture. We rejoice also that two other African gentlemen,—the late Mr. Harding and Dr. Randle—have left munificent legacies to Fourah Bay College that we can now feel assured of the College's continuance. We therefore would be greatly beholden to you, if you would uphold the hands of our present Diocesan in his effort to release the interest on the £3,000 detailed out by the Pan-Anglican Congress for the training of men for the Ministry, but kindly loaned to the College by our late Diocesan to keep the College ag oing in days of stress. The Sierra Leone Church is badly in need of trained men for its work at home and in the field, and the interest on that fund would be usefully employed in its original object by being utilized in providing scholarships for men that would be trained for services in the Church.

6. As we said before we are growing and thinking, and we long for more and more opportunities of participating in the management of our affairs, both in Church and State. The feeling is dominant that a wider trust, a greater reponsibility will call forth powers and energies which we firmly believe are now dormant for want of use. Besides, these opportunities, if extended to us, afford us, a larger scope in the training for ultimate responsibility for the various aspects of work both in the Colony and Protectorate, when our Trustee-ship shall be given up, and for the bringing into the interpretation of the Christ of History the African bent and genius, with the co-operation and guidance of our elder brothers from Overseas. Our History is not without painful evidence of mistakes which could hardly have been avoided since schemes evolved under circumstances of insufficient knowledge of local conditions and of the nature of our people fell short of that purpose. All honour to the Agents of your Society whose noble work we now inherit; but it cannot be forgotten that they were but men; and now and then, as men, they blundered. We think that under God, the risk would be lessened by a larger admixture, in the Councils of the Society, of the native elements—God-fearing Africans—who are benefited by the example and training the Society has afforded without resigning their racial characteristics. We have said enough to indicate the direction of our thoughts in view of our growing years and the deepening of the sense of self-consciousness. We respectfully submit these few points to you, as representing our Fathers in God, the C.M.S. and we follow them and you with our very earnest prayers, believing that God Himself will direct the Parent Committee and you to do what is best for Africa and for His Kingdom and Glory.

Once more welcoming you most heartily and praying that God may grant you and yours the best desires of your hearts, and with every respect, We remain.—Yours etc.

Nigeria.

OUR LAGOS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LAGOS, October 28.

His Excellency the Governor.

His Excellency the Governor, who is accompanied by Lady Thomson, is still away on tour, and is not expected to return to headquarters until Monday, November 11.

It is not generally known that Governor's Lodge, Kaduna, designed to be the official residence of the Governor in the Northern Provinces, has been practically completed The idea is that the Governor should spend at least three months there, and from such official headquarters pay more frequent and detailed visits among the Northern Emirates and towns.

Residents' Conference.

A conference of residents in the Southern Provinces has been arranged, and will take place next week at Enugu, the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor. The conference, at which several subjects of importance will be discussed, will last a week (November 6 to 12), and will be attended from Lagos among others by the Hon. Attorney-General and the Hon. the Acting Administrator of the Colony.

Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs.

An Ordinance, published in this week's "Gazette," to be brought before the next Legislative Council, deals with the appointment and deposition of chiefs, both in the Colony and in the Protectorate. The Ordinance will be severely criticised, and the daily Press have already sounded a note of this a few days after the publication of the notice. The section of the Ordinance, against which objection is being taken is that whereby the Governor is given power to appoint chiefs and head-chiefs according to Native law and custom of which the Governor, in the "Gazette," is made the sole judge, it is claimed that this delegation (or rather arrogation) of powers to make appointments by the Governor is ultra vires so far as the native custom and law (of which he is made sole judge) is concerned. However, that may be, the critics apparently lose sight of the fact (or perhaps it pays them to do so) that the Governor is not empowered to carry out this section, i.e., make any appointment except and until no selection is made (by those competent to make it), or if the selection is made but is not approved.

The power of approving of candidates for chieftaincy by the Governor is not denied, and such approval certainly carries with it the idea of appointing, since any appointment is null and void until approved by the Governor.

Aerial Visitors.

Mr. "Bud" Carpenter, the intrepid airman of the North, travelled in his Moth aeroplane from Kano to Lagos, arriving here on Saturday some five and a-half hours after leaving Kano. Since then he has been giving thrills to Lagos residents, to a few of whom, including two Africans, he gave a flight. Mr. Carpenter has thus earned the distinction of being the first Englishman to land in an English plane on the first aerodrome in Lagos

Race Problem - 1929
Africa

THE AFRICANS AND THEIR RULERS.

III n-9-29

THE report of Sir SAMUEL WILSON on 'East Africa" has revived the question of the relationship that should exist between the African and his Rulers. Our contemporary *West Africa* in its issue of the 12th October in its Editorial "The only way," advocates the introduction into East Africa of the West Africa policy. In so far as it is meant to convey the impression of greater latitude for the East African, the West African policy may be regarded as an improvement on the East African. But if it is meant to convey the impression that the present West African system is satisfactory from the African point of view, then we take this opportunity to express our disagreement. The broad principles of a benevolent Government are adumbrated; certain phases of it have practical existence, but, considered as a whole, it is yet a great deal far removed from the ideals of the British Commonwealth.

One of the baneful matters clogging the smooth running of the wheels of the machinery of this great organisation is colour differentiation. So long as there exists any semblance of colour bar, or disability on account of colour, there is a great deal to be done before the West African system could be properly eulogised. In the past two issues we have been dealing with the new outlook that has dawned on the West African Merchants as to the African. And we quote with some degree of satisfaction the following from the *Times* as reproduced in the Editorial of *West Africa* namely :—

> "With the striking and rapid emergence of a much-valued market in West Africa, the inter-relation between African progress and English employment is becoming increasingly plain, and the humanitarians who desire to encourage African capacity to the full are reinforced by the men of Commerce who think of the Africans as future Customers and not as a reservoir of cheap and primitive labour."

This remark from a leading and Conservative journal as the *Times* is an indication of the change that is operating in the minds of thinking men in England.

The African as a Customer of the European Merchants comprises two classes, the retailer or middleman, and the consumer. The retailer or middleman is being eliminated from the field of Commerce: but such elimination is proving detrimental to trade.

It was the retailer or middleman who did much of the hawking, and who when he prospered was able to patronise the European merchants. The taste of the consumer and his immediate wants do not allow him to patronise the European merchants largely, and since the commercial houses are pursuing a policy of ousting the middleman, the reaction will be disastrous to trade as already it is proving to be. Hence, in our opinion, in the reconsideration of the position, the middleman or African retailer as an important factor must not be overlooked.

Leaving commerce and turning our attention to the general relationship, we think equality of opportunity and treatment should characterise the relationship of the African and his rulers. The African looks as if he does not see, but his sense of observation is very keen, although his ability at articulation is not as highly developed. Freetown, Sierra

Nevertheless, he has arrived at a stage when he can at least demonstrate his right to a proper consideration as to his dues. He requires nothing more nor less than the granting to him of his priveleges as British citizens. If he merits an appointment he sees no reason why the inseparable accident of his colour should prejudice his claim, and when these disabilities are done away with, then will we know of "the only way" to treat the African in Africa.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION.

Freetown Sierra Leone 11-9-29

THE result of the Legislative Council Elections is and must be taken as the clear indication of the wishes of the people We had in this journal expressed the opinion that as far as the Urban District was concerned there was no difficulty in predicting the return of the present members; in fact, in our last issue, we stated that their majority over the defeated candidate will be overwhelming. It has in fact turned out to be so. Freetown Sierra Leone

In this district, 1,733 voters attended the Poll: of this number 26 were rejected as being improperly filled in or for other reasons. There were therefore 1,011 voters. Of this number, Dr. BANKOLE-BRIGHT polled with 962 votes, Mr. E. S. BEOKU-BETTS polled 958 votes, and Mr. OLDFIELD, only thirty-five votes.

We cannot but admire Mr. OLDFIELD's doggedness in embarking on what he must have known was less than a forlorn hope—a certain defeat. He was bent on provoking a contest in the Urban area—a contest, he felt rightly or wrongly there should be—and so he was content to expose himself to severe flagellation and to face fearful odds. And he did it.

In the Rural District, Mr. J. G. HYDE is returned as a new candidate with 252 votes. Mr. A. E. TUBOKU-METZGER polled 182 votes, and Mr. A. N. JONES 42.

In this District 482 votes were cast, and only six were rejected. Comparing the number of voters in both Districts Mr. JONES fared better than Mr. OLDFIELD, for out of 1,011 votes Mr. OLDFIELD only polled 35, whilst Mr. JONES polled 42 out of 476 votes.

We regret, as we do believe the majority of our readers and the peoples in both the Colony and Protectorate for the Elected Councillors do render service (or them all) at the loss of his seat in Council by Mr. TUBOKU-METZER. His colleagues in Council will feel his absence keenly. Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER is too much of a sage not to take his loss philosophically and good-humouredly. The votes at Elections often times give big surprises. We recall the fact that the ex-Premier Mr. ASQUITH lost his seat for a constituency which he had represented for nearly two decades. Let us hope that this loss, which may be only temporary, may lead to a conservation of energy which will manifest itself in other sphere or spheres of activity for the common-weal—for we are assured that for him, inaction is an impossibility.

The new Council we understand meets on the 19th instant.

We congratulate the elected members both new and old, and trust they will always keep before them the interest of the country and people. The people have done their duty; they have in an unmistakable manner selected their three representatives. It is now for these men to prove that they deserve the confidence of the people; especially is it so in the case of Mr. HYDE who is a new member. These men as the chosen representatives of the people have the responsibility of maintaining the honour of their position in order to reflect credit on those whom they represent.

Whilst thankful to Government for the grant of this limited franchise, we hope that before the completion of this coming term, it will see its way to not only extend it by giving the important township of Bonthe its own elected member, but also increasing the Rural District by another representative, and granting to women the right to vote. This increase is all the more necessary and fair in that although since the first election in 1924, Government has increased the official members by one—(the Director of Education)—there has been no corresponding increase in the number of elected members. These suggestions, if adopted, will give general satisfaction.

MODERN ETHIOPIA.

The recent arrival of the first Minister of the Ethiopia to the Court of St. James's is an event of first-class importance and deserves a special reference. Adjoining, a Abyssinia—now to be officially known as Ethiopia—does the Sudan and Kenya Colony, the country is of increasing importance to British interests, and in the special interview courteously granted to THE AFRICAN WORLD, a full report of which will be found on another page, the new Minister, H.E. Nagad Ras Makonnen, is emphatic as to the principal object of his mission to this country, viz., to strengthen and improve Anglo-Ethiopian relations in every way. In this we shall all be only too glad to co-operate with him. We know that His Majesty, the Negus Ras Tefari, of whom very pleasant memories remain since his visit to London five years ago, is a most progressive and enlightened ruler who earnestly desires to give his people the benefit of closer trade relationships with this country. At present British commerce is principally represented at Addis Abeba by influential Indian firms, but on the whole British goods are not so well known in Ethiopia as they deserve to be, and will no doubt be in the early future. The establishment of an Ethiopian Legation in London is doubtless as cordially welcomed by our Foreign Office as it is by the business community of the metropolis of the Empire.

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DR. CARTER AND THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

"Safety First" No Lasting Solution.

African World

CAPE TOWN, November 9.

Dr. Carter, Archbishop of Cape Town, in the course of his charge to the Quinquennial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa, made a striking reference to the native problem. He declared that if disaster in years to come was to be avoided there must be no delay in trying to get the whole question on the right lines upon which a system could be worked out gradually with justice and fairness to all concerned.

11-16-29

"Safety first," he said, could never be a lasting solution. He suggested a conference not only of South African people, but of others beyond the Union and Rhodesia to work out a common policy. While welcoming the Premier's desire to consult the Opposition, he suggested that the advice of non-politicians should be invited, and that the voice of the representatives of native peoples should be heard. The only satisfactory solution of the franchise question, he declared, was the principle of equal rights for all civilised men.—Reuter.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Pretty Story.

I suppose that most of us have been under the impression that Dr. Knowles' appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was the first of its kind, but, apparently, we were mistaken and ill-informed; to be really abreast of world happenings one must read the Sunday papers. In the issue of the "Sunday Chronicle" for the 24th instant "Mayfairy" tells of a previous appeal, in a page of social notes under the caption of "Secrets of the Town," peculiarly appropriate in this case because the secret of this appeal has been so well kept that nobody has heard of it. The story has the usual genesis of such stories; it was told to "Mayfairy," at a club, "by a man who knew a man" to whom the thing happened. The man to whom the thing happened was "a Deputy Commissioner named Smyth," whose name does not appear in the Gold Coast Colony's Handbook as a member of the Official Establishment, nor is it in the Colonial Office List. In a prison in "an up-country district, many miles from civilisation," there was a native under sentence of death for the murder of his wife, the warrant for whose execution was delayed for six weeks, the messenger having been held up by floods. As by law he should have been hanged within three weeks after being sentenced "it was impossible for me to hang the man, said Major Smyth. . . . The man was therefore reprieved and imprisoned for life." This is where the fun begins. "Within six months he had come to the conclusion that prison was worse than death, and petitioned me to have him hanged. Finally, on the ground that unless he was put to death after killing his wife he would have no hope of paradise, he brought an action against me in the courts. The case of the condemned man v. Major Smyth dragged on, a native barrister appearing for the plaintiff. Eventually it came on appeal before the Privy Council in London. After much deliberation the highest tribunal in the Empire decided against the murderer, and thus saved me from heavy damages, said Major Smyth.

Questions that Arise.

This is a very pretty story, and it is a pity to spoil it by criticism, but there are several questions which I should like to put to Major Smyth, or the man who knew him. As the latter "comes from the Gold Coast, and is familiar with the administration of justice in our African possessions," I should like to ask him in what court a convict, while in prison serving a life sentence, was able to retain a native barrister to appeal for him. Then I should like to know how the native barrister conducted the case, seeing that counsel are not allowed to practise before the courts in the up-country districts, even so short a distance from civilisation as Kumasi, where Dr. Knowles's case was originally tried. As the term "native barrister" is probably used to supply "local colour," and is intended to call up a vision of a semi-literate black pettifogger who spoofs his illiterate fellow-countrymen, playing with them the game which, as Sir Frank Lockwood explained to a High Court judge who asked the meaning of spoof, "solicitors play with their clients" in England, "Mayfairy" may be surprised to hear that a "native barrister" on the Gold Coast is a member of the English Bar, duly qualified and "called" by one of the Inns of Court, and is, therefore, not allowed to practise in such districts outside what is legally defined as "The Colony," as Major Smyth is supposed to have been in charge of. I should like to know what damages were claimed for loss of the "hope of paradise," and how the court which gave judgment against Major Smyth assessed the value of the lost hope. As, apparently, the appeal was heard by the Privy Council only a comparatively short time ago, I should like to look up this very curious and interesting case, which has hitherto been unnoticed by the British Press. Perhaps "Mayfairy's" friend will ask Major Smyth for the date when the appeal was heard and decided, and will allow it to be published in some future instalment of "Secrets of the Town," for the enlightenment of an ignorant world.

Ancient Africans.

In surveys of world evolution and of the development of the human race attention has been directed to Asia and Europe, Africa being left outside the picture. It is true that a few writers have remembered Darwin's suggestion that Africa might be the cradle of humanity, and Mr. Albert Churchward has made out a case for regarding Negroes of the Nile valley as the first human beings, but most writers have assumed that the original home of mankind was in Western Asia. They have suggested routes by which men were spread over Asia and Europe, and the lines of migration to America and the islands of the Pacific, but little attention has been given to the peopling of Africa. It is widely held that the Bushmen of South Africa were the first inhabitants of the continent on the southern side of the equator, yet the Bushmen had a tradition that another race had occupied the land, long before they themselves reached it, and had died out. Many conjectures have been made as to the race which raised the ruined buildings at Zimbabwe and elsewhere, but in all cases the builders are supposed to have lived in historic times between 200 or 300 years ago to the 5,000 years suggested by Professor Frobenius during the recent meeting of the British Association. The researches of archæologists are now showing that Africa had human inhabitants long before the earliest of these dates. The Rhodesian and Taings discoveries have proved the existence of early types of humanity in Africa, and more evidence is forthcoming from East Africa, which has also yielded remains of gigantic saurians of the Carboniferous Epoch. At a meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons in London on the 21st instant, Mr. Leakey, leader of the East African Archæological Expedition, described the result of its work on an ancient site of human habitation in Kenya. He has recovered from this site a curious confirmation of the Bushman tradition in the form of human remains representing a race or races not now living in Africa. Mr. Leakey has not yet been able to decide the racial affinities of these people, nor to fix the geological date of the sites, but he has certainly opened up a field which may yield evidence that, if Africa be not the cradle of humanity, man has existed there at least as long and continuously as in the other continents. W. F. H.

Cacao Crop Prospects.

The Director of Agriculture reports as follows on cacao crop prospects, under date November 22:—"About half marketed, three-quarters harvested or ripe. Growers holding in anticipation of better prices. One general picking remains, close early. Railway tonnage to date 60 per cent.; Takoradi, 20 per cent.; Accra, 10 per cent.; Eastern Province more than normal; Ashanti and Western Province double. October shipments, 15,634; average four years, 10,600; corresponds with three weeks earlier movement."

AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES.

Lord Passfield's Tribute to Institute's Work.

Owing to pressure of time through the early printing of our last issue we were able to give only a brief report of the luncheon in honour of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures on November 28, when a distinguished company assembled at the Hotel Cecil under the presidency of Lord Passfield, Minister for the Dominions and Colonies, representing H.M. Government, in whose name the invitations had been issued.

After the toast of "The King" had been duly honoured, Lord Passfield congratulated the institute on its excellent work during the three years of its existence. He was glad that so good a beginning had been made in the scientific and systematic study of African languages and cultures. He thought that every young man who was sent out to take part in the administration of our African possessions ought to receive a training in anthropology and sociology. Forty years ago, when he was connected with the Colonial Office in a different capacity, nobody knew or cared whether Africans had languages or institutions, and everybody was convinced that the best thing for the African was to suppress his traditional customs. Since then we have learned better; to know that we cannot properly administer our African possessions without sympathetic comprehension of the habits and customs of the peoples. Africa had now become the white man's heritage, and it had become necessary to prepare the African for the demand being made on him for labour, raw materials, and the buying of goods. Anthropology had become a requisite study, together with sociology and linguistics, if the duty of the white races in Africa were to be properly performed. He sometimes envied the training given by some other governments to their colonial administrators. It was the task of the institute to remedy this defect.

Professor Diedrich Westermann, one of the directors, expressed the thanks of the institute to the Government and Lord Passfield. The object of the institute is to combine science and practice, to be a connecting link between researchers and administrators and missionaries; to help all the white people, whether traders, planters, settlers, administrators, educators, or missionaries who took their work seriously and found themselves faced by problems they could not solve. Owing to the progress made during the last twenty or thirty years they had now better means of studying the African, whose life and future were of vital interest. Africa had become the white man's possession, and the African was becoming of enormous economic importance. This impact was threatening the African in every relation of life, his religion, the tenure of his lands, his social and political existence, with ruin. It was difficult to see how this would affect his physical and mental development, but it was our duty to find out. Educators were realising their enormous responsibility; the educational system was becoming more adapted to African life and needs than it used to be. The institute wished to help to solve these problems and to encourage the study of them by collecting and disseminating correct information. It was desirous to be truly international, and it was becoming more so every year.

Among those present were:—The Spanish Ambassador, the Belgian Ambassador, the Swiss Minister, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, the Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires, the Liberian Minister, Lord Lugard, Lord Buxton, Sir Abe Bailey, the High Commissioner for South Africa, Mr. J. H. Oldham, Mr. W. Lunn, M.P., Professor H. Labouret, Professor L. Levy-Bruhl, Lord Kylsant, Sir Henry Newbolt, Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Mr. George Cadbury, Sir Michael Sadler, Herr Ernst H. Rüter, Professor A. Werner, Professor Dr. R. Thurnwald, Major Orde Browne, Sir Robert Waley Cohen, Major von Düring, Major F. H. Ruxton, Professor B. Malinowski, Major Sir Humphrey Leggett, Professor T. P. Nunn, the Rev. Father H. Dubois, Sir Denison Ross, and Professor Gilbert Murray.

Nigeria.

BRONZE RELICS FROM BENIN.

Fine Bidders for Execution Block.

Six bronzes (relics of human sacrifices) from Benin, the Nigerian town once known as the "City of Blood," realised £620 at Stevens' Auction Rooms, Covent Garden. They belonged to the well-known banker-collector, the late Mr. Cecil F. Parr.

These bronzes were seized by the punitive expedition which took Benin City in 1897 after massacre of an unarmed British mission.

The bidding was mainly confined to three people, one of whom, the representative of a French collector, secured all but one lot.

The chief lot was a bronze male figure 26 in. high, which sold for £240. A bronze figure of a cock made £150, while an execution block, for which a high price was expected, only made £35. Another interesting relic was a wooden slave chain, ingeniously carved from one piece of wood.

COLOUR BAR QUESTION.

London Conference Called.

The Society of Friends, which has taken up the question of the colour bar in this country, and regards this racial discrimination, and the prejudice which causes it, as a great danger to peace and international understanding, and to Christian civilisation, has decided to convene a special conference on these questions.

The conference will be held at Friends' House, Euston Road, London, on Wednesday, November 27, at 3 o'clock. Its purpose is: "To discover what colour prejudice exists in Great Britian, and how it can best be removed." It is hoped that one result of the conference will be the appointment of a Joint Council of white and coloured people, which will be able to deal wisely with cases of colour bar as they arise, and also try to remove colour prejudices in this country, particularly by making known achievements of coloured people in any part of the world.

Invitation will be by ticket, and the conference secretary will be glad to send information and an invitation to any of our readers interested.

Race Problem—1929
Africa.

-:- "A Mulatto Land" -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

THAT North Africa, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, is largely a mulatto land is a statement that most English-speaking writers will deny in spite of the very visible evidence of the fact.

For thousands of years the whites from Europe and the blacks from further south have been meeting and mingling in that region, and at present the harems of North Africa are continually replenished with black slave women and beauties brought from Central Africa.

Writers, who assert the contrary, will therefore find little consolation in a remarkable article written by M. Pierre Mille, white, a leading French critic, author and Colonial traveller, who recently returned from Morocco.

Pierre Mille declares that many of the leading North Africans are mulattoes, and that even the present Sultan of Morocco is one.

In the article which appears in L'Oeuvre, a Parisian daily, he says in part:

"Complete familiarity, complete equality exists between these mulatto Berbers and the white ones. The Moroccan Mussulman has no color prejudice. That is a distinctive trait of his. In Tunis it is not exactly the same. There the Bedouins (themselves a brown-skinned race) show a profound contempt towards even the richest black man. This contempt the Moroccan does not know, and this is true of all from the highest to the lowest.

"A fact more remarkable is that as concerns a slave, even a white slave, who is a Mohammedan, he does not feel the same— a slave is always to his eyes a man or a woman of inferior condition.

"And these slaves, especially the black slaves from the south, from Seregal and Mauritania, have always been among the Moroccans. Add to this the famous 'Black Guard' of the Sultan, with their fine red uniforms, and that the black women are particularly sought by the Moroccans.

"But by virtue of the Koranic law, reinforced in Morocco by this absence of color prejudice, the child of one of these black concubines is born free and enjoys the same rights as his white half-brothers to the succession. The mother, herself is also freed as a result of the birth.

"And because of this a large number of Moroccans are strongly mixed with black. The famous Caid, Glaoui, is colored. So is the present Sultan himself. Colored, also, are a pretty goodly number of the richest merchants of Fez, even though they are sometimes Jews, whose ancestors long ago were converted to Islam. Colored, also, are a great number of the ordinary people.

"Now, here is this remarkable fact. This intimate mixture of black blood and white blood does not appear to harm the race. Quite the contrary. According to the opinion of the best informed and most impartial observers, it seems to have added vigor and intelligence.

"I am not speaking of His Majesty, the Sultan, Mohammed, whom I do not know personally. But the Caid, Glaoui, certainly does not pass for a fool! But the Moroccan mulatto merchants of Fez conduct their business with cleverness, decision and success. Further, it is only necessary to see the colored Moroccans to recognize that they are strong men, good fighters, good farmers, looking you straight in the eye, faithful to their words, having a sense of honor, as have the majority of Berber Moroccans of purely 'white' origin.

"Here is something to make one think. I should like very much to be able to converse with our great and much missed Gustave Tery, who used to profess with so much faith and energy the democratic doctrine of the equality of the races.

"Is there for humanity some good and some bad mixtures of race? Or is it simply because these Berber Mohammedans believe in advance in this equality of race, and because of this belief that the mixed descendants of the African black and the white Berbers conserve with pride the best qualities of the man? One is justified in accepting this solution; so much the worse for the Americans if it makes them look ridiculous."

Railway Matters.

10-22-29

Some sixteen months ago three well-known intellectual Natives of the Cape encountered disgraceful treatment at the hands of some railway officials posted at the European exit from the Bloemfontein railway station. The particular passage leading outward from the station was declared to be only for use by Europeans, and they were bluntly told that Natives had perforce to go round through a doorway provided for them several yards lower down the platform. The absurdity of the whole business lay in the fact that the cloakroom was situate in the European passage, and as these Native passengers desired to deposit their heavy packages therein for the night they were told to make a long detour with heavy luggage only to enter the same European entrance from the street side. How idiculous ! !

We have pleasure in announcing that a principled Native intellectual who fell a victim to a similarly embarrassing incident last June resolved to institute searching enquiries into this practice; and with our correspondent's permission we give publicity to the correspondence on the matter between the Minister of Railways and the parliamentary representative of Uitenhage for the information of would be Native excursionists :—

Office of the Minister of
Railways and Harbours
and of the Railway Board

Union Buildings,
Pretoria,
16th Sept., 1929.

Dear Mr. Bates,

With further reference to the attached letter addressed to you by Mr. F H M Zwide of Bethelsdorp, in which he complains of the treatment meted out to him at Bloemfontein station recently, I am directed by the Minister of Railways and Harbours to inform you that he has investigated the matter. The Acting Ticket Examiner on duty at Bloemfontein station on the date in question states that he did not see Mr Zwide go from the platform to the cloakroom, and when he stopped complainant, was under the impression that he was entering the station for the first time. In explanation of his action in requesting Mr. Zwide to enter by the entrance provided for natives, the Examiner states that he was under the impression that all natives had to make use of the native entrance.

I may add that a special entrance has been provided for natives at Bloemfontein and it is customary for all natives to be requested to make use of it.

Arrangements have, however, now been made for all well-dressed non-Europeans gaining access to the station platforms by the main entrance.

With regard to the question of assistance to native and coloured passengers I am directed to state that native porters are available at Johannesburg, Germiston, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein for the purposes of assisting native passengers and at Port Elizabeth and at Uitenhage non-European servants are available to render assistance to non-Europeans.

Yours faithfully
P. D. NORKIE,
Acting Secretary.

Ref No. 89/918

While discussing railway matters, it is however disappointing to note that certain railway grievances complained of in the King William stown area (vide "Imvo" 28th Aug. 1928) particularly in reference to Booking Arrangements have not been remedied. Only as late as the 14th September last a company of Native singers booked accommodation on the 5 down "King"—East London, and 16 up East London—"King" on Sunday 15th only to find no accommodation provided. The company of 30 had to travel by both trains standing sandwiched in the corridors and balcony with the maximum of discomfort. Their unanimous verdict on reaching home was that a journey by motor lorry would have been by far the more comfortable. Note the perference of the road motor vehicle compared with railway transport just through someone's negligence.

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("African World" Correspondent.)

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Last year the Union Minière was the fourth one, coming just after Utah Copper, Nevada Consolidated, and Chile Copper. Now it has jumped over these, and leads the list of the world's producers—which fact deserves the most cordial congratulations to all concerned in that outstanding achievement.

J. ROUSSEAUX

General Smuts and Africa.

General Smuts in the first of his three Rhodes Memorial Scholarship lectures discussed the future of civilisation in Africa. The best way, he argued, to civilise the African native was to give him decent employment under white management, and therefore the great need for the development of the continent was progressive European settlement. Settlement had been somewhat slackened by the entirely creditable feelings which produced the "Africa for the Africans" policy. General Smuts thought that Lord Olivier and his supporters had made the mistake of assuming that the abuses and mistakes so often associated with white settlement in Africa were inevitable consequences. The underlying assumption was that there was an essential incompatibility between white and native interests. This he held to be a false assumption. There was no inherent and inevitable clash of interests. On the contrary, he saw no hope for the civilisation of Africa without European settlement and the working together of white and black. (p. 374)

THE SLAVING DAYS.*

This amazingly frank and vivid narrative of the last and worst days of the African slave trade was dictated by Theodore Canot the reckless, cynical adventurer whose name it bears, to Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, and published by the latter in 1854. The book seems to have been forgotten during the last seventy years, however, and its present resuscitation, judiciously edited by Mr. A. W. Lawrence, is timely.

Born at Florence in 1807, the son of a Napoleonic officer, Canot went to sea before his twelfth birthday, and after a short but exciting sojourn with wrecker-pirates on the Cuba Keys, he drifted into the African traffic. His first visit to the West Coast was in 1826, and we soon find him joining forces with the slavers on the Rio Pongo (now in the Sierra Leone Protectorate), chief of whom was the mulatto Ormond. Here he met a Fula chief, one Ahmed-de-Bellah, in whose company he paid one of the first recorded visits to the highlands of Futa Jallon, in French Guinea. British and French naval intervention put an end to the activities of the Pongo settlement, and we next find Canot working under the Gallinas Company, in whose service he established a station at New Cess, east of Monrovia; a few years later this was destroyed by a joint British and Liberian expedition. Canot declares that from this time he renounced the slave trade and confined himself to legitimate commerce, but his operations aroused the suspicions of the British and American cruisers patrolling the coast and the plantation on which he had settled at Cape Mount was destroyed. A ruined man, he spent some years in America, but he met with better fortune in his declining years securing a Consular appointment from Napoleon III., and ending his days in respectability.

Such, in brief outline, was the extraordinary career of the author of these memoirs which should not be overlooked by those who would gain an authentic idea of the conditions under which the disgraceful traffic in human flesh was carried on for so many years. Canot was, as Mr. Lawrence says in his introduction, "a man of the type which Africa still calls. Though devoid of the personal charm and felicitous speech of Aloysius Horn, his adventures contain more desperate thrills. . . . For Canot knew Africa at the worst time in all its history, and never again will such a story be written."

P. D.

Abyssinia.

ABYSSINIA'S NEW STATUS.

Minister at Court of St. James.

The pending arrival in London of an Abyssinian Minister to the Court of St. James serves as a reminder that Abyssinia is beginning to take seriously the new status that membership of the League of Nations gives the country in the world scheme, says "The Near East." Almost simultaneously the first aeroplane has arrived at Addis Ababa, as a further proof that the old exclusiveness of the Abyssinians is gradually yielding to the onward march of progress. In this connection we may be allowed to echo the regret expressed that British enterprise did not also secure, with French and German firms, a share in the order given for aircraft. If success attends any efforts to open up the country by means of the aeroplane, it should mean much for the establishment of closer touch between the Sudan and Abyssinia.

Addis Ababa lies about equidistant—some 350 miles as the crow flies—from Jibouti, its present port in French Somaliland, and from Assab, the Italian port in Eritrea, where free port facilities have recently been granted by Italy to the Abyssinian Government in return for a concession for the construction of a motor highway from Assab via Dessia to Addis Ababa. The latter is, again, less than 500 miles in a straight line from Kassala in the Sudan, with Lake Tana almost half-way between the two towns. In view of the practical non-existence of roads in Abyssinia, and of the necessary long time that must elapse, owing to shortage of funds, before any adequate system of roads can be constructed, it is evident that there are great possibilities in regard to air service for commercial purposes, if the Government could be persuaded to approach the subject seriously and scientifically. Abyssinia, however, will not be modernised in a day.

It is fortunate having an enlightened ruler on the throne in the person of King Taffari; but no one is more conscious than he of the limitations imposed upon him by the general state of backwardness of the country and of the extreme conservatism of the people, and to force the pace in bringing Abyssinia into line with modern States would inevitably shipwreck the policy of gradual progress to which he is committed.—The "Sudan Herald."

Arming Native Police

The murder by a band of Wellington's followers of the Native constable at Tsolo, Transkei on the 24th January 1929 when his European mate Ferreira managed to extricate himself from the death trap, affords a glaring example of the necessity of the Department of Justice arming Native policemen in the execution of their duties. One wonders if it may not be regarded as an act of cruelty to despatch a man without a fire arm to apprehend a criminal among a band of truculent confederates. Two men Mlata and Mackei are now sentenced to death for stabbing the Native constable with assegais, when a pistol shot in the air could have over-awed the attempted assegai assaults if the Native policeman had the pistol. The Minister of Justice would be doing a service to humanity if he deemed it expedient to arrange for this provision.

COLOUR BAR ON BRITISH SHIP.

Incident Described by Novelist.

An instance of the colour bar on a British ship was given by Miss Winifred Holtby, the novelist, at a lunch hour address at the Friends' Meeting House, Euston Road, London, on Tuesday.

She said that on a P. and O. boat on which she was travelling a party of student athletes was coming to England from Australia. The party included Australians, New Zealanders, and Maoris, and they were exceedingly friendly together.

"At Durban and Capetown a number of South Africans joined the ship, and there were terrible ructions. Some of the South Africans refused to go to the table and others refused to join in games. They sent deputations to the captain, and once, during a game of deck quoits, matters nearly came to blows. The captain gave way to the insistence of the South Africans and had tables set apart for the Maoris. That is not an isolated case."

Democracy, Miss Holtby argued, was a matter of civilisation, not of race. The colour bar was not related to culture but to prejudice. Even the Jew at Tarsus was able to say "I was a Roman born," but there seemed to be no definite status of citizenship in the British Empire.

"White Africans and Black." The current new book on African life and scenes which will be the most talked of production of the year—perhaps for an even longer period than that is likely to be the case. Messrs. Allen and Unwin, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. It is "White Africans and Black," by Caroline Singer and Roland Bridge, and is 35s. net. If I have any book sense, people will be willing to come have reason for congratulating themselves. It is royal quarto, that is about an inch broader and about an inch longer than WEST AFRICA and about a little longer than a piece of beautiful carpet work, and it is almost full of exquisite sketches, reproduced in what seems like sepia, while there are several whole-page pictures in glorious colour. If the literary contents be in keeping with the illustrations, then at last the most direct successor of the Mary Kingsley immortal book is here.

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The Union Miniere the Largest Copper Producer in the World.

Commenting upon the August output of the Union Minière (12,200 tons), the "Boston News Bureau" remarked that "the now rather well known Union Minière du Haut Katanga Company is to-day producing at the rate of over 310,000,000 pounds of copper annually, and is now the largest single producing unit in the world."

Last year the Union Minière was the fourth one, coming just after Utah Copper, Nevada Consolidated, and Chile Copper. Now it has jumped over these, and leads the list of the world's producers—which fact deserves the most cordial congratulations to all concerned in that outstanding achievement.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

General Smuts and Africa.

General Smuts in the first of his three Rhodes Memorial Scholarship lectures discussed the future of civilisation in Africa. The best way, he argued, to civilise the African native was to give him decent employment under white management, and therefore the great need for the development of the continent was progressive European settlement. Settlement had been somewhat slackened by the entirely creditable feeling which produced the "Africa for the Africans" policy. General Smuts thought that Lord Olivier and his supporters had made the mistake of assuming that the abuses and mistakes so often associated with white settlement in Africa were inevitable consequences. The underlying assumption was that there was an essential incompatibility between white and native interests. This he held to be a false assumption. There was no inherent and inevitable clash of interests. On the contrary, he saw no hope for the civilisation of Africa without European settlement and the working together of white and black.

(p. 374

THE SLAVING DAYS.*

This amazingly frank and vivid narrative of the last and worst days of the African slave trade was dictated by Theodore Canot the reckless, cynical adventurer whose name it bears, to Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, and published by the latter in 1854. The book seems to have been forgotten during the last seventy years, however, and its present resuscitation, judiciously edited by Mr. A. W. Lawrence, is timely.

Born at Florence in 1807, the son of a Napoleonic officer, Canot went to sea before his twelfth birthday, and after a short but exciting sojourn with wrecker-pirates on the Cuba Keys, he drifted into the African traffic. His first visit to the West Coast was in 1826, and we soon find him joining forces with the slavers on the Rio Pongo (now in the Sierra Leone Protectorate), chief of whom was the mulatto Ormond. Here he met a Fula chief, one Ahmed-de-Bellah, in whose company he paid one of the first recorded visits to the highlands of Futa Jallon, in French Guinea. British and French naval intervention put an end to the activities of the Pongo settlement, and we next find Canot working under the Gallinas Company, in whose service he established a station at New Cess, east of Monrovia; a few years later this was destroyed by a joint British and Liberian expedition. Canot declares that from this time he renounced the slave trade and confined himself to legitimate commerce, but his operations aroused the suspicions of the British and American cruisers patrolling the coast and the plantation on which he had settled at Cape Mount was destroyed. A ruined man, he spent some years in America, but he met with better fortune in his declining years securing a Consular appointment from Napoleon III., and ending his days in respectability.

Such, in brief outline, was the extraordinary career of the author of these memoirs which should not be overlooked by those who would gain an authentic idea of the conditions under which the disgraceful traffic in human flesh was carried on for so many years. Canot was, as Mr. Lawrence says in his introduction, "a man of the type which Africa still calls. Though devoid of the personal charm and felicitous speech of Aloysius Horn, his adventures contain more desperate thrills. . . . For Canot knew Africa at the worst time in all its history, and never again will such a story be written."

P. D.

Abyssinia.

ABYSSINIA'S NEW STATUS.

Minister at Court of St. James.

The pending arrival in London of an Abyssinian Minister to the Court of St. James serves as a reminder that Abyssinia is beginning to take seriously the new status that membership of the League of Nations gives the country in the world scheme, says "The Near East." Almost simultaneously the first aeroplane has arrived at Addis Ababa, as a further proof that the old exclusiveness of the Abyssinians is gradually yielding to the onward march of progress. In this connection we may be allowed to echo the regret expressed that British enterprise did not also secure, with French and German firms, a share in the order given for aircraft. If success attends any efforts to open up the country by means of the aeroplane, it should mean much for the establishment of closer touch between the Sudan and Abyssinia.

Addis Ababa lies about equidistant—some 350 miles as the crow flies—from Jibouti, its present port in French Somaliland, and from Assab, the Italian port in Eritrea, where free port facilities have recently been granted by Italy to the Abyssinian Government in return for a concession for the construction of a motor highway from Assab via Dessia to Addis Ababa. The latter is, again, less than 500 miles in a straight line from Kassala in the Sudan, with Lake Tana almost half-way between the two towns. In view of the practical non-existence of roads in Abyssinia, and of the necessary long time that must elapse, owing to shortage of funds, before any adequate system of roads can be constructed, it is evident that there are great possibilities in regard to air service for commercial purposes, if the Government could be persuaded to approach the subject seriously and scientifically. Abyssinia, however, will not be modernised in a day.

It is fortunate having an enlightened ruler on the throne in the person of King Taffari; but no one is more conscious than he of the limitations imposed upon him by the general state of backwardness of the country and of the extreme conservatism of the people, and to force the pace in bringing Abyssinia into line with modern States would inevitably shipwreck the policy of gradual progress to which he is committed.—The Sudan Herald."

Arming Native Police

The murder by a band o Wellington's followers of the Nativ constable at Tsolo, Transkei on the 24th January 1929 when his European mate Ferreira managed to extricate himself from the death trap, affords a glaring example of the necessity of the Department of Justice arming Native policemen in the execution of their duties One wonders if it may not be re garded as an act of cruelty to des patch a man without a fire arm to apprehend a criminal among a band of truculent confederates. Two men Mlata and Mackei are now sentenced to death for stabbing the Native con stable with assegais, when a pistol shot in the air could have over-aw. ed the attempted assegai assaults if the Native policeman had the pistol The Minister of Justice would be doing a service to humanity if he deemed it expedient to arrange for this provision.

COLOUR BAR ON BRITISH SHIP.

Incident Described by Novelist.

An instance of the colour bar on a British ship was given by Miss Winifred Holtby, the novelist, at a lunch hour address at the Friends' Meeting House, Euston Road, London, on Tuesday.

She said that on a P. and O. boat on which she was travelling a party of student athletes was coming to England from Australia. The party included Australians, New Zealanders, and Maoris, and they were exceedingly friendly together.

"At Durban and Capetown a number of South Africans joined the ship, and there were terrible ructions. Some of the South Africans refused to go to the table and others refused to join in games. They sent deputations to the captain, and once, during a game of deck quoits, matters nearly came to blows. The captain gave way to the insistence of the South Africans and had tables set apart for the Maoris. That is not an

"White Africans and black."

life and scenes which of the year—perhaps which reaches from Messrs. Allen and It is "White Africans and Bridge, and who buy the sse, people who have reason ars to come is royal quarto, that is d about an inch broader iful carpet work, and it nes, reproduced in what several whole-page pic rary contents be in keep last the most direct suc ing with the illustrations, then at last portal book is here. cessor of the Mary Kingsley immortal

The current new book on African life and scenes which will be the most talked-of production of the year—perhaps is almost full of exquisite sketches, which reaches seems like sepia, while there are several whole-page pictures in glorious colour. If the literary contents be in keeping with the illustrations, then at last the most direct successor of the Mary Kingsley immortal first edition of this book will in years to come have reason for congratulating themselves. It is royal quarto, that is a little longer than WEST AFRICA and about an inch broader Its binding is like a piece of beautiful carpet work, and it is almost full of exquisite sketches, reproduced in what seems like sepia, while there are several whole-page pictures in glorious colour. If the literary contents be in keeping with the illustrations, then at last the most direct successor of the Mary Kingsley immortal

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Race Problem – 1929

Africa.

WEST AFRICAN SCOUTS FOR THE JAMBOREE.

The four West African contingents of Boy Scouts to attend the international Jamboree at Arrowe Park, Birkenhead, from July 31 to August 13, have arrived in this country. The Gambia contingent of five in charge of an African Scoutmaster landed at Plymouth by the Elder Dempster liner Abinsi on Saturday and left for London. The contingents from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria came by the Elder Dempster motor vessel Accra, the Gold Coast and the Sierra Leone contingents disembarking at Plymouth last Monday and the Nigerian party landing at Liverpool on Tuesday before proceeding to Arrowe Park.

The Nigerian contingent arrived at Liverpool on Tuesday evening by the Accra. They were accommodated at Liverpool hotels as guests of the Elder Dempster Line pending their taking up quarters at Arrowe Park. The shipping line officials are evincing personal interest in the boys and arrangements are being made during their stay at Liverpool for the whole of the West African contingents to be taken on a day's ride, probably to one of the beauty spots of North Wales.

On Wednesday morning the Nigerian contingent visited Messrs. MacSymons's offices and works in Canning Place. In the afternoon they visited a cinema, and in the evening they were guests of the First Liverpool Troop of Boy Scouts. They are in charge of Mr. Frank Casey, organising secretary for Nigeria.

The following is a list of the boys and the places to which they belong in West Africa, except the Sierra Leone contingent.

NIGERIAN CONTINGENT: Grey Egbe (Warri), Saml. Alalade (Ibadan), Lawrence Pepple (Aba), Dick Ogan (Uzuakoli), Edward Aderinola (Lagos), Moses Fagbore (Lagos), Sigismund Adgum (Lagos), Wm. Decker (Lagos), Muda Laguwun (Lagos), Peter Anyansi (Lagos), Oladunde Abayimi (Lagos), Daniel Ighdaro (Benin City), Michael Onayemi (Ijebu Odi), Edward Adentyi (Owo), Saml. Oladofo (Ode Ondo), Joseph Bisede Fasakin (Ado Ekiti), Newman Akuudi (Kano), Manasseh Amo (Oshogbo), Daniel Okoro (Arichuku), Emanuel Ekpo (Calabar), James Brush (Calabar), Dennis Osadeba (Calabar), Dickson Akpan (Ikorofong), Udo Edem (Ikot Ekpene).

GAMBIA: S. A. Benka-Coken, F. Blain, B. Janneh, R. McBoge, R. Roberts, I. Stapleton.

GOLD COAST: Troop-Leader G. K. Adinyiua, Scout-Master E. D. Tackie.

World-wide interest will be taken in the Jamboree, at which 42 nations will be represented, and the task of catering for the 50,000 Scouts has been entrusted to MacSymon's Stores, Ltd., Liverpool, whose name is well known in West Africa. The firm is to be congratulated on being appointed sole contractors. The list of eatables and drinkables to be provided includes 10 tons sliced bacon, 9 tons butter, 80,000 fresh eggs, 5½ tons suet and lard, 3 tons cheese, 18 tons sugar, 3 tons tea, 6 tons coffee, 4 tons cocoa, 8 tons rice, 10 tons jam, ½ ton marmalade, 13 tons flour, 24,000 packets cereals, 8 tons rolled oats, 3,600 tins tomatoes, 2 tons currants, 11,000 tins milk, 4 tons potted meat, 25,000 tins sardines, 22 tons biscuits, 4 tons custard powder, 10 tons salt, 1 ton spices, 22 tons cake, 200 tons bread, 21 tons sausage, 10 tons kippers, 15 tons cabbages, 9 tons beans, 6 tons onions, 110 tons potatoes, 15 tons corned beef in tins, 30,000 Oxo cubes, 1,000 x ½ gallon jars pickles, 3,000 bottles vinegar and browning, 4,000 gallons of milk per day. Special foods are supplied in any special cases from the Colonies or elsewhere.

In addition to the main camp at Arrowe Park there will be the auxiliary camp and it is at the moment impossible to say how many Scouts will be camped there, but MacSymon's Stores, Ltd., will also meet the requirements of these thousands of healthy boys, who possess the appetite which only the open air can give. A separate diet has been drawn up for each of the 14 days by the camp authorities, who have given a great deal of thought so as to ensure variety of diet and to see that the Scouts from each country are carefully catered for. Those from West Africa will have everything they require in the way of special foods. The placing of this contract with MacSymon's Stores, Ltd., is an incident which gives the great Jamboree a peculiar interest to people connected with West Africa.

A Cry to the Native South African Tribes.

BY THEODORE M. KAKAZA

(A South African In America.)

(Continued.)

The Universal Negro Improvement Asscciation not travelling on beds of roses.

The Program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association has a hard road to travel in America. The American negro schooled in the white man's political, and social leadership, would not and could not comprehend a political and social program sponsored by unadulterated Negro leadership. He has been removed so long from his African environment, where he knew no leadership other than that of black men, that it has been hard for him to grasp this seemingly new leadership, which divorces itself from the influences of alien peoples. The years he spent in slavery have had their impression, they have left an impress that is hard to erase, that makes him look to a white skin for leadership It has been hard for Marcus Garvey to convert him. The Universal Negro Improvement Association's doctrine of complete acquiescence to Negro leadership has been seemingly a strange religion. Then another spirit that has been detrimental to the rapid growth of the organization, has been the fact that Marcus Garvey was a West Indian, and the American negro like Israel, wonders if any good can come out of Jamaica

Education and systematic propaganda carried on unceasingly by Garvey, finally began to have effect and strange to say the class of Negroes that were the first converts in large numbers, to the new religion, were illiterate and the progress that the organization has made in this country has been through the never say die spirit of these sons of Africa The educated negroes were drawn into the movement at first in small numbers and were divided into two classes There was the class that saw an opportunity to exploit the ignorant Negros who had joined in such large numbers, and they came into the movement purely for personal aggrandisement. They wanted to get the money and they got it. They voted themselves large salaries which were a hindrance in in the financial progress of the organization, and when they could not collect their large salaries they resorted to the courts, this hampered the work of the organization. Then there was another class This second class joined the movement actuated by pure motives. These men came in to help Marcus Garvey carry on the great work, they had caught the vision of the leader, the emancipation of 400,000,000 of women and the redemption of their Father land.

The first class of negroes, came in with outside enemies of the movement have been the cause of the many drawbacks that have been suffered by the organization, They were indirectly the cause that led to Marcus Garvey's imprisonment.

Outline of the Universal Negro Improvement Association Program.

The program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association aims for the reclamation and redemption of Africa. It is a program that should appeal to Africans abroad as well as Africans at home, for we believe, it will be when the African at home enjoys complete autonomy that the African abroad will be respected among the nations and peoples with whom he has made a home

The Universal Negro Improvement Association will find therefore more substantial progress and support among Negroes in Africa than among those who are scattered in foreign lands; the African at home has never been divorced from the leadership. His tribal system has chiefs, his Indunas and his tribal customs have trained him to look for advice and leadership to one of his own race and colour rather than to white men The leadership of the native African has been black from time immemorial. And that is why we believe that the black leadership of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will appeal more to the native African than to the African abroad.

To the native South African who is not acquainted with the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the one to whom the program has been misrepresented, we can explain it in no better language than that found in the Constitution of the U.N.I.A.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League is a social, institutional, humanitarian, friendly charitable, educational constructive and expansive society and is founded by persons desiring to the utmost to work for the general uplift of the Negro people of the world. And the members pledge themselves to do all in their power to conserve the rights of all mankind, believing always in the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God; The motto is "One God, One aim, One destiny" Therefore let justice be done to all mankind, realizing that if the strong oppress the weak, confusion and discontent will never mark the path of man but with love faith and charity towards all, the reign of peace and plenty will be heralded into the world and the generations of man shall be called blessed"

In Memoriam.

THE LATE PROFESSOR JAMES SIBLEY.

(Special to "The African World.")
Monrovia, June 29.

The cause of education in West Africa, and particularly in the Republic of Liberia, has sustained a grievous loss by the untimely death of Dr. James L. Sibley, Educational Adviser to the Liberian Government, which took place at Monrovia on Friday, June 28. Mr. Sibley, who succumbed to an attack of yellow fever at the early age of forty-six, was an example of the best type of Christian worker; he was a missionary in the truest and most practical sense of the word, and though he has not been spared to see the fruition of his work for Africa, future progress along the lines he laid down will bear witness to the enduring value of his labours, and his memory will be affectionately cherished.

James Longstreet Sibley was born in Georgia, U.S.A., in 1883, and was educated at Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard. He had a wide experience of educational work among negroes before he turned his attention to West Africa, having served as Assistant Director of Child Welfare in Alabama and Professor of Social Work at the University of Georgia.

The Call of Africa.

When the leading American missionary societies decided to undertake the reorganisation of schools in Liberia—in the foundation of which State some of these Societies had assisted by promoting the repatriation of freed slaves eighty years ago—Mr. Sibley was selected for this important task, working in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the American Colonisation Society. After a preliminary visit to the West Coast, he took up work in the Republic in 1927, and the organising ability and vision he displayed were suitably recognised by his appointment on March 5, 1928, as Educational Adviser to the Republic by President C. D. B. King, who held him in high esteem.

The conclusions on African educational development expressed by Mr. Sibley, after long and patient investigation, in his report to the American Advisory Committee on Education, and embodied in his valuable book, "Liberia, Old and New," published last year, furnish a sane and reliable guide to the lines on which future work should proceed. Full of faith in the future of an independent African State which shall preserve a background of African culture, while keeping fully abreast of the progress of Western civilisation, he emphasised the importance of developing a progressive self-governing community based upon the best traits in African life and tradition, and he considered the building up of a national system of schools under Government auspices and working in harmony with the various missionary bodies, the best and surest means of attaining this end.

Another Achimota.

One of Mr. Sibley's most cherished schemes was the establishment in Africa of a large educational institution on the lines of Tuskegee, and this has been made possible by a grant of 100,000 dollars from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, which is under the able direction of Dr. Jesse Jones and the missionary societies, while the Liberian



Government has given 1,000 acres of land at Kakatown, forty-six miles from Monrovia, as the site of the proposed institution. Another valuable innovation due to Mr. Sibley has been the introduction of the system of Jeanes travelling teachers, which already met with marked success. Other aspects of his untiring labours in the cause of African education have been the admirable series of African Readers recently produced by Messrs. Ginn under his editorship, and the publication of the "Liberia Educational Outlook," a monthly periodical devoted to educational and kindred work in the Republic, which was making remarkable progress and proved so valuable to African readers, that the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD considered it a worthy medium to contribute a thousand copies of the West African Monthly Edition of his own paper as a supplement to the "Outlook" [illegible] P. D.

workers for Africa and her people, has gone home to the better land.

He is at rest in the palm groves of Liberia, far away from his Western Homeland, the great Republic of the West, where he will be mourned by a venerable mother, and will be just as affectionately remembered for his fine work in his earlier years of teaching, as his memory will be cherished in West Africa. He was truly a remarkable man—in many ways—even though comparatively young in years. Full of far-sighted ideas for the future, enthusiastic to the core, pure at heart and in his mind, he visualised an Africa which should, within the next decades, give her young aboriginal generations the advantages of a modern educational system, fitting the youth of the jungle to grow into thrifty, hard-working, and self-respecting men and women.

In various conversations, the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD was privileged to realise clearly the fine ideals of this splendid American educationist, and was easily drawn into enthusiastic co-operation with him on matters approached with such great mutual sympathy.

Alas, that the voice and pen of James Sibley should be still for ever! Indeed, his untimely death is a great sorrow for Liberia, and President King—despite many difficult circumstances surrounding him—quickly realised the sterling value of Sibley's work for the people of Equatorial Africa, and loyally supported him by official acquiescence and tangible help where and when needed.

In Monrovia and Tuskegee there will be, as in New York and London, sincere mourning for James Sibley—truly a knight (from every aspect) of Liberia's Order of African Redemption—*Sans peur et sans reproche.*

J. W.

WHILE General Smuts has been making speeches in England on the African question, the natives in South Africa have been making themselves heard. The center of the agitation, which dates back to last June, is the city of Durban. At that time the native labor union, called the "I. C. U.," started a boycott of the Durban native beer-halls. The movement led to raids upon these beer-halls and to severe reprisals from European civilians. Following these beer-hall riots, the government introduced a bill authorizing the Minister of Justice to deal with seditious propaganda. Apparently, before this bill was enacted, another even more serious incident occurred at Durban in October, when 12,000 natives flatly refused to pay their poll-taxes.

URGED on by the ultra-radical Afrikanders, the Minister of Justice finally decided to raid the native compounds, and in the latter part of November, this raid was carried out with the aid of gas-masks and tear-gas bombs, 600 arrests being made. The effect of the raid has been to drive the moderate native leaders into the extremist camp. Apparently the white men back of the raid wished to increase European fears, so as to hurry the Union Parliament into enacting legislation depriving the Cape natives of their franchise. These Europeans insist that the present native unrest is due to Communist agitation from Moscow. Undoubtedly Communist agitators take advantage of oppression in any part of the world, but the remedy obviously is not in a policy of force which only increases the influence of the agitators. The real remedy for South Africa's recurrent native troubles is a policy which will give the native population an opportunity for economic and political development. This policy means the repeal of color-bar legislation, an increase in native-owned land, and granting the natives representation in Parliament.

NATIVES WHO DRIFT TO THE TOWNS.

No Inducement to Remain on the Land.

At the Johannesburg Diocesan Synod, over which the Bishop of Johannesburg (Dr. A. B. L. Karney) presided, Archdeacon Hill urged the need of agricultural training for the native people of the Transvaal, and put the question forward as a motion from the Synod to the Government. They welcomed, he said, the appointment of a Director of Native Agriculture for the Union, and respectfully requested that agricultural demonstrators be appointed to visit the native areas of the Transvaal, and that an agricultural college be established.

Speaking of the drift of natives into the towns of the Union, Archdeacon Hill said that there was very little inducement for the native to remain on the farms, because there was so little opportunity of advancement for himself and so little prospect of progress for him on the farm. The need for improved methods of agriculture among the natives, and for the training of natives in agriculture was stressed by the Archdeacon.

Mr. J. G. Gubbins, of Ottoshoep, suggested an addition to the effect that "Land Bank facilities for natives should be granted." There was no reason, he said, why natives should not have the use of the Land Bank without any expense to anyone. The natives had a right to a share in the Land Bank.

The motion was finally carried with the addition of the words: "Land Bank facilities for natives should be granted," as suggested by Mr Gubbins

Race Problem-1929

Agrica

An Admirable Chief.

Imvo Zabantsundu

Much has been spoken about the importance of educating our Native chiefs to the utmost in view of the vast influence they wield over their thousands of subjects.

In the King Williamstown district last week we had a practical demonstration of the great possibilities of an educated chief. Victor Poto, the paramount chief of Western Pondoland paid a visit of seven days as guest of Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu at Fort Hare, arriving in a "seventy-five" Chrysler Sedan, to see the progress made by his *Alma Mater* the Fort Hare college as well as to see other friends. This ruler of over a hundred thousand people was trained at Healdtown and at the S.A. Native College twelve years ago, specialising in agriculture, business methods, civics and social service under a special course for chiefs. On his return to Pondoland he founded a farmers' association, and induced his people to use modern implements and up-to-date methods of cultivation with the result that the production of maize rose by leaps and bounds. For instance, one field which formerly produced ninety bags now gave five hundred, another which yielded sixty bags now returns three hundred.

He established a national fund for education by which Pondos were given bursaries. He instituted a modern court where cases were tried and all decisions typed and filed by a well trained clerk. In church he is a gifted preacher and organiser, and has been instrumental in building a number of new churches and opening new schools. He is easily the leading figure in the new Pondoland General Council.

1-23-29

Kingwilliamstown,

South Africa

During his visit to the Ciskei he gave excellent addresses to the Students' Christian Association and to the body of pupils generally both at Lovedale and Fort Hare.

He was accorded a grand reception by the Natives of King Williamstown and Ncwazi Location in both of which when replying to enthusiastic speeches of welcome, he delivered notable addresses characterised by penetrating wisdom. He urged the people to make the utmost of the land they had by adopting modern devices in cultivation and by forming and developing agricultural associations.

He stressed the importance of a good moral character based on Christianity, and said that a sound education was their true protection from the swindlers and impostors who were duping the ignorant all over the country.

For sanity of thinking we can hardly conceive of anything surpassing the advice dispensed by Chief Poto to students and people generally.

We heartily hope his admiral example will be emulated by other chiefs, and wish him continued success in all his noble endeavour for the upliftment of the people of Pondoland.

Poll Tax No Hardship!

Imvo Zabantsundu

Kingwilliamstown, South Africa

S-2-29

Farmers and the industrial community have again benefitted by further remissions of income tax, as Mr. Havenga's budget lays down. The Natives, on whom the incidence of taxation falls heavily and altogether out of proportion to their earnings, have the painful experience of hearing their new Native Minister Mr. Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs say that he was not satisfied that any great hardship had been caused by the imposition of the general tax. A white man earning up to £400 per annum is free from any tax, and yet a Native earning £12 per annum is liable for a £1 tax, excluding the various taxes he pays together with the European through the customs.

The black man receives no benefit from the money he contributes into the Treasury in the latter form. That goes to develop European education and enterprise. In this case our government does not feel ashamed of the indignity of educating whites with money collected from blacks, and yet the Premier shudders at the idea of blacks voting in the same polling booths with whites, and calls it an indignity. His idea of an indignity must surely be confused when it comes to money collected from Natives. His segregation policy remains a blank here, till it comes up against a question of rights and privileges, when it begins to function again. Take the general tax itself. Where does the four-fifths (16/-) in the pound go when, after the one-fifth is used up the govenment tells us there is no more money to spend on Native education? Most peculiar segregation indeed! Our belief is that Native affairs have sunk to such a depth that the worst has been reached, and any further hostile or repressive legislation enacted will not make the lot of the Native any worse than it is now. At any rate our people have settled down to face whatever comes with a sense of forlorn magnanimity, trusting that the harvest to be reaped from this oppression of the Native will in good time re-act on the perpetrators of the vicious policy. The paper read by Dr. E. G. Malherbe on "Education and the Poor White," before the British Association seems peculiarly relevant in discussing this matter. He says :—

"We are told by politicians that we have a Native question. This is all nonsense. The Native question which the politicians have in mind is in essence little more than the Poor White question. To call it the Native question is just one of those little tricks of human nature which psychologists call 'projection.' It is an unconscious feeling of weakness (if not fear) on the part of the white man to face the facts which causes him to project the blemish on the black fellow. What it boils down to is the fear that the upper 50 per cent. of the Native race will oust the lower 10 per cent. of the white. Under the influence of this fear the white man resorts to measures which will jeopardise the whole of South Africa's economic future and that of the white man in particular. I refer to the colour bar in particular, and to all measures which check the natural growth of the Native so as to give an unfair advantage to the ruling race. Such measures will in time rob the dominating race of the virility bred from the buffetings of stern competition, and will render it soft and weak when the Nemesis comes."

Healdtown & Glen Grey Titles

(By C. A. W. Sigila).

Imvo Zabantsundu

1-30-29

That the Native Affairs Department is found to have given instructions to local officials to carry out, at Healdtown, the objectionable change of our Sir George Grey Titledeeds into the Glen Grey system, in spite of a written protest based on grounds not without reasons, passes our comprehension.

Kingwilliamstown

South Africa

The protest by Healdtown was but their individual, independent and well-considered answer to the measure as introduced to them by the Chief Native Commissioner And the Peelton Convention of individual Title-holders, on behalf of all places surveyed under the fixed tenure system of Sir George Grey Healdtown included), passed a resolution which practically endorsed the Healdtown protest, and thus all persevere bound together inseparably by that Peelton decision.

Hence the references to that same decision, made later by the Secretary for Native Affairs at King William's Town. All he said there in defence of his department, or in refutation of certain statements made at Peelton, or in explaining certain advantages derivable from changed titledeeds in terms of the draft regulations, if adopted, is supposed, it appears, to have allayed our so-called misapprehensions, or to have dealt a death blow to our recalcitrant attitude, —his urgent request to reconsider or reverse our decision, and suggest amendments to the draft regulations, despite.

If this be the case, then we might be forgiven to come to the conclusion that the Native Affairs Department has ceased to be sympathetic and tolerant with and towards us. Otherwise the Department, in its fervent desire to carry out these regulations or at least, to accomplish this proposed change in land tenure, has adopted itself a policy of "Divide and Rule"—a policy most inimical to the best interests of the people to whom it is applied. It perhaps well served the purpose of European Governments or Colonists in breaking down the power of a daunting and civilising, the savagely barbarous nations of Africa and other lands. To-day such a policy is extremely repulsive to modern civilisation which is the only begotten son of Christianity which is embraced also by the Native races of South Africa. In consequence of such a policy trouble must inevitably be the reaction.

The magistrate of Fort Beaufort called together a meeting of the headmen of Healdtown at his office on the 29th June 1929, and told them that he had instructions to go out and visit each location in turn, and take all title deeds which the headmen must tell the people to hand to him. Fresh title deeds affording greater advantages or privileges will be issued instead. He said he would commence duties on the 14th of October 1929, and concluded his talk by enjoining the headmen to go and tell the people accordingly.

A mass meeting of all Healdtown was convened at Ntoleni on the 6th inst., and after a full dress discussion it was decided to reply in writing as follows:—

"We, the undersigned headmen of the Healdtown locations, on behalf of the people of our respective locations and of ourselves, humbly beg hereby to submit the decision of the people resident; in our respective locations as arrived and pronounced at a meeting held at Ntoleni on the 6th inst., as convened by us, individually and severally, for the purpose of giving the report of the meeting with the magistrate on the 29th ultimo:—

Resolved (nem. con.) "That the alteration or convertion of Title deeds notified to commence on the 14th October 1929 in the Healdtown area, into the Glen Grey system of land tenure, is most strenuously and resolutely protested against by all the people in the Healdtown locations and that the enforcement of same under any pretext, in spite of reasons previously advanced to the contrary, will be regarded as an act of tyranny."

This was signed by the headmen themselves and handed to the magistrate on the 10th of July 1929. But they met with a serious rebuke from the magistrate who said that they should not have associated themselves with the decision of the people, much less to have signed it themselves, as they are the servants of the Government.

Now these headmen are men nominated by the people (with the approval of the Government, ofcourse) for two objects, namely, (1) to maintain order and discipline in their respective locations; (2) to be a channel or a go between the Government and the people. On the side of the Government, from our standpoint, at least, (1) they are the constitutional channel through whom the feelings of the people can be ventilated to the Government through the local officials 2 they are the channel through whom the Government through the local or other officials can get at the people. But nevertheless they are as much the servants of the people as of Government.

The Government, however, or its administrative officials, like to alienate these men from the people altogether, and they try to set them against their own people. They are thus encouraged to act antagonistically to the people whom they were appointed to serve, and no matter how they bargain away the interests of their people, if only they serve the selfish ends of the Government. Naturally every man knows which side his bread is buttered,—but do we have these men in our locations for our detriment?

The Ethiopian Minister.

The Ethiopian Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, who was appointed some months ago, has now arrived in London. Nagadras Makonnen will certainly add to the picturesqueness of the Diplomatic Corps in London, for he is a most impressive specimen of Nubian manhood. One may add incidentally that it is formally incorrect to speak of "Abyssinia"—the Biblical word Ethiopia is the correct term. This Minister at present speaks French but not English. As his Legation assistants, however, he has two fellow countrymen who speak English well, and a young Ethiopian who has recently graduated at Cambridge will shortly join his staff.

Ethiopian representation abroad is a novel departure. Paris was the first capital favoured, and now Rome as well as London contains representatives of King Taffari, whose visit to London in the year of the Wembley Exhibition (1924) created a considerable impression. Ethiopians have, of course, much leeway to make up, so long have they cut themselves off from contact with Western civilisation. The quickening of the scientific spirit, however, has at last touched this independent African land—it was signalised most notably perhaps by the admission a few years ago of Ethiopia into the League of Nations,—and King Taffari appears to be resolved to allow his and to obtain at least such material Western advantages as railways, aeroplanes, roads, and wireless.

The Conquering Flat.

The building of great blocks of flats in London, which has wrought great changes in street architecture, continues, though there are signs that the supply of luxury flats is reaching saturation point. The number of people in the population who can afford to pay from £700 to £1,000 a year for a flat is strictly limited, as official statistics show. There is as great a demand as ever for the well-to-do middle-class flat let at £200 or £300. The great block recently built by the Metropolitan Railway at Baker Street Station, known as Chiltern Court, at present a snowy mountain of Portland stone, contains 180 flats of great variety, but designed on the whole for the middle-class family.

One economic reason for the provision of town flats is that, owing to service and other difficulties, people are giving up country houses and migrating to London. Another class of tenant is the American business man, who spends his life going to and fro between this country and New York, and also prefers to keep a flat in London rather than to use hotels.

The East African Campaign Dinner.

Perhaps the most interesting dinner of the winter in London will be the East African campaign reunion, on December 2, of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men, and nursing sisters, at which General Smuts will be chairman and the guest of the evening will be General von Lettow-Vorbeck, the commander of the German forces in East Africa.

The meeting of General Smuts and his German adversary may not be their first meeting, because I think there was a parley on some subject during the campaign, but it will be the first time that they have met one another on ordinary terms. An incident which indicates the chivalry that prevailed in those far-away battles may be recalled. I don't think it has been printed before.

During the campaign it occurred to the German Kaiser to bestow a special honour on General von Lettow-Vorbeck, and he communicated this by wireless. The Germans in East Africa had no wireless, but General Smuts decoded the message. He sent it with his compliments to General von Lettow-Vorbeck. It is on the cards that both commanders will disclose fresh points about the strange warfare that took place in the African bush, that made it so difficult for the attackers and so favourable for the defenders; but, on the other hand, the Germans had to fight largely on the ammunition they captured and had no reinforcements or arms from Germany—with the exception of one shipload—during the campaign.

Man, Transparent and Newly Clad.

In opening the New Health Society's exhibition of things one should eat, wear, and do in order to keep well last Friday Lord Askwith playfully suggested that the time may come when instead of pictures, we shall have on the walls diagrams and transparencies of our own bodies. It is certainly odd that the curiosity of mankind has so long stopped short of what concerns him most—the working of his own mechanism.

Lord Askwith was referring to the collection of exhibits lent from the German Health Society's museum which makes a propagandist round of the German cities. The most interesting of these exhibits, all of which show the characteristic German thoroughness, is the transparent man. By a clever device one is able to study the organs of the body as they would look if one were gifted with eyes that could pierce like X-rays. The effect of seeing in this way what goes on in the mysterious inwards of the body is almost startling, for nothing is so exciting as the revelation of the miracles that go on unknown behind the mask of flesh and bone. The German health propagandists seem also to be in advance of ours in the use of models and mechanism to illustrate such matters as the care of the teeth, the diseases of childhood, and the ravages of alcoholism. Some of the models showing the effects of diseases are perhaps more suited to a medical than to a popular exhibition. They are not a little repulsive.

On the lighter side there is the display of the Men's Dress Reform party, which gallantly carries on its crusade against the ugliness and stupidity of the "tubular" system of clothing that has prevailed now for almost a century. Leaders of the party are on view wearing the new styles—a sportsman with open shirt and flannel shorts, another reformer in brown, wearing a species of minus fours, with a sort of buttonless jacket, tastefully decorated round the neck.

Race Problem — 1929

Africa

ANCIENT "HISTORY OF NIGERIA."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—It is an interesting hobby attempting to find the "history" of African tribes behind the stories and legends told in the moonlight.

I was interested to notice recently that both Ibos and Isokos trace their origin to Benin, and claim the Oba of Benin as their great ancestor.

The Ibo story will be familiar to all students who have struggled through the "Vernacular Reader." The Isoko legend is similar—the emigrating Ibos settled chiefly on the east bank of the Niger. The Isokos went mainly to the south-east, keeping chiefly to the west bank of the river. Until recently, when any Isoko king died, the appointment of his successor was not considered settled until confirmed by the Oba of Benin.

Comparing the Ibo and Isoko languages we find such a large number of words common to both tribes that the theory of a common origin is strengthened and supported. The writer's knowledge of Isoko is small, yet he has noted the following "pairs" in his limited vocabulary:—

Ibo.	*Isoko.*	*Meaning in English.*
obara.	obara.	blood.
odibo.	odibo.	servant.
oyibo.	oyibo.	White Man.
ebiri.	ebiri.	storm.
iroro.	iroro.	thought.
iko.	egho.	cup.
ego.	igho.	money.
ogige.	ogige.	compound.
ubom.	ubom.	waterside.
oka.	oka.	corn.
uko.	uko.	messenger.
afere.	afere.	plate.
akpa.	akpa.	bag.
okuku.	okuku.	fowl.
okpa.	okpa.	cock.
ewu.	ewe.	goat.
ugo.	ugo.	name of a certain white bird.
ngaji.	ngaji.	spoon.
ute.	uto.	mat.
ukpe.	ukpe.	lamp.
nkpisi ugodi. (finger of lock).	ugodi.	key, or lock, or both.
ajum. (I refuse).	iju.	no.
opia.	opia.	cutlass.
ofu.	ovo.	one.
ino.	ene.	four.
ise.	isoi.	five.
ugebwe.	ugebwe.	looking glass.
ugwu.	ugu.	hill.
oluma.	orome.	orange.
apapa.	apapa.	groundnut.
osikapa.	osikapa.	rice.
ogbu.	ogbu.	murderer.
igirigi.	igirigi.	dew.
ude.	ude.	palm kernel oil (not palm oil).
ide.	ide.	mats for thatching.
ntu.	utu.	nail.
utaba.	utaba.	tobacco.
osite.	osite.	cooking *iron.*
ololo.	onono or ololo.	bottle.
tufie.	kufie.	throw away.
okpokoro.	okpokoro.	empty.

Possibly there is a common origin of the following words:—

Mili.	ami.	water.
enu.	ehru.	up.
afo.	eva.	belly.
otutu. (many).	oto buobu.	great many.
ebe ebe.	bede bede.	everlasting.
gini neme?	fiki eme?	what is the matter?

As the Ibos and Isokos together number four and a half millions of people, the question seems one of general interest to all "Coasters."

Yours faithfully,

H. H. DAWS.

C.M.S., Oleh,
Isoko Country,
Nigeria.

WEST AFRICAN VITAL STATISTICS.

The 1928 returns of vital statistics of non-Native officials (Crown Agents—6d.) afford evidence of further progress in health in West Africa, even after allowing for the fact that an increase, for 4,020 in the average number on service would probably tend to lower averages. The death-rate has sunk to 6.7 per thousand, which is the lowest reached, while if deaths from disease alone are counted it is 4.8 per 1,000. The invaliding rate, 11.7 per 1,000, is also a new low "record," but the average length of service of those invalided, six years eight months, is also considerably below that of the previous seven years, and suggests a possible change in official views as to the point at which invaliding is necessary.

The greatest care must be taken, however, in making deductions from the statistics offered, for they include particulars of a number of men appointed on temporary agreements or on terms which, as in the case of military officers, limit their service to a maximum of three tours, and so help to produce, for example, the illusion that about 10 per cent. of the European staff is cast on the world annually before it has had an opportunity of earning a pension. In the last 11 years, 608 officials have been pensioned, and of these 565 are still living, while out of 101 who retired in 1918/9, 84 are still living, and, as one may see at Coast dinners, many could yet challenge any attempt to challenge their usefulness on the grounds of the age limit. It was only a few weeks ago that Mr. Ford said, referring to the motor business, that the men from 35 to 65 were of vital importance, and when one sees that Nigeria still possesses 13 officers aged 56 to 69, and the Gold Coast 10 between 56 and 61, one feels that the cry of "too old at 55" is as out-of place in West Africa as it would be in public life at Home.

THE LAST LINK WITH LIVINGSTONE.

Old Matthew Wellington, the last link with Livingstone, the great African explorer, is poverty stricken, but the Kenya Legislative Assembly have declared he has no claim upon public funds.

The old man is the last survivor of the gallant band of Africans who in 1873, carried David Livingstone's body to the coast from the interior, a nine months' journey full of great hardships.

The Rev. A. J. E. Leech, a C.M.S. Missionary at Mombasa, who has just sent the latest photograph of the old man, writes to the "Daily Chronicle":—

"Wellington is now 80 years of age, but he is able to read without glasses and he peruses his Bible and 'Pilgrim's Progress,' written in Swahili.

"He is a member of the Frere Town Congregation, and lives on the mainland about one and a half miles from Mombasa. He walks about five miles whenever he comes to see us, and a lesser distance every Sunday, when he regularly goes to church at Frere Town.

"It is suggested that the Government should, in recognition of his faithful service rendered to the great explorer, grant him some little pension or 'compassionate allowance.' This benefit, however, will not become available immediately, if at all, so in the meantime friends are contributing to a little fund opened locally."

Cables received last week-end indicate that the Government's attitude has created much dissatisfaction, and it is hoped the matter will be reviewed.

The old man was presented to the Prince of Wales when he visited Mombasa.

Cathcart Constituency

Letters To The Editor "Imvo"

Sir,—May I trespass on the hospitality of your columns to tender my very sincere thanks to the Native electors of the Cathcart constituency for their very kind support of my candidature resulting in my return, and particulary to those members of committees who for the sake of the cause and without remuneration made such great sacrifices on my behalf. It has made a lasting impression on me, and, if needed, strengthened my views on the Native question. I can only say thank you one and all!

My greetings to you and prayers for better days to come.

CLIFFORD VAN COLLER,
Cathcart.

HIS ADDRESS TO THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF.

HIS Excellency in addressing the Paramount Chief, remarked that six months have been elapsed since Chief Motsarapane and Setsomi had begun to ask the Paramount Chief to lay his court open to them so as to make their claim to the succession of their father the late Chief Jonathan, and nothing had been done for them during all that period. He was told that men remain at the Court of the Paramount Chief for a year or even more requesting that court to hear their grievances or cases, and failing to get a hearing they write to the Resident Commissioner and also to the High Commissioner asking that the court should be opened to them. Continuing, he said, the Paramount Chief had more cases than he could try. The district chiefs were sending to him cases which they could try or forward them to the Assistant Commissioner for the district in which the affected persons live.

The Paramount Chief said his people do not complain of the administration of justice. He knew they were complaining. The National Council has been complaining from year to year. It was no use the P.C. attempting to induce him to think otherwise.

The High Commissioner concluded by emphasizing the fact that the people could not be kept waiting any longer for justice.

What His Excellency said about the Court of the Paramount Chief keeping people waiting was indisputable fact.

The suggestion that the appeals from the district chiefs should be taken to the local Assistant Commissioners, was good and sound. But that is not the proposition before the country to day. In 192[illegible] when the remedy was first sought for, the late President of the Basutoland Progressive Association brought the above suggestion forward, and similar suggestion was made by Chief Jonathan. This failed on account of the strong opposition from the Southern Chiefs and their followers. That time the opposition was led by Chief Makhaola.

According to the proposed new laws the Paramount Chief will have to run circuitous court con posed of members of his court who will have authority to deliver judgment which must be suspended until it is confirmed by the I C. For this reason we do not think Chief Makhaola will find any cause to suspect that

Who Has Authority i

The Minister of Native Affair at the King Williamstown indaba with the Ciskei Native title holders on the 8th ult definitely laid down that al investigations and calling up of Natives' land titles by the various native commissioner that were due to be carried out during the month o October would be postponed and that this work would begin as from the 1st Novem ber. The delegates thanked the Minister for the extension There was a definite and solemn promise made by the highest authority in Native affairs administration in answer to a request for time to be given the Natives to apprise the title holders at home. 11-5-29

The promise evidently did not carry much weight, as we are now aware that the Victoria East native commissioner called up Native titles (whether to be willingly handed in or not made no difference) on the 16th and 17th October last at Auck and, Alice and took them away. Now, in face of this, is it any wonder that Natives are filled with suspicion Would they not be justified in accepting the government's word with great reluctance The Native Commissioner concerned (if the facts are as stated) has certainly transgressed the Minister's ukase, and indeed much harm has been done to the reputation of the new Minister of Native Affairs as far as Natives are concerned in spite of the very favourable impression Mr. Jansen had left on the Natives' mind as a gentleman possessing outstanding virtues of patience, culture, civility and modesty.

SIR ABE BAILEY REVIEWS SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION.

FRANK OPINIONS ON POLITICS, THE TRADE TREATY, SOCIALISM, AND MINING.

PLAIN WORDS TO DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

Sir Abe Bailey, Bart., made some striking comments on the position in South Africa in the course of an interview with a Reuter representative early in the week. He said that when he left South Africa it certainly looked as if General Smuts was likely to lead the South African Party to victory at the General Election. If the Pact had gone to the country eighteen months ago, said Sir Abe, they would undoubtedly have swept the country, but the Pact stock had fairly slumped the last twelve months.

"The Labour section of the Pact, with members with noseflags on," he continued, "is passing through a crisis the extent of which it is impossible to exaggerate. The roots of the party have gone; they are now like flowers in a vase, of no political value to the Nationalists. Colonel Creswell claims that the Labour Party has steadied the Nationalists. It is like tying a live mouse to the tail of a cat in order to curb its liveliness. The public resent the Nationalist leaders attacking and abusing General Smuts with adjectives from the mustard-pot."

On the native question Sir Abe said: "Like many who support General Hertzog, anxious to do our best to be helpful to his purpose in attempting to protect our children and grandchildren from the disaster of the political dominance of the natives in South Africa, we consider it is a national and not a party question, and should first be dealt with by a National Convention; failing that, then by all means go out for closing the voting register to the native, as it is sure to lead to a calamity if natives continue to vote side by side with the white races."

"The German Treaty has damaged the Pact prospects. Although not intended, it is considered a slap in the face of the Empire by many. All producers, and the fruit growers particularly, are very nervous of losing the great and open English market in the future."

"The administering of the Wage Act has been the means of unsettling business people, as they do not know where they are with their employees."

"Then the carrying out of the compromise on the flag question has insulted a large section of the people, and Colonel Creswell will never be forgiven by them for hauling down the Union Jack from the old Castle in Cape Town, where it has flown for a hundred years; besides which the Castle was a gift from the Imperial Government.

"The two outstanding personalities in the last session of Parliament were General Smuts and Mr. Havenga. General Smuts excelled himself in his great statesmanlike speeches in Parliament. Mr. Havenga, I think, standing on guard at the Treasury, excelled himself, and proved to be one of the best, if not the best, Minister of Finance we have had in South Africa in my time.

"General Smuts has no doubt, through a large constructive political and economic policy, stimulated the imagination and energy of a large section of the public in his plan for a bigger South Africa, embracing Northern and Southern Rhodesia, where the immense agricultural and mineral wealth is winking at us.

"We must have a United States of South Africa, with no customs barriers, and to that end we must all work.

"And his policy of assisting the lower-grade mines so that national prosperity may be enhanced is no doubt now appealing to the thinking public as they realise the gold-mining industry has been the common milch cow in the past, hampered by uneconomic conditions, and the prosperity of the country retarded through high charges of taxation, custom duties, and railway rates, fluctuation of labour, and shortage of the supply of natives. If low-grade mines are not worked now the ore will never be recovered.

"Industrial protective legislation is pushing up costs of production of the primary industries, agricultural and minerals. The high cost of production is the chief danger to South Africa's continued prosperity.

"In order to get the best value of these assets, reduce hurtful tariffs and increase those that are helpful, and so support the development and maintenance of the primary and secondary industries natural to South Africa; let us pursue a policy at home and abroad which is calculated to give security and confidence to business enterprises.

"Racialism, that tired and weary hare, is not being chased in this election. Anti-British feeling, Republicanism, and secession are all passing out of our life, as I knew it would, for the Dutch are an honourable people. I can testify to that, for all the verbal agreements I had in the past with their great leaders, from President Kruger to General Hertzog, were carried out scrupulously.

"South Africans, both Dutch and English, have sold their birthright through not working, and have lost their economic hold on the country, and it is only by working hard and working together that they will hold their own.

"Generals Botha, Smuts, and Hertzog have carried South Africa to the highest pinnacle she has ever reached, enjoying equal status and equal pride in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and now moral strength is required in guiding the people of South Africa on the course on which they are launched."

REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION FO THE YEAR 1928.

II.

THE Report of the Northern Provinc shows a decrease in trade in all the principa produce The total tonnage of palm kernel was 5,894 tons as compared with 6,733 ton of the previous year, a decrease of 839 tons In Palm oil there was a decrease of 67 tons the total being 161 tons to 94 of the presen year. In Kola Nuts there was a decrease o 140 tons, the figures being 440 tons to 300 In Rice there was a decrease of 630 tons, th figures being 2,089 to 1,459 tons. In Ginge there was a drop of 21 tons, the figures being 169 to 148 tons.

The Commissioner wrote as follows :—

"I can find no explanation of this decrease in produce, except as regards ginger which has steadily declined for the past three years on account of poor prices, and rice, of which during the latter half of the year the natives were keeping stocks anticipating some shortage in 1929, owing to an indifferent planting season and destruction of farms by abnormal floods. Palm oil is always fluctuating and unaccountable. As regards kernels various explanations are put forward. The European firms attribute it to the large amount of labour employed on road works Some chiefs and native traders put it down to greater stringency of produce inspection which makes the natives unwilling to bring in produce that they have to clean before it is accepted by buyers.

The first reason as to the employment o natives on road—making is untenable since the report itself shows that in some of those places where the produce comes from, no road—making is going on. As regards the second ground, namely the stringency of the inspection regulations, we think it approaches nearer to the correct cause. These regulations are good, but we are of opinion that steps must be taken to impress upon the natives their absolute necessity, before they are stringently enforced. The real reason is the drawback on the price which the imposition of an export duty and the combine introduce. The low price offered for produce, and the existence of an understanding among the European merchants not to offer a higher price for produce, seriously affect the quantity, as the natives are not desirous of putting their produce on the market for ridiculous amounts to be paid to them.

In the Central and Southern Provinces however, we notice some improvement in trade; although this is more pronounced in the Southern than in the Central.

In the Central, the increase in Palm Kernels is reported at 500 tons, and in this Province also, the Commissioner felt disappointed at the result, and he cannot account for the slump in less mysterious words than "possibly it is the result of a number of factors operating together." What these factors were and in what way they operated together to the detriment of trade were unfortunately not disclosed

The report of the Southern Province seemed the most cheerful, since the Commissioner wrote as follows :— "Trade in the Province was exceptionally good during 1928 in spite of floods. Bonthe Customs Revenue was above average in every quarter of the year, and license revenue showed a notable increase."

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"In order to get the best value of these assets, reduce hurtful tariffs and increase those that are helpful, and so support the development and maintenance of the primary and secondary industries natural to South Africa; let us pursue a policy at home and abroad which is calculated to give security and confidence to business enterprises.

"Racialism, that tired and weary hare, is not being chased in this election. Anti-British feeling, Republicanism, and secession are all passing out of our life, as I knew it would, for the Dutch are an honourable people. I can testify to that, for all the verbal agreements I had in the past with their great leaders, from President Kruger to General Hertzog, were carried out scrupulously.

"South Africans, both Dutch and English, have sold their birthright through not working, and have lost their economic hold on the country, and it is only by working hard and working together that they will hold their own.

"Generals Botha, Smuts, and Hertzog have carried South Africa to the highest pinnacle she has ever reached, enjoying equal status and equal pride in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and now moral strength is required in guiding the people of South Africa on the course on which they are launched."

REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION FO THE YEAR 1928.

II.

THE Report of the Northern Provinc shows a decrease in trade in all the principa produce The total tonnage of palm kernel was 5,894 tons as compared with 6,733 ton of the previous year, a decrease of 839 tons In Palm oil there was a decrease of 67 tons the total being 161 tons to 94 of the presen year. In Kola Nuts there was a decreas c 140 tons, the figures being 440 tons to 300 In Rice there was a decrease of 630 tons, th figures being 2,089 to 1,459 tons. In Ginge there was a drop of 21 tons, the figures belu 169 to 148 tons.

The Commissioner wrote as follows :—

"I can find no explanation of this decreas in produce, except as regards ginger which has steadily declined for the pas three years on account of poor prices, an rice, of which during the latter half of th year the natives were keeping stocks anticipating some shortage in 1929, owin to an indifferent planting season and des truction of farms by abnormal floods. Palm oil is always fluctuating and unaccount able. As regards kernels various explana tions are put forward. The European firm attribute it to the large amount of labou employed on road works / 10-19-29 Some chiefs and native traders put i down to greater stringency of produce inspection which makes the natives unwilling to bring in produce that they have to clean before it is accepted by buyers.

The first reason as to the employment o natives on road—making is untenable since the report itself shows that in some of those places where the produce comes from, no road—making is going on. As regards the second ground, namely the stringency of the inspection regulations, we think it approaches nearer to the correct cause. These regulations are good, but we are of opinion that steps must be taken to impress upon the natives their absolute necessity, before they are stringently enforced. The real reason is the drawback on the price which the imposition of an export duty and the combine introduce. The low price offered for produce, and the existence of an understanding among the European merchants not to offer a higher price for produce, seriously affect the quantity, as the natives are not desirous of putting their produce on the market for ridiculous amounts to be paid to them.

In the Central and Southern Provinces however, we notice some improvement in trade; although this is more pronounced in the Southern than in the Central.

In the Central, the increase in Palm

Kernels is reported at 500 tons, and in this Province also, the result, and he cannot disappointed at the slump in less mysterious account for the slump in . above average in words than "possibly it is the result of a the year, and license rev number of factors operating together." What notable increase." those factors were and in what way they operated together to the detriment of trade were unfortunately not disclosed

The report of the Southern Province seemed the most cheerful, since the Commis-

Race Problem – 1929

Africa

"If Africa Is To Be Redeemed What?"

By ARDEN BRYAN.

A copy of the soul-stirring Bill of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the world must find its way immediately, and in its original form, as framed by the fathers who drafted it, into the homes and libraries, churches, lodges, fraternal and benevolent societies, schools and institutions of whatever kind and shades in Africa, throughout the Black World.

This I consider a magnitudinous move of first importance in the work and cause of Africa's reclamation.

The immortal document in itself is an able mentor and can do more in a dynamic manner to pave way for the cause of black humanity, than a million speeches.

Had we methodically and systematically gone to work as sincerely as we should have five years or so ago, the redemptive prospects of Africa would have by this time belted the entire Black World. Nevertheless, in spite of failure, we shall arrive, and that, sooner than it is expected.

If Africa is to be redeemed rejuvenation must engulf all affairs Afric, —The Universal Negro Improvement Association first must set the example.

There must be a thorough and complete change within our own movement; an end must be put to our cumbersome and clumsy handling of our internal and external affairs.

Means and ways, methods of approach, and systematic encirclement of the universal black girdle must be thoroughly and calculatively handled with complete engineering precision.

If Africa is to be redeemed then, nothing in the work of recovery must be left to haphazardry; else we open ourselves to besetting failures at every turn of the game; and history and posterity will have reason to pass judgment upon us as traitors to the cause

If we are sincere, we will immediately change front, and let our tactics become more dynamic, more effectual and more practical. We will cease our abortive time-marking, donothingness; and get in actual contact with Africa at home and abroad. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is the only international movement I know of that has gained the confidence of the entire Black World,—therefore it falls to the lot of this world-wide organization to lead the way in the reclamation of Africa.

It now becomes imperatively incumbent upon us to shoulder and accept all responsibilities, morally, socially, politically, educationally, and otherwise. If we are to succeed in the glorious work of redemption, we must not be afraid to tackle problems.

The problems confronting us, I admit, are many; but however colossal, and seemingly tedious, must give way when tackled aright, by the united might of the black race.

The problem of dialects and languages must be first examined, and though seemingly defiant to treatment, thank God, I can say I have a cure at my finger tips; and I am confident that within a decade or so Africa will present herself for admission to the banquet of the Gods.

Despite the talk of Hertzog, I am quite sure Africa in the future with the companionship and protection of the great Spirit Buuanda, will be the possession of the blacks, as a home of protection, and a fortress of retreat, from Tangiers to Tanganyika, from Zama to the Zambesi, and from Capetown to Cairo.

The work that is to be done must be tackled with an enthusiasm known only to us, and spiritually unknown to aliens, an enthusiasm which only the breasts of the oppressed blacks can know.

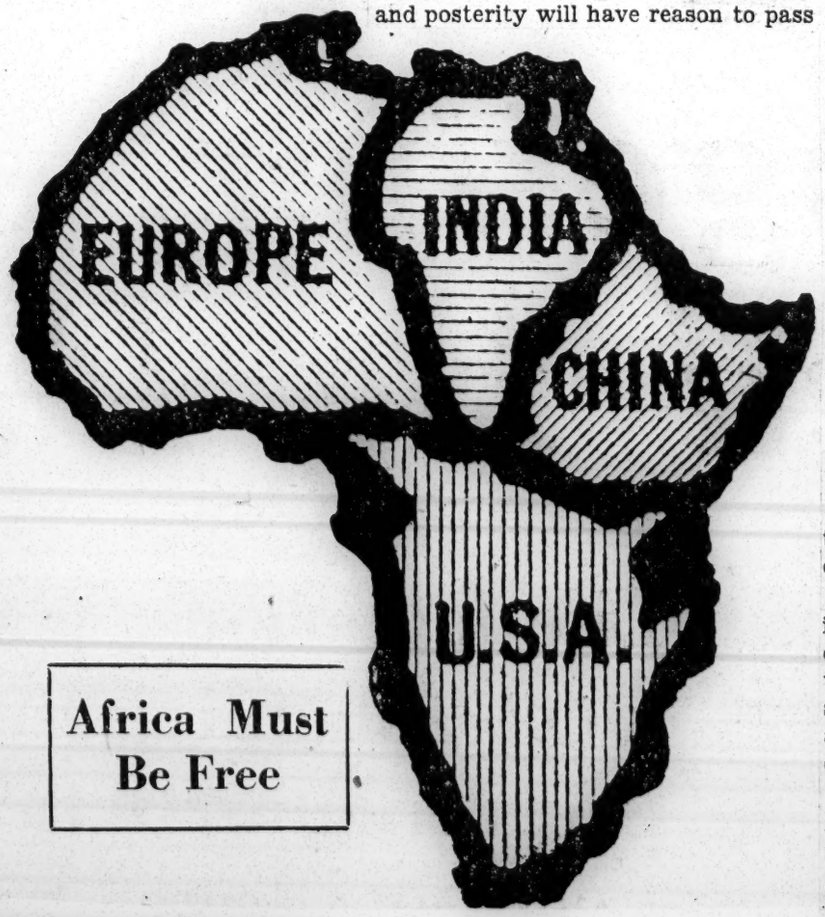
In this way I am sure, led on by intelligent and able leaders, forts of opposition, and fortresses of obstacles will go down before us, like so many so-called vulnerable garrisons before a well-led, well-trained, and well-equipped army.

If Africa is to be redeemed there must be contact agencies established in every important center of the globe. A vast sum of money must be raised for the practical function and upkeep of this department of operations; a department to be known as the Foreign Relations Department. Under this department, the problem of contact and penetration would be dealt with, and it would be responsible for creating and maintaining world sympathy in behalf of the oppressed blacks, regardless of affiliations, or national contact.

In times of stress, politically or otherwise, it would have to deal with such problems which confront us and concern us one way or another. The convention would see the wisdom in finding means to appropriate to this department an extra sum of fifteen thousand pounds (approximately $70,000) for the education abroad of a few selected young men, in Tokio, Constantinople, Moscow, Berlin, London and Paris; the courses not to be here mentioned.

If Africa is to be redeemed, again I say, the so-called gigantic problems must vanish before us like the myriad and dusty apples of Troy, and go down before the methodical and united onslaught of a united race.

If Africa is to be redeemed,—if we prepare really to reclaim Africa, for God and our humanity, then that congress of Negroes will listen to reason, and hear me, if fortune permits, for the light of a new day will dawn; and I, your humble servant, mount the tribune in Kingston, to help solve the problem of Universal Negro Suffrage.



The Rose-Innes Manifesto.

The manifesto published last month over the signatures of Sir James Rose Innes and other influential Europeans of South Africa will remain for generations as the most courageous piece of magnanimity produced by the white population of our country at a time when the political situation was be clouded by the false cry of a black vote menace. While politicians may wrangle this way or that for their own objectives, we are thankful that there are individuals of standing who look to the ultimate and fundamental principles governing the future racial goodwill of the whole land. This document has gone farther than some missionary leaders have been prepared to go in fighting the policy of racial discrimination led by the Pact government in its last session. One missionary journal in particular, commanding real influence in the country, had opened its columns to a voluminous correspondence on this subject and editorially staked its reputation by recommending the Bantu to ask for a compromise and accept a differential franchise based on the colour of men's skin, laboriously arguing that this was the only practical policy the Bantu should take. In this manifesto we observe that the most eminent men of the world, lawyers and business men, are here teaching our missionaries a lesson which might have been expected from the latter, namely, that the fundamental principles of justice and non-discrimination are more important than a compromise which admits the abadonment of the old Cape policy for purposes of racial separation. The issue is quite precise: Cape equality versus Northern non-Equality. Any compromise must endanger the rights of the Cape Natives. The Northern Natives understand this issue even better than those of the Cape because it is they who insist that the Cape system be retained until the forces of righteousness shall make it possible for them in the distant future to secure the same rights, and they realise that a com-

promise at the present time precludes this possibility perpetually. The argument for this view is eloquently stated by this sagacious manifesto. The signatories keep their eyes on the distant future and although their cause may be unpopular at present, they have displayed wonderful courage in making an unmistakable stand for justice and the wisest permanent policy.

The Native Administration Act.

(Healdtown's Protest.)

The following is the written protest of the people of Healdtown against the operation of the above mentioned Act in their area for which kindly find room in the columns of your paper:—

1. Our protest is based upon the principle on which the Act is framed, which principle is entirely opposed to, or subversive of the old principle which served as a guide to the Imperial Authorities, as well as to the Colonial Government, in pursuing their various policies in the government of the Natives. Peace and contentment ruled then among the Natives, while civilisation, which made rapid strides in the Colony, was evidence and proof sufficiently potent, of the ethical sanity and soundness of the principles of government under that regime.

2. Sir George Grey was the first Governor who initiated measures whose object was to counteract barbarism, heathenism and indolence among the Natives; than whom no Governor claims greater respect among them His memory is esteemed with grateful honour.

Healdtown was one of the first Native settlements into which Sir George Grey introduced his experimental native policy, and undoubtedly it was the first to assimilate the new changes Hence it was that the avowed policy of the country was to gradually introduce individual tenure throughout the Native territories and reserves.

3 The survey of the individual holdings at Healdtown in 1859, was introduced on the petition of the chiefs in Healdtown, in the year 1857, requesting Her Imperial Majesty, Queen Victoria to secure them and their people on the land, on such conditions as would afford greater fixity of tenure. This willingly granted, effected an automatic change in the land tenure, heretofore in vogue; to wit, Healdtown was converted from a Crown Reserve to a Native Reserve.

Individual ownership of land had completely superseded the communal system. The chiefs had no more power over the people, as well as the land itself, than any ordinary title holder. Democratic principles reigned and prevailed up to the present day. Hence the passing of the Villages Management Act of 1881, and the establishment by Proclamation in 1884 of the Village Management Board at Healdtown, to have plenary powers to make regulations for the control and Management of all matters of local interest, including the commonage. Tribalism, therefore, under any shape or form is regarded in Healdtown as obsolete, and never to be revived; and any legislation tending to restore on these people those long forgotten conditions of tribal life of seventy years ago, "without their election" is deemed to be inimical to the best interests of these people.

4. The individual tenure under the Glen Grey system does not by any means give greater fixity of tenure (as declared), than the Sir George Grey system. This fact can be amply verified by reading the conditions embodied in the original title deeds of the latter system. The most objectionable condition in the Glen Grey system is in the underlying principle that the land belongs to the Crown, held and occupied by the Natives on sufferance. It is advocated so much perhaps because it affords facility to the administrators of Natives to alienate the land, while the conditions obtaining in the other system render the land quite unalienable under any circumstances. True may it be that these strictly protective conditions of survey under the Sir George Grey system make it difficult for the Government to have adequate control over the circumstances incidental to the ownership of land, but such does not seem to justify the supplanting of the whole system, root and branch, and replacing it by one which is tantamount to the veritable dispossession of land. It might be suggested that this state of affairs can safely be met by recourse to other means, such as will keep clear of the fundamental conditions of security of the vested rights of the people on the land.

5 As the Native Administration Act is purporting to institute a separate system of law applicable only to Natives, by the revivification of Native laws and customs long lost to oblivion, seventy years ago. we would most humbly yet very earnestly, submit our protest against its application in Healdtown, as it will not only retard progress towards the aspired civilisation, but certainly will lead to retrogression from such aspirations.

Far from being entirely conservative in our views, we would, however, welcome certain salutary features suggested in the Act, but unfortunately they are overwhelmed by the unwholesome revolutionary character of the Act. And the most healthful feature of all is conspicuous by its absence—that of controlling the polonious practice of abduction, illicit (though lawful) marriages and other kindred practices of an immoral character.

C. A. W. SIGILA,
Secretary.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA.

LEST WE FORGET.

Weekly News 11-2-24

On the 25th October 1924, just before the last election we made the following comments among others:—

"What is required is that the people should send into the Council three honest men of sound intelligence, men on whom they could rely—straightforward and courageous."

We desire to emphasise these words, and would ask the Electors to examine the Candidates for the Urban and Rural Districts as to whether they possess these qualifications. Idutywa Gazette

Sound intelligence to appreciate the ramifications of the Council, and to take an intelligent interest in its deliberations, straightforward men on whom the people could rely under every circumstance to advocate their cause, and courageous men who, under the most adverse conditions would continue to press on are those who are needed as our representatives. We summed up these qualifications in these terse words—intelligence, character and public spiritedness.

On this occasion we have as Candidates for the Urban District, the two out-going members namely, Messrs. Beoku Betts and Bankole Bright and a new Candidate Mr. J. D. Oldfield. In the Rural District we have the out-going Mr. Tuboku-Metzger, Mr. J. N. Jones, one of the old Candidates, and Mr. J. G. Hyde, a new Candidate. Before seeking for new Candidates, we think the Electors should first consider whether the out going menbers have outlived their usefulness or have failed them. If they have come up to expectations and have discharged their duty creditably, about which there can be little doubt then, we are of opinion that they should be returned.

The pronounced opinion in the Urban District is, that both Messrs. Betts and Bright have shown conspicuous ability, public spiritedness and courageous independence and self sacrifice, and when pitted against their opponent, there seems no comparison worthy of serious consideration. Mr Oldfield has served in the City Council at intermittent periods, but he has yet to convince the Electorate of his better claim to their votes than the two other candidates. And since his activities are limited to the narrowgroove of the City Council, and are not of the quality which has earned universal gratitude of the people, the result, if contrary to his aspirations, should not be a surprise to him.

If Mr. Tuboku-Metzger had been contesting a seat in the Urban District, we would have been justified in stating that his conspicuous ability, his painstaking zeal and courage, would have easily barned his re-election. But in the Rural District, other faculties seem to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless we think it our duty to state that the

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regularity with which he attended to his duties in Council, and the keen interest he manifested advocating the cause of the people, ought to earn him his seat.

In the Council his speeches were always characterised by sagaciousness, by circumspection and sincerity, and he has on more than one occasion earned the commendation of the Governor. Mr. P. N. Jones is very little spoken of, and if he fares better than he did the last time he will be fortunate. Mr. Hyde is making a very strong bid for the seat, and as an entirely new candidate, it is for the Rural Electorate to carefully consider whether he possesses the qualifications enumerated above and if so, in greater measure than Mr. Tuboku Metzger, and whether his youth and legislative experience should out-

Race Problem—1929

Africa

Mr. Payn and the Native Vote

Our attention has been drawn to the fact that the excerpt culled from the "Cape Times" of the 14th February and republished in the columns of "Imvo" dated 19th March 1929, is a considerably abridged report of Mr. A. O. B. Payn's speech on the Native vote debate in the joint session of parliament. The curtailment of the said report has had the undesirable effect of somewhat obscuring or confusing the real objects the member for Tembuland had in his mind, and this to such an extent as to depict him as supporting the Hertzog view when in reality he was all out for Gen Smut's policy. In fairness to Mr. Payn, as one whose services on behalf of the Natives have been appreciated more than once in these columns, we purpose publishing relevant excerpts direct from the 13th February Hansard page 22, and 23 as follows :—

"I am convinced that the Prime Minister was honest in his intentions to do his duty by the native in the past. I had that conviction up to a few days ago, but when I saw a document signed by the Prime Minister which was issued last week, I regret to say that I have changed my opinion. I am convinced that the natives themselves also were quite satisfied that the Prime Minister was trying to deal with them honestly and justly, but that view has been changed quite recently. That is one of the chief reasons why this problem should not be faced at the present juncture. Has there been any consultation with the natives on these particular measures? Three or four years ago the Prime Minister put forward certain measures and tried to bargain with the natives, saying: "We will not give you the privilege of obtaining further land unless your are prepared to give up certain privileges." He made a mistake by bargaining with these people over a right which they had held for many years. I maintain that the measures introduced to-day are entirely dissimilar to those put forward before and there has been no consultation with the natives at all on these Bills."

"A monthly journal, the "South African Outlook," controlled I think, by the Presbyterian Church, and published at Lovedale, the leading college in Africa for native education, has been advocating the principle of separate representation and advising the Natives to seriously consider the Prime Minister's proposals. There are factors at work in this country that are working in this direction, and I am convinced that if we deal justly with the native, in a comparatively short time—and what are a few years in this country—the natives themselves may realize that the present system is perhaps unsatisfactory and be prepared to accept some other system. I think the present time is most inopportune to introduce these Bills. The effect in a country where there is already considerable racial feeling is going to be unfortunate and the effects will be felt not only by this generation, but by the generations that follow. The motion is premature and the Bills should not be introduced at this stage."

The S. A. Party in the House were heading for a National Convention to go into the whole question while the Hertzogites opposed this, maintaining, according to the Premiers' own words (page 35)

"They (the natives) were very thoroughly heard, and what was their answer? We want nothing to do with it so long as the Bills alter the Cape basis. We will not utter any opinion on any point in the Bill. In other words, we wish to give no advice at all. Now my hon. friend says that the natives must be consulted. Why? I shall not retreat in so far as the alteration of the Cape franchise is concerned. It is a fundamental requirement that it shall be altered. If it is a fundamental principle, then the House must evolve something, but I shall never depart from that basis, and therefore it is useless going to the natives."

In view of the above, it is apparent that Mr. Payn had suggested that it would be of the Natives' own free will after full consultation that any change should be considered. With this view, we see nothing to quarrel about.

Flogging in South Africa.

The Nafte case, which is now agitating South Africa, and which raises the colour question in an acute form, is still undecided. Mr. Justice Solomon had sentenced Nafte, a white farmer, to seven years hard labour and ten lashes for a crime "horrifying in its cruelty" to a native whom he flogged to death. The whipping part of the sentence roused the farmers' resentment, and the Government ordered its execution to be postponed pending investigation. On Monday it was announced that the prerogative of mercy could not be exercised. The flogging has, however, been postponed for a fortnight to allow of an appeal to the Supreme Court at Bloemfontein. Whatever the upshot of the case, it has stirred bitter race feeling; it appears that the imposition of a flogging sentence on a white man for the death of a native is almost unique in South Africa. (p. 305)

FLOGGING SENTENCE ON WHITE FARMER.

Confirmed, but Again Suspended.

Considerable sensation was caused in South Africa by the decision of the Hon. N. C. Havenga, the acting Minister of Justice, that the sentence of flogging passed on Jack Nafte, a white farmer, for the wilful manslaughter of Sixpence Temba, a native, should be carried out forthwith.

This decision was followed by the grant of an application in the Supreme Court to have the flogging again deferred to enable application to be made to Mr. Justice Soloman to bring the matter under review.

Thrashed, Stoned, and Left to Die.

Jack Nafte was found guilty of culpable homicide in the Bethel Circuit Court by Mr. Justice Solomon for flogging the native Sixpence Temba, whose dead body was discovered at the foot of a tree. It was stated that Sixpence had insulted a white woman. Nafte was charged with murdering the native, but the charge was reduced to one of manslaughter, and the Judge, in passing a sentence of seven years hard labour and ten lashes, described the crime as one of horrifying cruelty.

It was revealed that Sixpence was first bound to a wagon and flogged by Van Niekerk, a foreman, and Nafte. He was then dragged into the kitchen of the farm, and as he lay on the ground he was stoned by Nafte, who also stamped on his chest as he lay helpless. Sixpence was later tied to a tree with one leg in the air, his head bent down, his body half reclining on the ground, and in this position was again flogged by Nafte. Despite the entreaties of the wretched man, who exclaimed, "I am dying," Nafte continued to flog him unmercifully. He then left the man unconscious and went off to attend a picnic party. Subsequently the dead body of Sixpence was found at the foot of the tree.

A great sensation was caused among the farmers of the Transvaal when it was announced that the white farmer was to receive the lash, and a big outcry among the white population of South Africa resulted in the case being brought to the notice of the Union Government, who ordered the sentence to be postponed pending investigation. The case was brought to the notice of General Hertzog, the South African Premier, who finally referred it to the Minister of Justice for decision.

FROM MAX YERGAN

Negro Star

P. O. BOX 7, ALICE, C. P.,

SOUTH AFRICA, April 15, 1929.

7—5—29

DEAR FRIENDS:

Within the four months that have passed since my letter to you, events of a highly important nature have transpired within the political, interracial, social and religious life of South Africa. Such events are not necessarily new: they are the century old results of contacts between groups of people unequally equipped for the battle of life; they represent the inevitable outcome of what were, in part, the wrong and mistaken methods of Western colonial policy since the expansion of Europe began; they bring actively to the front those men, characteristic of most ages, who are not afraid to think, even in terms of larger human welfare; and finally, these events show to South Africa and to the world the nature of the task with which time, truth, human ingenuity and spiritual forces have to deal in this land.

POLITICAL

The chief political event within the period I write about undoubtedly the Parliamenartary action on the so-called "Native Bills." Of these three pieces of proposed legislation, The Natives Representation in Parliament Bill, the first named was the most bitterly fought in Parliament as well as out. Inasmuch as the other two measures were bracketed with it and depended upon it for their enactment or rejection, it will suffice to discuss briefly this particular Bill.

The Natives Representation in Parliament Bill aimed at accomplishing two things: (1) to introduce a communal type of franchise for Africans living in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal whereby they would elect two white men to represent them in the Senate; (2) io take away the existing franchise rights from Africans in the Cape Province, where they now vote on the same basis as white men, and to substitute in their place a type of communal franchise whereby Africans would vote from a separate

register and poll for three white men who would hold seats in the Senate. The constitution of South Africa requires that any change affecting the rights of Africans to vote shall require a two-thirds majority of both Houses in joint session. The Government called a joint session in February, introduced its Bills and made for a full debate upon them. The pary in opposition led by General Smuts opposed solidly each of these Bills, and as a result the Government failed to get the necessary majority, the actual voting being 42 votes short of the 117 required.

This proposed legislation was almost unanimously opposed by all sections of African thought as well as by a strong and what appears to be liberal section of Europeans. Africans appreciate the result but there is still great concern, for the elections which are to take place shortly are being very largely fought on "The Native Question."

INTERRAIAL.

Few, if any conferences have been of such significance as was the Bantu-European Conference which met at Cape Town in February of this year. While this gathering did not evade the political issue, indeed it committed itself as opposed to any backward step in regard to franchise and other political rights for Africans, it gave chief emphasis to three major needs in African life! (1) health, (2) the ability to control environment by means of improved agriculture and industrial organization; (3) the strengthening of the family life which is fast disintegrating under the stress of modern developments of South Africa speaks of this gathering as the "better way," whereby at the much stricter bar of its own good conscience and the harvested wisdom of the world, it seeks to furnish Africans with opportunities for developing their proper cultural heritage and of con-

MISCONDUCT.

A Letter to the Editor "Invo."

[By "Ndondella"]

Sir,—In your issue of March 5, 1929, appeared a letter on the above alarming subject by R.v J W Household whose whole life, as he professes, has been spent in trying to uplift the Native people of this country, and whose desire is for their welfare, morally, spiritually, and educationally. No doubt the complaint is about those native youths who are not or had never been under Mr Household's missionary influence which is not "a salt without savour." Had the white employers of native youths acted as their governors and guardians morally, there would be no cause for complaint about misconduct of their servants in the streets.

Every year thousands of native children leave their parents' control and home influences while they are yet minors and go to work in towns and farms for white people who never bother about correcting their manners. Hence misbehaviour of native youths to each other inevitably leads to misbehaviour towards white people who are not their employers. Unless the Bosses realize their responsibility about the moral conduct of native minors in their employment there can be no remedy for the present evil. Better than imprisonment or rough handling of natives is the adoption of the wise maxim "Teach lovingly what thou hast diligently learned."

Sometimes, it is wonderful to see white youths' misbehaviour towards decent natives, but no complaint has been made as it would fall on deaf ears. What remedy will your valuable correspondent suggest for this? Sometimes even school natives are inclined to the habit of imitating those irreligious white people who curse and swear and do not blush to use vulgar profane language which they call "the proper language" or "calling a spade a spade." It is true there are schols for native children in urban and in suburban locations but the majority of native children are not those who left their homes not for attending schools but for obtaining work in towns while the largest area of land in South Africa consists of European farms in which thousands of natives live without education as there are no farm schools. Under these circumstances what must one expect?

I do not think that native parents in the locations are responsible for the misconduct of their minor children in towns and farms nor the native council as they are not yet given full control of their internal affairs or sufficient funds for native development.

NATIVE POLICY IN EAST AFRICA

Anti-Slavery Society Representations.

A deputation from the Anti Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was received by Lord Passfield, the Colonial Secretary, on Tuesday, and made representations on native policy in East Africa. The following statement and appeal was handed to the Minister:

Our committee understands that his Majesty's Government proposes to set forth at an early date its policy in connection with Kenya and East Africa. We venture, therefore, to appeal to you to include in that statement a declaration making it clear to British subjects everywhere that upon the real issue of native policy, which lies behind every form of public controversy and every official report upon the matter, the present Government adheres firmly to the repeated declarations of British statesmen made during the past 100 years.

The real issue is indeed simple. Stripped of controversial detail, it is whether or not Great Britain holds fast to the repeatedly declared policy of an ultimate common citizenship for all civilised British subjects. The most recent as well as the most emphatic declaration upon this basic feature of Empire policy was made by Mr. Winston Churchill at the Imperial Conference in 1921:—

> There is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard, and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it.

Mr. Churchill's declaration merely reiterated in different language formal statements of native and colonial policy made by her late Majesty Queen Victoria in official proclamations when tropical and sub-tropical people came under the flag of Great Britain, and by Lord Salisbury in the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably in his "no whit inferior" dispatch of 1875. Let this fundamental principle be adhered to as firmly and clearly as it has been stated and established and the other subjects of controversy fall into their right perspective.

The Civilisation Test.

First in order come the qualifications of citizenship, or, in the phrase used by the Hilton Young Commission, the civilisation test. It has not been found difficult hitherto to define the terms of this test, which, though it must necessarily vary in the different dependencies, demands, quite obviously, that all races—English, Belgian, German, Dutch, Indian, and native—shall be required in each dependency to satisfy a common standard of civilisation prior to exercise of the franchise on a common roll. It would follow also that all legal distinctions or disabilities resting solely upon race or religion should, if they exist, be eliminated from the legislation of the dependency.

These three cardinal features of policy,

> (a) A common citizenship for civilised British subjects; (b) a common test of civilisation; (c) legislation without racial distinction,

transend, in our opinion, all other considerations, and will, we trust, be made as clear with all possible emphasis in the forthcoming statement of policy and stated as lucidly and definitely as they have been on several occasions hitherto in British official dealings with native peoples.

Forced Labour.

Subordinate to these three capital considerations are the three subjects of land, taxation, labour. We venture to urge that the statement of his Majesty's Government should also find a place for a declaration—

(a) That it is no part of the duty of a Colonial Administration to provide labour for private enterprise, and that forced labour, except for local and traditional purposes of public utility, shall be entirely prohibited. In those rare cases when labour is called out for some exceptional purpose, it should only be done with the sanction of the central authority and be paid the market rate of wages.

(b) That taxation in dependency territory shall be imposed in proportion to the wealth of the people concerned and that direct taxation imposed upon the native races shall be spent in native areas especially upon medical services, education, and improved communications.

(c) That it shall be an obligation o the administration in the Colonies to reserve and provide the natives with adequate land for their subsistence an economic advancement, and that n restriction shall be placed upon th economic products which the natives wis to raise upon the lands assigned to them without the express sanction of th Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The memorandum is signed by Mi Charles Roberts (President), Mr. Travel Buxton (Hon. Secretary), and Mr. Joh H. Harris (Parliamentary Secretary)

Trouble in South Africa.

The Union Government's campaign against native refusals to pay the poll-tax has now been explained by the Minister of Justice. Mr. Pirow claimed that the native unrest is due to the machinations of the Third International, and quoted a whole series of incitements made by organisations which, he declared, derived not only inspiration but financial support from Moscow. With the determination of the Union Government to deal sternly with foreign attempts to make mischief there will be every sympathy, but foreign interference is of little avail if there exist no local causes for unrest and discontent. While the foreign agitator and the criminal element require stern handling, Mr. Pirow will have to go more deeply into the problem before he can expect European opinion fully to appreciate the reasons for the particular methods adopted towards the tax-resisters. A movement so widespread as he declares the present one to be cannot depend for its sole reason on foreign instigation.

(p. 408)

COLOUR BAR PROTESTS.

London Meetings to be Held.

A delegation of the West Indian and West African Students' Association waited on Mr James Marley, M.P., at the House of Commons and put their grievances with regard to the colour bar in London before him.

Mr. Marley, who has fully investigated the matter, promised to interest other M.P.'s with a view to raising the question at an early date in the House of Commons.

Another delegation representative of coloured students in London is to meet Dr. Morgan, M.P., this week.

In the meantime, the West African and West Indian Unions are arranging a mass meeting in London to protest against the colour bar.

A correspondent writes to "Reynolds":—

"It is the proud boast of Englishmen that in England—the heart of the Empire—all people, regardless of colour, enjoy equal rights and privileges. Even in the Colonies it is not unusual to hear coloured people voicing similar sentiments. Is this a true statement of fact or merely an empty boast?

"Colour prejudice is a matter of serious moment; perhaps more dangerous than the average Britisher thinks. In Great Britain there are large numbers of students of colour attending various universities. These men are being prepared to be leaders of thought in many parts of the Empire.

"These sons of the Empire have been true and loyal, proud to call the British flag their own, holding in their hearts a deep regard and reverence for the Mother Country.

"They have been imbued with this loyal spirit for generations and willingly have rallied to the side of white men whenever the Empire has been menaced.

"The question now amounts to this: Are the people of England going to destroy this love for England and her traditions and engender in the breasts of her coloured Colonials aversion and animosity?"

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, September 17.

Further Gold Discoveries at Kilo-Moto.

The Kilo-Moto Gold Mines Co. sends me the following:—

"Important discoveries of reef and alluvial gold have taken place in the last few months. These discoveries will necessitate an extension of the industrial programme decided upon in 1927."

(On December 31, 1927, the reserves already amounted to some 72,000 kilograms of gold.)

Kilo-Moto Gold Output in August.

The Kilo-Moto Gold Mines Co. informs me that in August last its production reached 362 kilograms 436 grams of gold. This brings the output of the first eight months of the year to 2,500 kilograms 709 grams of gold, which is 250 kilograms more than in the corresponding period of last year.

The Kilo-Moto Dividend.

For 1928 the Kilo-Moto Gold Fields Co. will pay, on November 4, to the "parts bénéficiaires" a net dividend of 5 frs. 04, against 6.59 for 1927. This smaller dividend results from the fact that last year the production was reduced, a large part of the native labour having been taken away from the mines to build roads, bridges, dams, hydro-electric central stations, mills, etc., in order to bring the annual output to 5,000 kilograms, a figure that will be reached early in 1931. Next year the output will be about 4,000 kilograms.

Record Copper Output in August.

The Union Minière informs me that it produced in August some 12,200 tons of rough copper. This is the highest monthly production yet reached. This brings the output of the first eight months to 87,600 tons, against 77,255 in the corresponding period of 1928. To gauge better the development, I may add that in the whole of 1927 the production was 89,155 tons.

Death of Father Le Grand, S.J.

I regret to have to report the death, on the 12th inst., as the result of a congestion which had taken place the previous evening, of Father Louis Le Grand, the well-known Belgian Jesuit.

Father Le Grand went twice to the Congo as a missionary, but had to return suffering from the sleepy sickness. He, happily, recovered, and was appointed by the King as a member of the Colonial Council.

Father Le Grand was also the devoted secretary of the Association of the Superiors of the R.C. Missions in the Congo, and, as such, his activity was again fruitful of results.

His funeral was attended by his colleagues of the Colonial Council, by Mr. Reisdorf Chef du Cabinet of Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and Colonial Minister, and by a number of colonial personalities, amongst whom were Mr. H. Droogmans, one of the three State Secretaries of the Congo Free State.

French Congo Railway to be Electrified (?).

The Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime" reported on the 5th inst., that in connection with the eventual electrification of the Pointe Noire-Brazzaville Railway, Governor-General Antonetti, of French Equatorial Africa, had ordered a survey of the hydro-electric possibilities in the country crossed by the line. This survey has made it known that there are sixteen waterfalls which can be relied upon to develop 180,000 h.p.

White Population of the Congo.

According to the Brussels "Independance Belge," of the 8th inst., there were, on January 1, this year, 23,276 whites in the Belgian Congo (excluding Ruanda-Urundi). Of these 15,900 were Belgians and 7,376 foreigners.

Amongst the foreigners were: 1,553 Portuguese, 1,291 Italians, 1,030 British, 698 French, 546 Greeks, 464 Americans, 351 South Africans, 348 Dutch, 266 Swiss, 203 Luxemburgese, 161 Russians, 83 Swedish, 37 Norwegians, 33 Danish, 27 Spanish, 26 Poles, 23 Yugo-Slavs, 20 Germans, and 13 Turkish.

Katanga is the one of our four provinces with the largest white population—9,018—of whom 6,369 are Belgians. Next comes the Congo-Kasai Province with 7,298 whites (5,383 Belgians), the Oriental Province, with 4,070 whites (2,734 Belgians) and the Equatorial Province, with 2,260 whites (1,414 Belgians).

Eight Months of Air Traffic.

The Sabena informs me that in the first eight months of this year its aeroplanes transported in the Congo 864 passengers, 18,710 kilograms of mail, and 4,541 kilograms of freight. 171,240 kilometres were covered in 1,427 hours, the services being maintained with the utmost regularity.

A Daily News Service from the Congo.

In the last few days the Brussels "Soir," which has the largest Belgian circulation and is one of the leading Continental papers has started an exclusive and copyright wireless news service from the Congo. We congratulate our contemporary upon its initiative, which is a fresh proof of its practical sympathy with the colony. This has been testified previously by the dispatch to the Congo of special correspondents, the first and most famous of them being Pierre Daye. As "Prescobel," the Kinshasa colonial news agency of which "Le Soir" has secured the exclusive right for Belgium, has correspondents all over the colony. "Le Soir" will henceforth be one of the best-informed papers for Congo news. "Prescobel" was founded early this year by Mr. C. Goebel, a Belgian journalist, who had gone out to the Congo.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

Tree Planting.

Letter to the Editor "Imvo."

In your issue of July 9, 1929 appeared an interesting leading article on the above subject. As all subjects should be discussed in newspapers before they are sanctioned by the Native District Council your example should be followed. And as the Native District Council is the initial step toward Native self government its powers should be extended beyond those of the Divisional Council in a Native area. So much land has already been taken from Natives by the Forest Department for the preservation of game and afforestation on the mountains where native stock used to graze during winter. To say nothing of location natives, even rich Native farmers, cannot be referred to, the farmer at Kubusie (who had more land than he needed) for an example. Therefore all pastoral lands for Natives should be kept free for future cultivation since caring of trees is such a hard work as tree planting.

In foreign countries where stock is artificially fed pastures are divided between residents and put under cultivation and one sees not so much tree plantations and grazing lands but arable lands, orchards, and homesteads with ornamental trees for shelter and shade. Therefore the sight that should be pleasing to the eye is that of homesteads or kraals with ornamental trees, orchards, land marks, streets or roads lined with rows of trees, and blank pastures.

With regard to fencing for your trees in the plantations I fail to understand your suggestion about thin wattle [not sneeze wood?] poles to take the place of costly iron standards while even thick wattle poles may not last as long and may not be purchased as cheap as iron standards.

I am etc.

INTERESTED.

A Queer Rebuke.

TO THE EDITOR 'IMVO ZABANTSUNDU.

Sir,

Allow me to crave indulgence in the widely read columns of your journal. After reading your article in which you defend yourself against what you term a 'rough shaking" you have been subjected to by your contemporary the "Outlook," one is left still unconvinced that you adopted a wise attitude in allowing such "sorry stuff" to pass through your columns.

You rightly say that the views of your correspondents are not your views, but were that argument allowed to pass, what harm would be done to the public, if the Editors of papers allowed any trash to appear in their columns? Fortunately those of us who are your readers and correspondents know that were that defect true of some newspapers, it could not be said of the Imvo.

Again, you know, sir, that the topic of your esteemed correspondent abroad, does not appeal to a large section of the enlightened Natives, as evidenced by the recent controversy on Garveyism in your vernacular columns.

Your citing such notabilities as Gen. Hertzog, Tielman Roos, etc, who are allowed space in the white press to give expression to their empty pourings on "White South Africa," does not exonerate you in the least. This, indeed is a weak admission, that the Imvo is forsaking its policy of level headedness for which it has been so highly reputed, and is now preferring running hand-in-glove with those people to whom offices of responsibility mean nothing, but allow themselves to stoop down to the level of mere nonentities. It may also be worth your journal's while to remember that the bulk of the people catered for, by the papers you mention can scrupulously sift the right from the wrong can that be said of the bulk of your readers?

Maybe the "Outlook" has never intervened on the occasions you mention, but does your argument not amount to hair-splitting? Is the 'Outlook" not more devoted to Native than to European interests? I think the "Imvo" has acknowledged its indebtedness to the "Outlook" on a former occasion. Why then adopt this futile policy of "*tu quoque*" today?

I am, etc,

B. B. MDLEDLE,

[We would request our correspondent Mr. B B Mdledle to leave the vindication of the case of the queer rebuke to its originator—the editor "S.A Outlook," and not allow himself to be carried away by the tender sympathies he must necessarily have for the concern of those to whom he looks for a living. We have no intention of discussing or allowing ourselves to be drawn into discussing the merits or demerits of Garveyism. We had definitely stated that this is for our correspondents to do. Mr. Mdledle could profitably assist all sections of his people by replying to Mr. Kakaza

opinions; and he has the hospitality of our columns whenever he wishes. We certainly decline to take him as a substitute for the editor of the "Outlook" to defend this one-sided queer rebuke. "Editor Invol"

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE question of unemployment loomed largely in the fore-front of British politics during the General Election in England, and it is therefore not surprising that the Labour Party should at its earliest opportunity outline schemes for dealing with the matter. One of the schemes outlined is that of Colonial Development. It is anticipated that the programme would lay the foundation for a long-range policy of constructive and economic development.

In moving the Bill Mr. J. H. THOMAS, a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, said, *inter alia*:—

"The object of the resolution was to establish a Colonial Development Fund, extend the benefits of the Colonial Stock Act, facilitate borrowing by certain protected or Mandated Territories . . . . . The Bill to be introduced would enable the Colonial Office to say to the Colonies. "If you want something done, get on with it." . . . . . often our Colonies said, 'here is something very necessary and important; we will undertake it, if you give us a grant or pay the interest.'"

The scheme as outlined, contemplates the lending of money to the Colonies for the purpose of developing their resources. In its nature it is very comprehensive, and is intended to benefit the Colonies in the first place by the developments which will result from it. It is expected that if this money is spent on the development of the colony in the nature of the undertaking of any public work, the materials must to a great extent be exported from abroad, and as must be expected from Great Britain, This would stimulate the manufacture of these materials and would necessarily keep engaged some of those who are at present out of employment.

Another way in which it is anticipated that the scheme would reduce unemployment is that by the development of the country, the demand for imported goods would increase, money would necessarily flow more rapidly, and trade with Britain would be on the increase. With this as a probability, there must necessarily be contemplated such improvements as would naturally increase the demand for Western articles. It is always a source of amusement to us when we read of some theorists condemning the adoption by the African of Western culture. They attempt to deride the African who considers the European dress a convenient garb to wear; forgetting that if the African were to discard European articles, or dress, many of their brothers would be among the already large number of unemployed. A study of Trade Returns would show the large volume of articles and dress of a European nature which find their way to the Africans throughout Africa, and the Returns of the Manufacturers would show what a large number of persons in England obtain their means of livelihood by the African trade. The principle of the development scheme as a cure for unemployment in Britain necessarily accepts the idea that a system of education that would regard European habits and dress as unsuitable for Africans must be rejected.

An important aspect of the scheme is that it is intended to apply to Municipal enterprises and personal or private undertakings. Although in the speech of the Right Honourable J. H. THOMAS, the private persons who might receive loans for their personal undertakings would be Britishers we have no doubt that in its working, no distinction would be made on the ground of colour, but that deserving cases would be considered, with the necessary safe-guards, on their merit. The debates in the British House of Parliament showed that due regard and consideration were taken of the native population.

An assurance was required that forced labour would not be used in any of these developments; another assurance which was required was that the money would not be spent for the improvement of European reserves. These matters appear to us to be of importance: for the former would be a departure from the fundamental principle of the Empire, where all labour must be voluntary; and the latter being of a restrictive nature is not likely to have that long beneficial effect of an increased importation. For in those Colonies which the scheme would benefit, the European population is small and is not such as would increase its demand by improvement, whilst if the application of the Fund is universal, the demands of the Africans, which would be attracted by these improvements, would be of a sufficiently large nature as to beneficially affect trade.

We propose in our next issue to deal with some of those improvements which we think could be undertaken in this country and would result in benefit to the trade of Britain

THE AFRICANS AND THEIR RULERS

II.

THE question of the true relationship which should exist between the Africans and their Rulers was raised at the Dinner to our Governor in Liverpool on the 11th September when the Chairman Mr. J. H. SHARROCK said *inter alia*:—

"One of the most significant features of the development and progress of our West African Colonies during recent years has been the regeneration of outlook and thought towards the position which the African people themselves must occupy in the scheme of things. We have come to realise that the development of the African people is closely linked with the commercial progress of their country, and it is impossible to develop the country without maintaining the good-will and co-operation of the people."

A more opportune time than the present could hardly have been selected for such far reaching utterances. For at the present moment, whilst European business organisations are extending, and successful combinations and co-operations are being effected the African is becoming reduced to penury. Unemployment is increasing daily, and there must be something radically wrong that when these firms are showing signs of progress, the people should be suffering. Hence we welcome such pronouncements from so authoritative a person as Mr. SHARROCK. Our only hope is that these expressions may not be confined to post-prandial exuberance, but would be given practical effect to. There is ample scope for something definite to be done to make the regeneration of outlook and thought towards the position the African should hold a reality.

A scheme designed first of all to give the capable Africans in the Mercantile firms the opportunities of discharging duties as responsible men in posts now held by Europeans, would have the dual effect of reducing expense and gaining the good will and co-operation of the people. A scheme for the permanency of employment of junior and other African clerks in Mercantile firms would be also an indication of good will and is bound to be reciprocated by the people.

And as we pointed out in our last article, the allying of the representatives Mercantile Houses with the people in defence of their liberty and rights would also be unmistakable evidence of the realisation that in the development of the country, the interests of the people must also be considered.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES.

FINAL.

ON Monday next, 4th November the electors of both the Urban and the Rural Districts will go to the polls to give practical demonstration as to their choice of representatives for the next five years. Already, the candidates have given out their appeals to the people, and sufficient time has elapsed for the electors to think, decide and make their choice.

From all we can gather as to the mind of the people in the Urban District, there seems little doubt that the two present representatives will be returned, and, in our opinion, with an overwhelming majority.

The point that exercised the minds of the electors is the necessity or otherwise of a change in the representatives.

Before that could be decided upon, information as to the work of the representatives in Council, their efforts and other actions on behalf of the people, was required. The publications, the public meetings, and other means of disseminating correct information have satisfied the people that, for the present at least, they could make no better selection, than the re-election of the out-going Urban Members, namely Mr. BEOKU-BETTS and Dr. BANKOLE-BRIGHT. Their five years' experience of the work of legislating, their intimate knowledge of the routine work of the Council, their close association with the many public questions of the moment, should enable every right thinking person to decide to cast his votes for both of them. This is not the time for experimenting, and however incompetent Mr. OLDFIELD may be, we are convinced, when the period of apprenticeship of the two Urban Members is taken into consideration, he ought to know himself that the people are intelligent enough to appreciate the value of such five years' training, and since he must himself undergo this period of training, his chances at the poll are almost nil. If there had been betrayal of trust or confidence of the people by the Urban Members, and the consensus of opinion was for a change in one or both of them, then his claim for consideration as a representative might have had some weight; but we are convinced, that the people, under the present circumstances, could do nothing wiser than re-elect the two Urban Members, if for nothing else, as an endorsement of the policy they have pursued these past five years of fearlessly and unselfishly championing the cause of the people.

In the Rural District, the ding-dong contest is being carried on still, and to forecast the result with any degree of certainty is an almost impossible task.

There is unfortunately in this district, the absence of that correct dissemination of information of the services rendered by the

Rural Member as there is in the Urban district of the two Urban Members. It may not be generally known that the three Elected Members have always stood together in the cause of the people, and we

the Urban area are of the opinion that if in the with their present circumspect, and to think that the candidates they decide upon would reflect on their ould those of the whether for good or for evil, and their In any case we decision should be guided by the main con- th districts to be sideration of the best interests of the country

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The scheme as outlined, contemplates the lending of money to the Colonies for the purpose of developing their resources. In its nature it is very comprehensive, and is intended to benefit the Colonies in the first place by the developments which will result from it. It is expected that if this money is spent on the development of the colony in the nature of the undertaking of any public work, the materials must to a great extent be exported from abroad, and as must be expected from Great Britain, This would stimulate the manufacture of these materials and would necessarily keep engaged some of those who are at present out of employment.

Another way in which it is anticipated that the scheme would reduce unemployment is that by the development of the country, the demand for imported goods would increase, money would necessarily flow more rapidly, and trade with Britain would be on the increase. With this as a probability, there must necessarily be contemplated such improvements as would naturally increase the demand for Western articles. It is always a source of amusement to us when we read of some theorists condemning the adoption by the African of Western culture. They attempt to deride the African who considers the European dress a convenient garb to wear; forgetting that if the African were to discard European articles, or dress, many of their brothers would be among the already large number of unemployed. A study of Trade Returns would show the large volume of articles and dress of a European nature which find their way to the Africans throughout Africa, and the Returns of the Manufacturers would show what a large number of persons in England obtain their means of livelihood by the African trade. The principle of the development scheme as a cure for unemployment in Britain necessarily accepts the idea that a system of education that would regard European habits and dress as unsuitable for Africans must be rejected.

An important aspect of the scheme is that it is intended to apply to Municipal enterprises and personal or private undertakings. Although in the speech of the Right Honourable J. H. THOMAS, the private persons who might receive loans for their personal undertakings would be Britishers we have no doubt that in its working, no distinction would be made on the ground of colour, but that deserving cases would be considered, with the necessary safe-guards, on their merit. The debates in the British House of Parliament showed that due regard and consideration were taken of the native population.

An assurance was required that forced labour would not be used in any of these developments; another assurance which was required was that the money would not be spent for the improvement of European reserves. These matters appear to us to be of importance: for the former would be a departure from the fundamental principle of the Empire, where all labour must be voluntary; and the latter being of a restrictive nature is not likely to have that long beneficial effect of an increased importation. For in those Colonies which the scheme would benefit, the European population is small and is not such as would increase its demand by improvement, whilst if the application of the Fund is universal, the demands of the Africans, which would be attracted by these improvements, would be of a sufficiently large nature as to beneficially affect trade.

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THE question of the true relationship which should exist between the Africans and their Rulers was raised at the Dinner to our Governor in Liverpool on the 11th September when the Chairman Mr. J. H. SHARROCK said *inter alia*:—

"One of the most significant features of the development and progress of our West African Colonies during recent years has been the regeneration of outlook and thought towards the position which the African people themselves must occupy in the scheme of things. We have come to realise that the development of the African people is closely linked with the commercial progress of their country, and it is impossible to develop the country without maintaining the good-will and co-operation of the people." 11-2-29

A more opportune time than the present could hardly have been selected for such far reaching utterances. For at the present moment, whilst European business organisations are extending, and successful combinations and co-operations are being effected the African is becoming reduced to penury. Unemployment is increasing daily, and there must be something radically wrong that when these firms are showing signs of progress, the people should be suffering. Hence we welcome such pronouncements from so authoritative a person as Mr. SHARROCK. Our only hope is that these expressions may not be confined to post—prandial exuberance, but would be given practical effect to. There is ample scope for something definite to be done to make the regeneration of outlook and thought towards the position the African should hold reality.

A scheme designed first of all to give the capable Africans in the Mercantile firms the opportunities of discharging duties as responsible men in posts now held by Europeans, would have the dual effect of reducing expense and gaining the good will and co-operation of the people. A scheme for the permanency of employment of junior and other African clerks in Mercantile firms would be also an indication of good will and is bound to be reciprocated by the people.

And as we pointed out in our last article, the allying of the representatives of Mercantile Houses with the people in defence of their liberty and rights would also be unmistakable evidence of the realisation that in the development of the country, the interests of the people must also be considered.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES.

FINAL. 11-2-29

ON Monday next, 4th November the electors of both the Urban and the Rural Districts will go to the polls to give practical demonstration as to their choice of representatives for the next five years. Already, the candidates have given out their appeals to the people, and sufficient time has elapsed for the electors to think, decide and make their choice.

From all we can gather as to the mind of the people in the Urban District, there seems little doubt that the two present representatives will be returned, and, in our opinion, with an overwhelming majority.

The point that exercised the minds of the electors is the necessity or otherwise of a change in the representatives.

Before that could be decided upon, information as to the work of the representatives in Council, their efforts and other actions on behalf of the people, was required. The publications, the public meetings, and other means of disseminating correct information have satisfied the people that, for the present at least, they could make no better selection, than the re-election of the out-going Urban Members, namely Mr. BEOKU-BETTS and Dr. BANKOLE-BRIGHT. Their five years' experience of the work of legislating, their intimate knowledge of the routine work of the Council, their close association with the many public questions of the moment, should enable every right thinking person to decide to cast his votes for both of them. This is not the time for experimenting, and however competent Mr. OLDFIELD may be, we are convinced, when the period of apprenticeship of the two Urban Members is taken into consideration, he ought to know himself that the people are intelligent enough to appreciate the value of such five years, training, and since he must himself undergo this period of training, his chances at the poll are almost nil. If there had been betrayal of trust or confidence of the people by the Urban Members, and the consensus of opinion was for a change in one or both of them, then his claim for consideration as a representative might have had some weight; but we are convinced, that the people, under the present circumstances, could do nothing wiser than re-elect the two Urban Members, if for nothing else, as an endorsement of the policy they have pursued these past five years of fearlessly and unselfishly championing the cause of the people.

In the Rural District, the ding-dong contest is being carried on still, and to forecast the result with any degree of certainty is an almost impossible task.

There is unfortunately in this district, the absence of that correct dissemination of information of the services rendered by the

Rural Member as there is in the Urban area of the opinion that it in the district of the two Urban Members, the Electors are satisfied with their present representatives, even so should those of the Rural district be satisfied. In any case we should counsel the Electors of both districts to be guided by the main consideration of the best interests of the country

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

THE BLACK MAN TAKES TO SCIENCE.

By Sir Percival Phillps.

Special Correspondent who was recently in East Africa with the Prince of Wales.

Other natives regard him with envy. They merely farm, but he is a pampered darling of the soil.

I was taken to look at him as you look at a prize specimen in a museum. I found him amid his crops, a muscular, woolly headed representative of the Baganda farmer, with a wide smile and amiable manners. He is interesting from the European point of view because he represents the Uganda native farmer of the future. He is an experiment in scientific cultivation.

He is shaping well. Last year he fed his family and made £7 10s. This year he will probably make twice as much. The benevolent soil and equable climate are allies that ensure prosperity, if their user takes the trouble to employ them to advantage.

One acre is devoted to bananas. Half of it is interplanted with coffee. The other two acres are divided into three plots and dedicated to crops in regular rotation. Simsim is followed by cotton, and the yield is one crop of each in twelve months. The second year the plots are planted with Kusuva and sweet potatoes. In the third year maize is followed by cotton. The maize is interplanted with ground-nuts and beans. The Human Experiment eats what he needs and sells the remainder.

x x x

There is another experiment like him on another experimental farm, but he has five acres plus a cow and a plough and his output is being as carefully observed.

These model peasant farms are only one feature of the important agricultural work being accomplished under official supervision in Uganda. Farming is the paramount necessity here. The District Commissioners on their rounds are continually emphasising this vital fact. All village schoolmasters must go through a course in agriculture before they receive their certificate of competency. As you drive along the native roads you see small boys from the local school working in their "study plots" of ground under the supervision of the master. A wise man at the head of affairs in Uganda believes that the next generation must be educated on practical lines. He firmly excludes all efforts to produce a helpless, half-baked type of semi-Europeanised native that turns its back on the land and reaches out for a clerkship and a white collar.

x x x

The experimental farm at Bukalasa (one of several in the Protectorate) is working for the farmer of the future. Existing strains of good crops are improved by selection and then grown in bulk, the seed being distributed to the natives.

Staples like cotton and bananas are manœuvred this way and that in a manner bewildering to the lay mind. There are specimen cotton crops sown with different spacings and at different dates. The Jamaica way of growing bananas is being tried side by side with the Uganda way.

Interest in food production is being stimulated in every possible way. The menace of famine after drought makes this highly important. In one district of Baganda which I visited the inhabitants were saved from starvation and the necessity for help from outside by the forethought of the District Commissioner, who insisted on reserve stores being accumulated by extra industry. The local or Gombolola chief is responsible for the production in his area.

At one place I saw the hut granaries containing this iron ration for the people—tapioca and millet in bulk sufficient to give three months' supply per head of the population. The same official has encouraged his people to take up afforestation by inducing every householder to plant four trees a year.

The native farmer is also stimulated to increase his yearly crops for export. The cultivation of coffee by natives is strongly favoured by the Agricultural Department of the Protectorate. In Kenya the native is not allowed to cultivate coffee. In a few years the output from Uganda will be as great as that of cotton.—*Daily Mail*, February 1.

Status of Chiefs.

It is of singular importance to quote as we do hereunder from the files of this journal the policy laid down by the Government in its native administration as vouched by the late Mr. Sauer, the then Minister of Native Affairs. This excerpt is culled from the "Imvo" of the 21st April 1914, and makes interesting reading read side by side with the policy outlined in the reply by the Secretary for Native Affairs to the Ciskei Native Convention lately. The late Mr. Sauer laid down as follows:—

"The annual report of the Transkeian General Council contains the following reply by the Government to resolutions passed by the Council during last year's session on the subject of the status of chiefs and headmen:

Questions as the relationship of chiefs towards Government officers and headmen and the formal recognition of the granting of suitable subsidies to chiefs have from time to time come before the Government during recent years.

The Minister of Native Affairs understands that what is asked for in the first resolution is a definition of the position of hereditary chiefs in relation to magistrates and headmen and that the inquiry is really prompted by a desire for formal restoration to the chiefs of the powers they or their predecessors formerly exercised. The time has arrived when he thinks a clear and simple answer should be given to these representations, although there are undoubtedly difficulties in the way of making the position intelligible, and from the sentimental point of view, acceptable to those concerned in many cases. These difficulties are due first to the varying stages of advancement amongst the people of different tribes throughout the Union, and, indeed, even within the Transkeian Territories.

Secondly, to historical and traditional differences between various tribes and differences in the circumstances and conditions under which they submitted to Government rule; and thirdly, to changes arising out of the unfortunate failure of individual chiefs to maintain, by strength of character, interest in the welfare of their people, personal conduct, and general attitude either the respect of the Natives or the confidence of the Government which they might still enjoy. Members of the Council will be aware from their personal knowledge of the tribes to which they belong and to facts of individual cases how easily a general statement, without regard to the existence of these difficulties, might create misapprehension, raise hopes that could not be realised, and serve to increase complications as between chiefs or in respect of individual claims to chieftainship. But believing that the Council will bear these considerations in mind, the Minister will be glad if you will be good enough to make a statement to the Council in the following terms:

"The magistrate is the responsible local representative of the Government in the district in which he serves, and as such discharges judicial as well as administrative functions, and must by the terms of the Public Service Act be an officer of the Fixed Establishment of the Public Service of the Union.

"The chief is the accredited representative of the tribe, and in some few cases of a clan, and as a mark of the recognition his position by Government during its pleasure receives a subsidy from the Government. He is not a public servant in

the same sense as an officer on the Fixed Establishment of the Public Service, who is subject to disciplinary rules, and must perform the duties and discharge the functions of his office as laid down by law; he is rather the servant of the people of his tribe, and should seek to promote their welfare in all social or other matters, represent them and be consulted by the local responsible officer in all matters affecting their relations with the Government, and obey the instruction of the local responsible representative, and by example and precept and proper use of his influence ensure the due carrying out of the administration of the law. He cannot exercise the autocratic powers which were assumed by or belonged to the independent chiefs in former times, as for example the punishment of offenders by fine or otherwise, but he may with the acquiescence of the parties settle matters of civil disputes.

"The headman is the accredited representative of the section of the tribe or clan residing within a defined location, and as such is in receipt of an allowance which serves as the mark of the recognition by the Government during pleasure. He is responsible for the due carrying out of the location regulations, and is required by various other laws to perform specified duties in respect of affairs within his location. In all these details he reports direct to the magistrate, but in matters arising in his location affecting the tribe as a whole he should also advise the chief, and the responsible representative will see that such matters are disposed of in consultation with the chief.

"It must be recognised that as things are, no definition will serve a useful purpose unless the chief appreciates the fact that it depends most largely upon himself—upon his conduct and general attitude, the interest he takes in his people, and the efforts he makes to promote their welfare—how he stands with the Government.

"At the same time the Minister wishes assure the Council of his sympathy with the representation in the second resolution referred to above regarding the position of the chief who also serves as headman. He can well understand that in such cases action has at times been taken which, without the Government in any way wishing it, gives rise to a soreness of feeling on the part of the chief who is apt to suspect a desire on the part of the Government to ignore his traditions and humiliate him. Such a contingenco should be avoided, and therefore within the limits allowed by the authorised provision Government is prepared to accept the sense of the second resolution, and wherever practicable correct anomalies by appointing sub-headmen upon whom the ordinary responsibilities of headman would rest."

The question of the application of the principle here laid down is receiving consideration."

VIEWS OF SIR HESKETH BELL AND SIR WILLIAM GEARY.

Continuing the discussion in the British press on the liquor question of West Africa, Sir Hesketh Bell, a former Governor of Northern Nigeria, who has also served at the Gold Coast, remarks in a letter to the "Times":—

Those who are giving attention to this question may perhaps be interested to note how a similar problem, but of course on a far smaller scale, was dealt with in Mauritius a few years ago. Owing to great rise in the value of the Colony's chief production, sugar, wages rose to an unprecedented extent, and the labouring population found itself in possession of much money. A great deal of this was spent in drink. Drunkenness increased to an appalling extent among the Indians and Creoles, and even the women and children were becoming affected. The Legislature decided that, despite the interests of the distilleries, strong measures were required. The duties on spirits were heavily increased and the number of licensed premises was so largely diminished that a man wishing to have a drink would have to go a considerable distance to get it. In addition to these measures, the Government decided to reduce very substantially the degree of strength at which liquor could legally be sold. This proviso had an immense effect, and its beneficial results immediately became apparent. The seeker after intoxication soon found that the enhanced price of the weakened liquor rendered it impossible for him to secure the state desired, and he had no alternative but to accept the situation. The degree of drunkenness which had become so frequent among the labouring classes in the island was immediately reduced, and the consumption of spirits soon fell back into normal proportions. Much of the money which had been poured into the liquor shops was diverted to the purchase of all sorts of goods, and the loss of revenue, which at first fell on the Government, was soon more than recouped by the increase of Customs receipts on general imports.

May it not be possible to apply the same measures to West Africa? The amount of revenue accruing to our West African Governments through the liquor traffic is so considerable that any large reduction of such a resource could only be made cautiously and gradually. Any severe shrinkage of revenue would necessarily entail an unfortunate restriction of public expenditure in the direction of progress and development. The revenue derived from Customs receipts on spirits imported into the Gold Coast, for instance, amounts to no less than £800,000 a year, and any serious reduction of that income might put a serious check on the advancement of that progressive territory. It seems probable, however, that the measures taken in recent years by our Governments in Malaya for making good the loss of revenue consequent on the gradual extinction of the trade in opium might be equally applicable in West Africa in regard to a great reduction of revenue from spirits. The financial situation of the Gold Coast, in particular, is now so satisfactory that it should not be difficult to set aside an annual percentage of its revenue for the formation of a fund from which any serious shrinkage of revenue from liquor might gradually be made good.

I believe that most people who are personally acquainted with West Africa will agree with me in thinking that no sufficient reasons have yet been shown for so drastic a measure as prohibition.

THE AFRICAN NO DRUNKARD.

Sir W. N. M. Geary, former Attorney-General of the Gold Coast, says in a letter to the "Daily Mail":—

The Bishop of London urges prohibition in West Africa; but prohibition necessarily involves further taxation of the Black man, already heavily taxed.

Prohibition in West Africa means that sea-borne European spirits are forbidden to be imported. But it would not, and could not, prevent the local manufacture of intoxicants. Palm wine, which any Black man can make from the palm tree, growing everywhere, cultivated or naturally, is, when fermented, highly intoxicating.

But happily the Black man is no drunkard, according to the experience of myself and other "old Coasters," and at Lagos, where every intoxicant is available, the average annual convictions were only 27.

So much for economics; but ethically and morally I would put it to the Bishop, so long as England is not prohibitional, or until at least the clubs, whether West End or Working Men's, pass self-denying rules excluding intoxicants, have we the right to impose prohibition on the Black man, and at his cost? See Matthew xxiii., V. 4.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Mr. Welsh misunderstands me. When I suggested that "to 95 per cent. of the population imported spirits might as well not exist," I referred, as the context shows, to the West Coast generally, though I had in mind the British West African Dependencies. If you take into account Nigeria, with its 20,000,000 inhabitants (average export per head of 17s. per annum) I do not think I am far wrong in stating that only five per cent. of the population are able to indulge in imported spirits at 6s. or more per bottle.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE.

Sir E. Hilton Young on an Essential Need.

The necessity of co-ordinating the interest and efforts of white settlers and of the black native races was emphasised in speeches delivered on Tuesday at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society. The guest of the evening was Sir Hilton Young, who was chairman of the Royal Commission on the Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa, 1927-28. Earl Buxton presided.

Sir Hilton Young, speaking on "The East African Opportunity," urged the necessity of preserving old tribal organisations. Where tribal institutions were still strong they should be maintained, and where they had been broken down they ought to be re-established, to serve as a foundation on which to build a structure of civilisation. While there must be a reservation of sufficient land for the native races, there would always be a great opening for the settlement of white races.

Importance of Black Labour.

In any consideration of the probable future of East Africa it was difficult to imagine how production could ever be carried out without the assistance of black labour, and recognising this from an economic point of view, it was essential to have the relations between the white man and the native established on a satisfactory basis. The matter of outstanding importance was that the two races must, in their respective ways and spheres, co-ordinate their efforts to increase the prosperity of the country. The white races should live together as units, but a too extreme segregation should be avoided. Lieut.-Colonel Lord Francis Scott, speaking as a Kenya settler, insisted that there must be no division between the interests of the white settler and the black races. "We have not," he said, "the slightest desire to oppress the natives; on the contrary we recognise that the prosperity of the country is dependent on the co-operation, on a fair and reasonable basis, of the two races."

Sir Reginald Mant, who was a member of the Commission, stressed the fact that in tropical climates the white settler must always be dependent on the co-operation of the native. Growing sentiments of nationalism must be viewed with sympathy and understanding.

The native point of view was presented by the Hon. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, president of the East Africa Indian National Congress. Indians, he said, had no desire to dominate East Africa, but they were equally unwilling to see themselves dominated by any other race. Indians desired equality and co-operation

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Healdtown Secondary School

The principal and staff of this school deserve congratulations on the excellent results of the Departmental Junior Certificate. In the results recently published this school leads the way among native secondary schools with 16 passes.

Notable features of the results are the high percentage of girls who are able to pass this difficult examination. It is understood that since the school started 15 girls have been presented and that 14 have passed only one failure being recorded. These results show that native girls are adapting themselves excellently to the advantages of secondary education.

Among the pupils who have passed at this school are many pupils who have come straight to the school from Standard VI of primary schools; it is becoming more and more common for pupils to proceed direct to the secondary schools and parents who are afraid that these secondary courses are beyond the capacity of their children should note the passes of such pupils at the recent examinations. In the recent Matriculation results among the passes was to be noticed the name of Gilbert Mtimkulu who passed the examination within four years of passing Standard VI. This pupil also originally passed his Junior Certificate at Healdtown within two years of leaving Standard VI and his further success testifies to the excellent foundation work put in at this secondary school.

Hertzog's "Kaffir State."

2-5-29

The manifesto signed by ministers Hertzog, F. J. Roos and D. G. Malan in denunciation of a supposed "Kaffir State" has left the Natives standing aghast, horrified that a Prime Minister in a British dominion, and a Minister of Native Affairs for the irony of it, should degenerate to the level of the man in the street in expressing himself, whatever dissentient views the Prime Minister and his colleagues held in contrast to Gen. Smuts' version of "a great federation of African States, with South Africa as a foremost state in it." The Natives of South Africa at least expected the observance of a modicum of decency and refinement of language from their father when Native matters entrusted to his high office are under discussion. The use of the objectionable and obsolete word "Kaffir" (obsolete so far as the polished European is concerned) in reference to the aborigines of South Africa, occurs as often as nine times in the notorious manifesto, and it would appear that Gen. Hertzog did not stumble accidentally into the usage of the term. The manifesto is a thoroughly reasoned open letter of vilification of the Native races, and as such the use of the word "Kaffir" cannot be excused. Again, Gen. Smuts towards whom the Premier spits forth vituperation, is not affected by the use of the derisive epithet "Kaffir," and it is therefore safe to assume that the Minister of Native Affairs meant the sting of his uncouth ebullition to hurt the feelings of his proteges. The Cape Natives are aware that they are in odium by reason of their franchise right, and this probably explains the employment of the slum-area term of "Kaffir" in reference to the Xosa race who preponderate in the Cape Province. Otherwise the adoption of the uncivil term "Kaffir" when Basutos, Pondos, Bechuanas and Zulus are referred to would answer only in the Pact's vocabulary of nomenclatures.

To digress from the unsavoury aspect of the Premier's manifesto, it would seem that the Dutch—speaking section of South Africans are conscious of a disconcerting feeling that they are unable to maintain the pace of progress and civilisation ahead of the black races, and that to stem the tide that is fast overcoming them, they have to resort to artificial barriers, even if such barriers—according to Advocate van Hees—mean the perpetration of injustice towards the Native races. The Prime Minister and his colleagues have yet to be disillusioned to the fact that civilisation and evolution are not computed in terms of White and "Kaffir" States, but are the outcome of the development of the heart and mind in the human element, irrespective of nationality.

GARVEYISM.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR, "IMVO"
King Williams Town.

2-5-29

Sir,

I hope it will not be out of place for me to send you the accompanying communication in your widely read paper. The communication is general, and needs to be considered by any convention that is likely to meet before June. It will clear the minds of all about the real intentions and aims of Marcus Garvey. It cannot be disputed that there is a great need of some land in Africa to be granted to African people, and be governed by them as a republic. This is what even our own Prime Minister, General Hertzog, is endeavouring to do but on wrong lines. His true aim by Segregation Policy is to get a separate piece of land however small or bad for our people. I hope the conventions that are to meet after this communication has been well read will consider and ponder over this matter and the best opinion of South Africa will prevail.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

C. NYOMBOLO,

The communication reads :—

57 Castle Road,
West Kensington ;
London. W. 14,
England.

Rev. C. Nyombolo,
Burghersdorp,
Cape Province .
South Africa.

My Dear Mr. Nyombolo,

I trust you have arrived home safely by now. I am now at sea on my way to Canada from which place I am to journey on to my Foreign Head Quarters at Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

I promised that I would write to you relative to our forth coming Sixth Annual International Convention of the Negro peoples of the world. We are to assemble in international convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Community League, in August, 1929 This convention is to be the biggest gathering of Negroes ever brought together in the history of the world for the purpose of once and for all laying out the methods of the solution of the Negro problem Every section where Negroes live will be sending a delegate to this convention. It is for that reason, therefore, that I am asking you to interest yourself with others in your section, Cape Province, to see that a delegate is sent to represent South Africa. The Convention, when assembled in August is to elect twelve delegates to send to the League of Nations to give testimony, and supply information to our friends there who are to present our petition before the League for discussion. As you know, we have presented two petitions to the League, one in 1922, and the other in 1928. It is necessary, therefore, that South Africa be represented at the convention, so that we may send your delegate on to the League of Nations among the twelve to represent us there; as our people are suffering much in South Africa. The twelve men to be sent to the League of Nations will include three from Africa, three from the United States three from the West Indies, and three representing the countries of South and Central America, Canada and Europe. The delegate from your section must be an educated man with a thorough knowledge of the conditions of South Africa. He must be a black man. Try to use your influence with Churches, and other organizations, so that you can send a delegate without any trouble.

The convention is to be held either at Toronto, Canada, or Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I. On my arrival in Canada, on the 2nd November, we are to vote as to whether the convention will be held at Toronto, or Kingston. I shall

arrive in Jamaica late in November, at which time I shall write to you, telling you the definite place of the convention. In the meantime, I am asking you to leave no stone unturned to see that a delegate is sent to the international convention.

Your Obedient Servant,

MARCUS GARVEY.

THOUSANDS OF NATIVES SOLD WEEKLY AT PUBLIC AUCTION

Whole Villages said to be captured and led away in chains by Slave trader's Aides

Children said to be sold by Parents

Trade Is Organized and Spies for the Purpose of Rounding Up Human Chattels Are Scattered Over Districts Where Prey Is to Be Found.

BERLIN, Feb. 20—Astounding declarations concerning an alleged slave trade that is still flourishing in Africa, which British authorities are said to be unable to suppress, has just come to light through an article written by a newspaper correspondent who claims that he received his information, first hand, from a reliable source.

According to his story, slavery is flourishing to the extent that it is not at all unusual to find as many as 5,000 men, women and children bent under the weight of heavy chains, marching across the burning sands of the desert to be sold at auction. He did not state the exact place where his army of human chattels was to be found, but intimated that it was near the Red Sea.

Thousands Sold Each Week

According to the report, there are regular slave markets in Arabia, where each week thousands of natives of the Sudan are sold into slavery. The trade, it seems, is monopolized by powerful Abyssinian families who regard it as their hereditary privilege. These traders, according to the report, have sent out armed expeditions of as many as 100 men to capture human beings to be sold as slaves. These people are shipped across the Red Sea and landed in Southern Arabia.

Capture Whole Villages

The slave trade is said to be well organized. The spies for the traders are distributed all over the Sudan, in the French Somaliland and Italian Eritrea, where the white man is seldom seen. Sometimes the entire population of a village is captured and taken away in chains by armed men.

In some countries, it is said, parents sell their children in order to obtain funds with which to journey to Mecca or in some cas- just to enrich themselves. Good male slaves are said to bring about $400 a piece, women who are strong enough to do a good day's work bring as much as $200 and healthy children bring '100.

Fear of the slave traders is said to be the cause of the apparent lack of effort to stop the illicit slave trade.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

LATEST NEWS BY CABLE.

THE NATIVE BILLS.

Premier Declares that Actual Proposals are only Experimental.

CAPE TOWN, February 18.

General Hertzog, moving the second reading of the Native Representation Bill at a joint Session of both Houses of Parliament this afternoon, said that the white conscience demanded representation for the natives in the three northern provinces of the Union, where at present the natives have no political rights. But the Cape Province system, where natives and whites have a common franchise and are on the same electoral roll, there being no distinction on race or colour for the suffrage, could not be allowed to continue. General Hertzog insisted that the actual proposals in the Bill were "experimental," and he was not bound to them. "If (he said) Parliament thinks there is a better method, let it be brought forward."

Note of Hesitation.

This note of hesitation about the terms of the Bill was marked in General Hertzog's speech. It is probably a reaction from the reluctance of many of his followers to see the principle of the native vote extended to the three northern provinces, however shadowy may be the form of representation proposed. General Smuts seized on this hesitancy as indicating the undesirability of attempting to pass the Bill so soon before a General Election. He moved an amendment that the Bill be sent to a commission and be not further proceeded with in the joint Session.

The defeat of the Bill at the third reading seems certain, though the Smuts amendment will probably be lost, unless General Hertzog accepts it, of which there is a remote possibility.—"The Times."

*** As the Native Representation Bill at present stands, it is proposed that in the Cape Provinces five constituencies should be created in which natives alone would vote, the candidates elected to represent them being Europeans. In Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal natives who fulfilled certain requirements would be given the franchise, and each province would elect one European to represent their interests in the Union Parliament. This Bill applies to natives only; for coloured persons General Hertzog has another franchise Bill conceived on more generous lines.

NO EQUALITY WITH WHITES.

CAPE TOWN, February 18.

General Hertzog, at the joint sitting, emphatically declined to agree to the suggestion to give natives absolute equality with whites.

"This will only happen," he said, "if the whites are prepared to pack their bundles and depart from the country. The native must be told that what he asks is impossible. It must be stated that the white man is determined to govern South Africa, and it must be realised that in time 6,000,000 of natives can produce three times as many educated natives as there are whites."

General Hertzog issued a warning against the spread of Communism among natives, which meant that, if the natives were given equal rights, a representative might be Communistic. Unless they tackled the question immediately, in a hundred years the native would have the majority of representation in Parliament.—Exchange Telegraph.

THROUGH COMMITTEE STAGE.

CAPE TOWN, Feb. 20.

The Native Parliamentary Representation Bill passed through the Commitee stage today after numerous divisions. The Government majority ranged from eight to twelve.

General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, subsequently moved the second reading of the Coloured People's Rights Bill. This provides that the coloured people outside the Cape Province shall have one representative in the House of Assembly, constitutes a board to compile a register of coloured people, including those in the Cape Province, and lays down a separate roll for coloured voters.

The debate was adjourned until to-morrow.—Reuter.

MAJORITY OF 12.

CAPE TOWN, February 19.

A joint sitting of the two Houses to-day passed the second reading of the Natives Parliamentary Representation Bill by 80 votes against 68.

General Hertzog, replying to questions, intimated that he was prepared to insert safeguards for the natives.—Reuter.

*** As a two-thirds majority of the two Houses of the Legislature, sitting jointly, is required for the third reading of the measure, it seems evident from the figures of the voting on the second reading that defeat awaits the Bill at the next stage of its career, thus leaving the issue for the decision of the electors at the forthcoming elections.

African Women as Home Workers.

(Contributed).

For several years a very successful course in Domestic Science has been carried on at Lovedale as an alternative to a teachers training. This course includes instruction in Cookery, Laundrywork, Housewifery, Needlework and, indeed, everything in connection with home life. The aim of the course which has been fully justfied may be defined as follows: Firstly: To educate the girls to be true home workers and a real help in the uplifting of their people. Secondly: To give them a training that will enable them to earn their own living in domestic service of the best type until they may settle in homes of their own.

Thirdly: At present the demand for Native Nurses is greater than the supply and this training as it provides the necessary back ground is accepted as an entrance to the Hospital Course. Every year the girls finishing have found no difficulty in making use of their training along these lines. The necessary qualification for the entrance is Standard VI. as otherwise they cannot be profitably from the instruction given. The very variety of the Course makes it healthy and happy, and in addition, the girls have all the advantages of the companionship, games and general education only to be obtained in such a Institution as Lovedale.

Faku Institute.

Faku Institution, Emfurdisweni, is steadily developing. Progress has been made in the last two years on the Industrial side. The Building Department opened last year is proving popular and is doing good work. A fine block comprising new dormitories for girls is fast approaching completion. The building has been erected by the apprentices with their Instructor and is a credit to them. The dormitories will be ready for occupation next term. Parents in the Territories who intend to send their children to Training School next year, should not overlook the claims of this growing Institution within their borders. The successes obtained in recent years in the Departments Examinations speak well for the work done by the teaching staff.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

NATIVE RACES IN BRITISH AFRICA—POND OR FREE?

Weekly News

[The news is published this week that in South Africa the party headed by General Hertzog has won the General Election, though there had been strong hopes that the party led by General Smuts, made up of the more progressive-minded of the British and Dutch-descended elements, and, unlike the Hertzog party, rejecting what is known as "Colour Bar" policies, would succeed. The problem involved raises issues which interest all concerned for the future of Africa. It is discussed in the following article by an Englishman who has lived many years in Africa, and many of the views he expresses, especially upon African standards of living and needs, will be discussed with interest in tropical Africa by members of both races.]

I.—POLITICAL.

7-28-29

At the root of our attitude towards the Native African Races there lies the inherited instinct of helotry. We are not slaves and have no wish to be, but the principles of the past have entered into our very being and coloured our outlook. When we remember that to strong and enterprising peoples slavery of weaker races has been a ruling principle and recognise that we have an inherent instinct for preserving the strength of the strong, we can see that it is almost impossible, except for the idealist, to rise above this instinct when brought into contact with weaker races. This age-long process in the development of civilisation has left an inheritance of almost invincible prejudice.

Freetown Sierra Leone

Perhaps the worst offenders in this respect are the South African Boers. They "trekked" largely because of the manumission of their slaves, and isolating themselves lost the trend of modern thought. In their forty years of wandering in the wilderness they came into constant conflict with crafty savages, greasy, unclothed baroarians alien in every way to themselves. As students of the Old Testament (they had no other literature but the Bible) they imagined themselves as a chosen people going into a promised land. And what more natural than that they should consider the savages as the descendants of Ham, designed by the Almighty to be for ever "hewers of wood and drawers of water"? Many of the British settlers have adopted this view. Of course, there are many who have been educated out of it: but the Government depends upon the popular vote. It makes the South African Native policy a most unsound guide for the rest of Africa.

And the policy has proved a failure. This is made patent by the Native problem being more acute than ever and by the fact that all sorts of extraordinary methods are proposed for its solution. One of these is local self-government, not meant to bring them into the wider citizenship, but to establish councils, under White supervision, for the management of their own affairs when those affairs do not impinge on the White-man's privileges. There are a large number of natives who, under a law of the old Cape Colonial Government, have the franchise, and it is proposed to take this away so that there may be uniform local councils throughout the Union.

Then there is segregation. The present Prime Minister of the Union propounded that, some fifteen years ago, as a panacea for all the Native difficulties. Divide the country into separate parts: one for colonisation, the other for Native occupation, so that they may develop in their own way and rule themselves: Splendid!—but impossible. Two important Commissions have attempted to delineate boundaries, and their conclusions have given grave dissatisfaction to both parties: the Natives and their friends know that proposed lands are inadequate both as regards area and position; and the Whites are not relinquishing any they hold, and certainly not more. The labour market—farms, households and mines—fear unsettlement, and the civilised Native will never go back to barbarous conditions. It means, however, no real independence for the Natives, no more than isolating them in ringed reserves where they can be controlled *en masse*. So far the result has been that they have been deprived of the power to purchase and possess landed property, tenant rights have been taken away and a measure of compulsory labour imposed. There is, and probably always will be, partial segregation; reserves where Natives pay allegiance to their Chiefs, and locations. But more and more the Natives are leaving these, mingling with the Whites, taking up civilised avocations—even—professions—and often surpassing, in intelligence and enterprise, many of the Whites, and it is for these we are primarily concerned when we discuss the question of political rights.

Then there is the attitude taken up by the missionaries and those who think with them. The heads of religious denominations have made their opinions known again and again, and have been told by politicians to mind their own business, which is that of morals, not politics—probably politics have no morals. Missionaries naturally aim at the ideal, and at present take their stand on Cecil Rhodes's slogan: "Equal rights for all civilised people, irrespective of race or colour," and advocate the extension of the Cape Colonial franchise throughout the Union. To grant this at the present time and under existing circumstances would not materially affect the situation, but let it be granted and the situation would be changed tremendously. Civilised Natives are comparatively few, and must remain few while the avenues to progress are barred; but remove the repressions then progress will be so rapid that, before long civilised Natives will outnumber the Whites. To give them an equal share in the government of the country would bring about a condition where Black rules White. In the Cape Colony – the only territory of the Union where Natives are voters—the "blanket" vote (as it is called) is a vexation, a survival of the old British policy that turned the Boers into Voortrekkers. This vote is in some constituencies overwhelming, in others it turns the scale, and competing candidates for parliamentary honours have to play up to it, to the detriment of Colonial interests. It is considered so vexatious that the agitation for the disenfranchisement of the Natives is very strong, and if the advocacy of the missionaries should succeed so that similar conditions prevailed throughout the Union the situation would be intolerable.

But the African has the right to be regarded as a man. When he emerges from savagery and reaches the civilised plane he ought to be treated as a civilised person. And when he has become a British subject, equally with ourselves. we have no right to debar him from the rights and privileges of citizenship.—*West Africa* June 22.

A NEW CONCEPT OF AFRICAN PROGRESS.

"MEN are so like one another under their skins that few now doubt the origin of surviving types of men from one ancestral group that was already human." West Africa

These, the words in which Prof. K. J. Fleure, Professor of Geography and Anthropology at the University College of Wales, opens his arresting article on "The Races of Mankind" in the August "Realist," mark a definite base on which a survey of *surviving* races may be founded for it avoids all unfruitful discussion on the origin of man, and leads one at once to consider, scientifically, the evolution of modern varieties (they are nothing more) of man from a single type originating, Prof. Fleure thinks, in North Africa, when the Sahara was green, and when there was still a land bridge connecting Sicily, Europe, and Africa. Drifting through a moist Arabia, through a land watered by the melting ice of Central Asia, and along a Sumatra-Borneo peninsula, man reached Australia, while in another direction, and taking advantage of a pluvial period, he braved the then desert land south of the Sahara and reached other parts of Africa. It is interesting to think that, were it possible to place the whole of the "continental drift" imagined by Wegener within the span of human history on this planet, a very similar dispersion of the race might have occurred by means even simpler than voluntary migration.

8-24-29

The word "race" is hardly necessary in Prof. Fleure's outlook on humanity, for all the differences of height, pigmentation, shape of skull, and features may be accounted for as adaptations of the human organism to its environment. A moderate degree of pigmentation, for instance, is necessary if high solar radiation and temperature is to be supported, and the connection of the European with the brown races has been shown by Shaxby, for we still retain the traces of brown pigmentation in our skin. On the other hand, darkness of skin is often connected with dryness of climate, but in some parts of West Africa the normal humidity has encouraged in the skin of the inhabitants a marvellous development of the small superficial blood-vessels, while other aids to the radiation of body-heat are the relative absence of body-hair and the existence of large sweat-glands, with oil-secreting cells that keep the skin, which has not the dead layer of Europe, in a pliable condition. This fact, mentioned by Prof. Fleure, was of great interest to the present writer, who has constantly heard pidgin-speaking Africans complain that they "no get 'trong skin like White man," while his statement that this specialised system of blood-vessels seems to be associated with a marked power of resistance to numerous diseases reminds one that an African's account of his symptoms, even when diagnosis proves his complaint to be an internal one, is often that "all my skin go humbug me."

But this is wandering somewhat from the subject! Prof. Fleure goes on to show that features are partly the result of adaptation to environment, and even the cranial index, that fetish of many an anthropologist, may. it is thought. be deeply influenced by so simple a matter as diet, leading to a development of the jaw muscles, which in their turn act upon the skull already proved by the research of Brash to react by growth to external stresses or stimuli. (West Africa affords examples in the "corrugated" skulls of many of its professional carriers of a non-hereditary form of such adaptation.) As a result, it will be somewhat lowering to the pride of many to hear that the longest type of head, which is widely scattered over the earth, may be an indication, not of superior acumen, but of an ancestral habit of tearing tough food with the teeth. In the space available, Prof. Fleure has had little opportunity to develop the many lines of investigation that this possibility opens up, but he mentions one,—the domestication of animals following the rise of cultivation,—which meant an improvement in already more settled homes, more protection for infancy, and, in the provision of a milk supply, a postponement of the day when tough food must be tackled. He adds: "This liberation from early constraints, and the prolongation of youth, the increase of parental care, are probably the leading facts of history, or would be if history were written with deeper insight."

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

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In that he indicates the truth,—the roots of all human history are in an unconscious physical adaptation to environment, and in the growth of conscious control of that environment, and, as with all else in Nature, these are constantly changing. It may be well for our respect for others to realise that, considered purely as a physical organism adapted to his environment, the African, who is farther than we are climatically from the belt in which our common ancestors originated, has had to progress farther than we have, and that his backwardness, as measured by our standards, is almost certainly the result of such external forces as climate, deficiency diseases, and the like

Some of his disadvantages will be overcome artificially,—better means of transport, for instance, will bring him the food substances that his land lacks,—and others will be overcome naturally, as we are overcoming those of our civilisation, by physical reactions to new conditions and the evolution of new racial characteristics. The proper relation of the European to the African, therefore, is not that of a superior being to an inferior, but of a tourist who, walking round one side of a hill, has by accident found an easier path than his friend who agreed to go round the other side, and has consequently had time to spare for the study of the conditions ahead.

A NEW CONCEPT OF AFRICAN PROGRESS.

MEN are so like one another under their skins that few now doubt the origin of surviving types of men from one ancestral group that

Self—Government for Natives.

At the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (London) Mr. C R Buxon, M.P, dwelt on the clash of ideals as expressed on the one hand by the Southern Rhodesian Land Bill and other by the British Administration in West Africa. He said that, according to the first school, land would be mainly owned by whites, and Natives would be mainly wage earners, while, according to the second, the native would be allowed to develop the resources of the territories as an independent producer. A great effort was being made to extend the South African policy through Rhodesia to Kenya, and if this was allowed the general trend of development of their African Empire would be vitally altered for the worse. The true ideal was not the parental government of Natives, but self-government.

Colonel Wedgwood said that Southern Rhodesian land legislation for the first time embodied the principle that the African could not own land in his own country, except in Native reserves. The British Government could not interfere in South Africa, but they had a constitutional right to veto legislation in British territory which differentiated between white and black.

CAUSES OF NATIVE UNREST.

On several previous occasions we have sounded a note of warning in these columns by giving publicity to matters in the administration of the Native races that constituted serious grievances. In support of our contention, the "Daily Dispatch" of the 15th inst. commenting sub editorially on the Durban riots says: "This evidence, given as it is by two responsible officials, is disquieting, and should be given the fullest consideration—as no doubt will be the case. The present Government's native policy is not one which is likely to make for native contentment, and if Communism is allowed to raise its head amongst already dissatisfied natives, the result will be serious." 7-30-29

The Glen Grey system of land tenure that the Government is feverishly introducing in Native areas held under quit-rent and freehold tenure (the regulations for changes in both have been gazetted) is causing grave concern among our people, and our repeated representations for slow progress, and consideration of the Native point of view have been ignored. It will be seen from the article in this impression headed "Cape Native Franchise," that the Glen Grey Act 1894 definitely aimed at solving the question of Native land tenure, and depriving Natives of the land ownership rights whereby Natives may be enabled to become voters. Now, under the guise of the Native Administration Act, Natives who actually own land by freehold occupation are asked to adopt the suicidal course of the Glen Grey system.

Yet another cause of Native unrest has been clearly shown in the considered Supreme Court judgment (Grahamstown) in the Bunting appeal. "After stating the circumstances leading up to the prosecution the Court examined the nature of the charge, and said it was remarkable that in a Statute devoted to the control of Native Affairs, a section should occur of this drastic character if the object was not to stifle fair comment." We strenuously but unsuccessfully opposed this enactment during the discussions on it in parliament; and now that the judges have denounced this one-sided Sedition Clause,—one-sided because it is used practically against Native agitators only, and not against the invective often indulged in by Ministers of the Crown against loyal Natives, we trust that the new parliament will delete the clause.

CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE.

From the "Daily Dispatch".—Writing in "De Volkstem" today on the native policy of 'Onse Jan' Hofmeyr, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr who compiled the biography of his uncle, says that the native question is always with us. During the past month it was constantly under attention, and doubtless there are many who are likely to be interested in the views of one of the greatest of South African statesmen, in 'Onse Jan." 7-30-29

Mr. Hofmeyr makes it quite clear that he is writing from the historical facts, and not from any political party point of view. He leaves the conclusion to his readers, with the warning that it may not be always wise to lay down that the policy which "Onse Jan" pleaded for in the Cape forty years ago is today applicable to the Union as a whole.

Mr. Hofmeyr deals with the history of the native vote from the date of the annexation of the Transkei, and the qualification in 1854, when any British subject in the Cape Colony could vote if 21 years of age and if resident in an immovable property of £25 value or if earning a salary of £50 a year. There was no educational qualification whatever. This decision was made when the native people in the Colony were small in numbers as most of the districts where the native vote is now in the majority were not then incorporated in the Colony.

The native population increased rapidly in districts such as King Williamstown, Queenstown, Wodehouse and Aliwal, and in 1886 was almost as large and as important a question as it is today.

In 1886 the qualification was raised by personal ownership of property, instead of a residential qualification as previously, and the number of native voters diminished. "Onse Jan" looked upon this merely as a temporary solution. What he regarded as a permanent solution of the question was suggested in 1891, when he acted in the closest co-operation with Rhodes, then Prime Minister. In a speech in the Lower House he made it perfectly clear that in principle he had nothing against the exercise of the vote by the natives. He objected to the low voting qualifications, which involved the danger of the white population being swamped by the mass of civilised natives. It was not so much the native vote as the uncivilised native vote that he objected to. The same qualifications as in the past would give to the whites as well as the natives the right to one vote.

In addition to this, and this was the kernel of his proposal, he wanted every voter, white or coloured, with either a higher property qualification than the usual or a special educational qualification, as for instance the matriculation certificate, to be granted an additional vote.

Although this proposal received great support it never became law, but it had the result that in 1892 Rhodes introduced a Bill in conjunction with "Onse Jan" by which the property qualification was raised from £25 to £75, and it was required that every voter should be able to sign his name. The Bill was made law. By this measure the growth of the native vote was retarded. It was largely due to this Hofmeyr-Rhodes law that, in 1929, the increase of the native vote was comparatively small as compared with 1886

In connection with the Glen Grey law of 1894, the co operation between Hofmeyr and Rhodes also yielded good results, and an important clause for which "Onse Jan" was responsible is usually lost sight of. The main object of the law was to solve the question of the native land ownership. It was deemed advisable to grant this, but it was circumscribed in such a way that the native could not sell his rights to the white man. As a result of that legislation, such property rights could not be regarded as a qualification for the vote. As this Glen Grey system was made applicable to a very large portion of the Transkei, the particular clause in question assisted considerably in retarding the growth of the native franchise.

"Onse Jan," says Mr. Hofmeyr, "was never in favour of extending the native franchise to other portions of South Africa. But as far as the Cape Colony was concerned, he never went so far as to plead for the abolition of the native vote. He even defended the native franchise in the Cape."

Finally, Mr Hofmeyr stresses two points; firstly, that 'Onse Jan" did a great deal to limit the extension of the political rights of the native in the Cape. Had he not done so, the number of native voters would have been four or five times as big as it is today, and yet he had always managed to retain the goodwill of the natives. Where is in the interests of the community as a whole to reduce the political rights of the native, it is not possible to do so without losing the goodwill of the native.

Secondly, in the whole history the Cape Colony, there has never been so much progress in the way of solution of the native question as in the years 1890 1895 "These were the years of the closest co-operation between Hofmeyr and Rhodes. Is not only the co-operation of the white population the best basis for our native policy

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Africa

NIGERIA LETTER.

Lagos Town Planning.

The passage of the Lagos Town Planning Ordinance through the Legislative Council gave unofficial members opportunities to prove that their presence in the Chamber, even in face of an official majority, was of great value in securing modifications. As passed, the Act provides for an Executive Development Board, to be financed by a town-planning rate and various fees and fines. The membership is to be the Commissioner of Lands, the Deputy Director of Sanitary Services, an Assistant Director of Public Works, and two persons nominated by the Governor, while the Board has power to co-opt other members. The functions given to it include the control of insanitary buildings, and wide powers to acquire land and to redistribute it according to an approved scheme. In this respect it is worth noting that the Board can convey freeholds, so that there need be none of the injustice of offering long leases in return for the acquisition of freeholds, as at Yaba. Yaba, by the way, was the subject of an inquiry in the Council and it was ascertained that only 35 applications for plots had been received, and in no case had the applicant gone so far as to complete the transaction. But whether the congestion of Lagos is to be partly solved by a move to Yaba or not, the health problem of the town will remain, and, judging from the ill-success of the de-rating efforts, nothing but a series of bold schemes of replanning will bring immunity from plague and other diseases of overcrowding.

The Egba Dyeing Industry.

It is a long time since conditions in the dyeing industry of Abeokuta began to cause anxiety, but the latest meeting between all interested in the trade seems to have led to the taking of a forward step. The chief difficulties have been the introduction of a cheaper and easier, but inferior, process of dyeing, in which caustic soda is used, on the one hand, and, on the other, of a reduction from six months to 25 days in the period of credit allowed by the firms supplying the undyed cloth. The second difficulty does not seem to be a serious one, but the production of poorly dyed cloths for export has harmed the trade, and cases were quoted in which exports to the Gold Coast could only be sold at a loss of 75%, exclusive of carriage. It is hoped to restore production to its normal quality by the institution of a committee with powers to carry out comparative tests in methods of dyeing, and able also to test candidates for admission to the craft. The general regulation of industry will be largely in the hands of head-women appointed to supervise it, with the Native Administration police to help in market control, and it is hoped that these measures, with a definite understanding among the dyers as to selling prices, will prove as valuable to the dyeing industry as the examination of produce has proved in agriculture.

The Finances of Lagos.

A period when an extensive scheme of replanning is being considered would hardly seem to be the best at which to seek some method of making Lagos financially independent of Government aid, but that is what is being done at the moment, and the Colonial Treasurer and Messrs. E. O. Moore and W. F. Becker, who are appointed to the Committee of Inquiry, have a difficult task. An extension of the rateable area might bring in more revenue, especially with a more strict valuation of Government property, but this would bring added burdens of expenditure. West African are unlike other great towns in that they own few revenue producing municipal services, for their lighting, water, and harbour facilities have been provided and worked by the Government, and consequently, any estimate of the ability of a municipality to manage such tasks profitably can be little better than a guess. One thing is certain, that Lagos cannot even supply her own needs in sanitation and public health without some addition to her revenues, and it will be hard to obtain further funds by direct local taxation.

In the British Isles a yardage of all-concrete roadway equivalent to 217 miles was laid during the past 12 months constituting a " record " for any individual year. Increased mileage figures, indeed, are reported from all parts of the world.

H.M.S. Canberra, of the Australian Navy, visited Freetown on December 17, and the personnel was accorded a warm welcome and entertained with sports, dancing, and excursions to local beauty-spots.

The Ga Manche was constitutionally suspended on December 8 pending an inquiry into charges not yet published. The Chief did not attend the place of meeting outside Accra, but sent a medical certificate. The Gbese Manche has been appointed to act in his place.

We Can All Be Clocks At Will.

Monsieur L. Dugas, in his book " La Psychologie et La Vie," discusses the question of voluntary awakening at an hour previously fixed. He says that all should be able to do this, for since we all carry within us the regular pulsation of vital processes we are all human clocks, although only a few have the will to tell the time by their own internal rhythms.

" The fact is that ability to write has enfeebled our memories to a singular degree. Clocks have similarly given a blow to the time-sense. We have not all lost our native faculties in equal degree. Some allow time to pass without any direct appreciation of it. Others have a time-sense that never leaves them; it forms part of their lives; for them, time is not an inactive or abstract scale of duration into which events intrude; it is itself an occurrence, a concrete datum recorded by consciousness, an element of the ego. A man having this time-sense awakes in the middle of the night: he says, ' It must be four o'clock.' He consults his watch; it is 4.20. The same when unexpectedly asked the time, during a walk, will say, ' six o'clock,' when it is 5.58. He should be able, and in fact he is able, to wake at any stated hour. One who has this ability tells me that he sleeps quietly and normally, but that is not always the case. Most of them say that training is necessary, and that the power is lost if not exercised."

Detecting Presence of Icebergs.

Many interesting facts on sound waves and their uses were disclosed by Mr. Alexander Wood in a lecture to the Institution of Electrical Engineers.

The ear, he said, was a sensitive instrument, and fog sirens were powerful sources of sound, yet in some cases they ceased to be audible at unexpectedly short distances, due to atmospheric conditions which affected audibility of distant sound. The most important were a lack of homogeneity in the atmosphere, the variation of temperature with height above ground, and the variation of wind velocity with height above ground.

Passing to signalling in water, Mr. Wood explained the British Admiralty method of " echo sounding " by producing a sound at the surface and timing the return of the echo from the sea bottom, and then referred to the difficulty of getting a beam of sound which would not spread in all directions like the beam of light from a head-lamp or search-light. This was due to the large dimensions of sound waves compared with the extremely small dimensions of light waves. By using extremely rapid oscillations of a quartz plate, produced electrically, Professor Langevin, of Paris, had produced sound waves in water which had a wave length of only a few millimetres. These could be emitted as a beam, and as the energy did not spread the reflection from a comparatively small object could be detected. These ultrasonic waves, which were far above the limits of audibility, could be used for echo sounding. The possibility of using them for the detection of icebergs was also outlined.

The Freetown Regatta.

In spite of the strenuous efforts made throughout the Colony by the organisers of the Freetown Regatta, it was found impossible to hold this event on New Year's Day, after all. Sir J. A. Byrne met a deputation of the chief workers in the matter, and while his interest showed no diminution, he advised them to wait until more of their promises of support had been realised, as the prize list and probable expenses were not covered in hard cash. The regatta was accordingly postponed until Easter, and, in the meantime, Mr. E. H. Cummings, M.B.E., J.P., has been appointed hon. treasurer to the fund. Although the half-hearted support given by the public is disappointing, the organisers show no signs of being beaten.

Slave Race Of Belgian Congo In Desperate Plight From Famine

Advertiser

KAMPALA, UGANDA, BRITISH EAST AFRICA, April 7—(AP)—The teeming population of the Bahutis, a slave race in the Belgian Congo, is in desperate plight from famine brought about by drouth and inefficient cultivation of land. Thousands have perished from hunger and disease which follows in its wake.

Under a long-standing feudal system the Bahutis are subjects of the Batusi, or ruling people. The dominent Batusis who own heard of cows, care little for the welfare of their slaves.

The Bahutis now are virtually without food either purchasable or grown. The situation had steadily grown worse since the drought of August, 1927, and there has been little rain since.

Belgian food distributing centers at Rukira, Gatsibu and Kigali and three other places have been unable to cope with the relief problem because of difficulties in transportation by porterage and the lack of roads.

Emaciated and hungry, the Serfs since November have been growing more and more desperate. Forced to choose between a long trek in search of food or a slow death they began migrating into the Uganda territory, which is under British control.

In December the Uganda government pleading necessity to conserve its own supplies, prohibited the sale or passage of food to the famine area.

Thus the foodless natives are shut in the trap of starvation with little hope of salvation. The ravenous population is hemmed by the Tagera River in the north and east and barred by Uganda on the north. Food imported from the west is almost all bought up by the Belgian government and the mines.

It is estimated that some 50,000 desperate Bahutis passed through Mbarara in the Uganda region, the route of the trek being littered with corpses.

Women and children lie helpless in the roads at night and sometimes fall victim to hyneas or lions, which are more prevalent as though attracted by the abundance of helpless people. Another crying need is medical attention.

DEMOCRAT
Pulaski, N.Y.
MAR 20 1929

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGRO VOTE

(Christian Herald)

The Union of South Africa—its business, social, and political affairs—is run by the white man. But the population is not, in majority, white. There are some 1,512,000 whites and nearly 5,500,000 inhabitants of non-European blood, which means Indian (160,000); colored (that is, mixed blood); and negro. But the whites themselves are not united. They are divided about fifty-fifty between those of Dutch and of British extraction. And between the Dutch—whose memories go back to the Boer War—and the British, the feeling is none too cordial.

The Dutch (the Nationalist) party in South Africa is led by the present Premier General Hertzog. It represents a policy of native repression. General Hertzog proposes to "keep Africa white" and to that end introduced a series of bills limiting the political rights of Africans and Indians. Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, leader of the opposition South Africa party, brought about the defeat of these measures and has called upon General Hertzog to submit the problems of the native vote to the mature deliberations of experts who can be brought into conference. So far Hertzog has refused this plea and an election is looming with race as the major issue.

AFRICAN STUDENTS V. AFROASIANS.

FOOTBALL AND FRIENDSHIP.—A. AND E.T.C. AND LONDON-AFRICAN STUDENTS' TEAMS' PLEASANT GATHERING.

[By a Special Representative.]

The annual football match between African students resident in London, and the Afroasians (African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Ltd.) was played at Alperton last Saturday and resulted in a win for the Afroasians by five goals to four.

The match was played in glorious sunshine, but the recent thaw had made the playing pitch extremely slippery, with the result that the players had great difficulty in keeping their feet. Considering the conditions, however, a fast, clean, and decidedly sporting match was witnessed. From the kick-off, the Afroasians worked their way towards the students' goal, but the ball was punted into touch. A free kick for a foul throw-in saw the Afroasians take the lead, Fergusson, who seemed to be standing in an off-side position, scoring.

This early reverse had the effect of making the students put more energy into their attack. Ribeiro, at outside-left, who was a thorn in the Afroasians' defence, made a sparkling run down the wing, only to see his centre placed over the bar by Lewis. From a corner kick, nicely placed by Ribeiro, the students equalised, through Patrick. The Afroasians fought back determinedly, but could make no impression on the students' defence.

The students then went ahead. From a corner taken by Doherty Ribeiro dashed in from the opposite wing and placed the ball well out of the reach of Guy. The students continued to monopolise the play and went still further ahead, when Patrick secured some 20 yards out, and with a beautiful left-foot drive had Guy helpless.

It now looked as if the students would overwhelm the Afroasians, and Guy was called upon to save some stinging drives from the Africans' forwards. After a period of mid-field play the Afroasians were awarded a penalty kick. McShine, however, was equal to the occasion; getting down to Burrington's drive in spectacular fashion he grasped the ball firmly and cleared.

The Afroasians, however, were now having more of the play and reduced the students' lead, through Scott. Here again it looked as if he were in an off-side position, but the referee decided otherwise. It was evident that the students' were out of training, and the Afroasians now took up the running. However, half-time arrived with the Africans leading by three goals to two.

Shortly after resumption Fergusson brought the scores level. The game continued on even lines, when from a breakaway the students again went ahead. Lewis secured, and tricking the opposing defence crashed the ball into the net. The Afroasians equalised, Burrington scoring from a penalty kick for an infringement of the rules by one of the students.

The play was now ding-dong, each side striving desperately. Ribeiro and Lewis combined cleverly, and more than once it looked as if the Afroasians' goal would fall. Guy, however, kept his citadel intact.

The light was now failing, and a draw seemed inevitable, but in the closing minutes the Afroasians scored the winning goal, when Wood placed the ball well out of the reach of McShine. The Africans fought back doggedly, but their earlier efforts had taken their toll, and the Afroasians were able to keep them out.

On the run of play a draw would have been about a fitting result; but the superior stamina of the Afroasians enabled them to win.

The students were handicapped in not having played together before, but they put up a stern struggle. Ribeiro at outside-left and Patrick at centre-forward were the outstanding players for the students, and more success would have attended their efforts if their colleagues had taken advantage of their passes. The Afroasians' forwards were a long time settling down, mainly due to the spoiling tactics adopted by the students. Once they were in their stride they combined well. Guy in goal did good work, and frustrated many of the students' efforts to find the net.

After the match tea was provided in an adjoining canteen and was followed by an impromptu concert and musical entertainment. Messrs. Stavelley, Harris and Pollard contributed for the students, and Messrs. Miller, Evans, Bonney and Master Fife for the Afroasians. Each artist met with unstinted applause, and all are to be congratulated upon their efforts.

In concluding the evening's entertainment Mr. Patrick, in a few well-chosen words, expressed the students' appreciation of the action of the Afroasians in giving them a match each year, and also of the tea and entertainment which followed. He went on to say that such meetings created a feeling of good fellowship between Africans and Europeans, and Mr. Jeffree, of the Afroasian management committee, reciprocated the feeling of good-fellowship expressed, and hoped that next year would produce as keen a game as was played this.

Thus ended a most enjoyable day, and everybody joined in singing "God Save the King." E. R.

[Photographs taken for West Africa at the match will be found on another page, together with the lists of the teams.]

LIQUOR IN WEST AFRICA.

WHAT IS THE LOGIC OF THE SITUATION?

[From a Correspondent.]

Once again the vexed question of imported liquor consumption in West Africa is tickling the public ear. I need not reproduce what readers of West Africa and the "Times" will have already assimilated. The Bishop of Accra urging total prohibition, Sir Hesketh Bell showing, in view of the necessity to replace in some way the huge revenues derived from imported gin, that prohibition is not practical politics and suggesting the alternative of making "liquor weaker, dearer and hard to get"; and, finally, Mr. Killingly Gibbons pointing out that this is practically the goal to which all recent liquor legislation is tending.

Sir Hesketh Bell lays stress on the wide variation in physical and mental characteristics of the peoples of the West African Dependencies. Broadly speaking, he separates the "highly strung and excitable people of the Moslem hinterland," upon whom rigid prohibition is imposed not only by penal law but by personal creed, and the "muscular and rather stolid races of the sea board" who for generations have been accustomed to consume imported spirits, and pleads that in this latter instance there is no need to deprive the African of his gin, though in the former it would be a crime to give it to him. The teetotal Muslim, however, is equally happy and healthy without gin. The present writer recalls an interesting talk with the late Charles Temple on this subject when our speculative fancy would attempt to visualise what the result might have been had Europeans never assumed administrative control in West Africa and the abstaining Muslims of the North had gradually extended their conquest of gin-drinking peoples from Ilorin southward and imposed their tenet of abstinence upon them. That Islam fosters abstinence in conquered peoples is proved by all Arab history and by personal experience in Nigeria. Also that non-drinking tribes eventually dominated the drinkers. Anyone who has followed the subtle and secretive methods of the Muslim missionary in a Pagan village can verify this for himself. One used to speculate whether the Muslim conqueror, if he penetrated into the gin-drinking South, would have been successful in improving abstinence or would have himself succumbed to the lure of alien strong liquor. One is far from suggesting that prohibition would normally result from the Islamisation of the Southern races, but it is a possibility.

In this matter one must face facts. The gin is there and is drunk and will continue to be drunk, however great the difficulties of procuring it. It would be better, of course, both for our prestige as trustees and for the moral benefit of the African, if the latter bought articles calculated to raise his standard of life and comfort instead of gin, but there it is.

With regard to the argument that if the Native is deprived of imported gin he will brew intoxicating liquors on his own account, one may compare the consumption of gin at the funeral customs of the Gold Coast with the seasonal beer drinks of the Nigerian Pagan. Both are ceremonial functions and both generally end in disgusting orgies. But in the case of the Nigerian Pagans there is imposed upon them an economic limitation of liquor manufacture. If they use too large a quantity of their guinea corn or millet in the brewing of beer they endanger their own food supplies for the year and their stock of seed for the next sowing. And this danger is carefully guarded against. The gin drinker of the Gold Coast has not this wholesome limitation and so long as he can afford to buy what the European imports there is no limit to his ceremonial orgies. We may safely allow the Pagan his beer not only on the material ground that supply checks demand but also on the moral ground that he will gradually have higher aims. We may also put on one side the possibility (so often used as a ghastly threat) of vast destruction of palm-trees for the manufacture of palm-wine. No Africans would deliberately destroy trees of economic value *en bloc* for the sake of a drink. It is at variance with their mentality.

There is one serious feature that concerns the maintenance of abstinence among the abstaining Muslim peoples. It is the influx amongst them of Europeans and "non-Natives" (i.e., coloured individuals of alien race) to whom imported liquor is allowed. And in considering the danger of contamination from this source and all the other difficulties facing this great problem of liquor consumption, which is shocking the conscience of most thinkers in England and overseas, Temple came regretfully to the following conclusion:—"If we decide that it is our duty to check the use of alcohol amongst Africans, there is only one measure by which we can, I am convinced, do so effectively. *We must do without alcohol ourselves whilst living in African countries.*" The italics are mine.

This counsel of despair from a great administrator, who was under no illusions as to the facts, may come in usefully at the present moment.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Native Marriages And Succession.

The revolutionary changes that are taking place as a result of the Native Administration Act No 38 of 1927 coming into force are worthy of certain observations, if only for the instruction of the Native mind to the new and far-reaching changes. Native social and legal standards of hundreds of years' establishment are thus undergoing a fundamental metamorphosis, and it is our intention to make explanatory allusions to the different phases of the Act from time to time in the hope of assisting our people to follow the trend of legislation embodied in the lengthy Act and its subordinate maze of regulations.

Dealing with matters of marriages and succession it is noteworthy that this Act came into force on the 1st September, 1928. Before this applied, when Natives were married according to Christian rites in the church or before a magistrate, community of property was established between the spouses, and their estates were administered according to the same law as applied to Europeans. By community of property is meant that the whole of the property of the husband and wife becomes as it were a partnership, and at the death of one spouse the whole of the joint estate after payment of all debts is divided into two equal parts, one of which goes to the survivor, and the other half is divided equally between all the children of the survivor, sons and daughters being treated alike. This law as existed in the past has now been entirely changed by this new Act in connection with future Christian marriages between Natives. The community of property has been abolished unless the two intending spouses at any time within one month previous to the celebration of such marriage declare jointly before any magistrate, native commissioner or marriage officer that it is their intention and desire that community of property shall result from their marriage.

From this it will be seen that if the necessary declaration be made by the intending spouses then and only then will the result be that the surving spouse and children have the same rights as existed before this Act operated. Should however no such declaration be made, then this Act lays it down that such estate shall be administered according to Native law and custom, unless the deceased spouse has disposed of the property by will. Ofcourse the above references only apply to marriages which have taken place or may take place after the 1st September 1927. It therefore behoves the parents of prospective brides to decide before the marriage whether such marriage is to establish community of property or whether such marriage shall follow the usual Native custom, which latter will mean that in the absence of a will, the whole of the property of the deceased husband shall devolve and be dealt with according to Native law and custom, and the eldest son will take charge of everything and the other children will not share in their late father's estate. The Act also lays down that landed property in locations occupied by individual quitrent tenure has by devolution to be inherited by the eldest son, and it would seem that freehold land or farms do not come under this enactment. All matters pertaining to the administration of estates are in the hands of native commissioners; but appeals may be made to the Native Appeal Court. It would appear that the Master of the Supreme Court will be relieved of a large portion of estate sequestration work except where wills have been made. The entire issue of a polygamist is provided for in the distribution of his estate. No wife becomes disinherited merely by reason of her husband marrying one wife according to Christian rights. As a matter of fact the Act compels a man to divide his estate in due proportion for his other wives with whom he had been living in customary union prior to entering into marriage with one wife according to Christian rights. The Transkeian Territories are treated under a law of succession different to that obtaining in the rest of the Cape Province.

STEADY FLOW OF SETTLERS

Rate of Immigration Greater Than Ever.

Rhodesia continues to be a great attraction for the immigrant from overseas and the Union, as the latest statistics prove. During the past twelve months the rate of immigration was greater in every way than that of any previous year, except 1927, which was a record year.

According to official passenger traffic returns, there has been a record increase in the total number of immigrants, visitors, and returning residents for Southern Rhodesia from the Union of South Africa and abroad.

The following is a summary for the two years:—

	1927	1928
Immigrants	5,082	4,918
Returning residents	10,247	11,494
Visitors	18,070	19,721
	33,399	36,133

Of the immigrants, 1,618 were British home-born and 1,994 British South African-born, these being the major figures. When these are compared with those for 1927 the reason for the immigration drop is immediately found, for in 1927 2,144 British home-born immigrants arrived in the Colony. British South Africans, however, continue to arrive in Rhodesia in increasing numbers, 1928 showing an increase over 1927 of about 250.

The increased passenger traffic to Southern Rhodesia during the year was mainly due to the ever-increasing number of tourists who arrive to visit the great scenic attractions the Colony has to offer and to the growing volume of visitors on their way to destinations in adjoining territories. There was also the usual flow of professional men, experts, and skilled artisans to posts in Southern and Northern Rhodesia from the Union and overseas.

A considerable number of visitors found employment in Southern Rhodesia, and elected to remain in the Colony.

NATIVE CRITICISM OF A MINISTERIAL MANIFESTO.

Trade Union Letter to Premier.

JOHANNESBURG, January 31.

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (the native trade union) has written a letter to General Hertzog, Mr. Tielman Roos, and Mr. Pirow expressing indignation at the substance and tone of their recent manifesto, and asserting that, if South Africa had a conscientious Minister of Justice, prosecutions under the Native Administration Act would have followed the issue of the manifesto. The letter says, among other things :—

"The election will have little interest for the majority of our people, because they are voteless; but we look forward to the day when the native peoples will take their rightful share in the election of the Government of the country. When our people understand the meaning of the franchise it is probable that their politics will be proletariat in nature, because the black man is South Africa's proletariat. We hope and trust that increasing knowledge will not be synonymous with the publication of manifestos similar to that conceived and inspired by the present Ministers of Native Affairs, Justice, and the Interior. History will record the document as a direct incitement.' —"The Times"

"Native Races and their Rulers."

The recent untimely death of Mr. C. L. Temple revives interest in the important contribution he made to the study of African mentality in an invaluable book, "Native Races and their Rulers." The work was published privately in South Africa in 1918 for, owing to war-time difficulties, no English publisher could be interested in it. It should be more widely known, and will always be a text-book. On page after page are to be found instances of shrewd diagnosis as invaluable to the administrator of to-day as they were then. It contains illustrations of delicious humour—real portraits with just that *soupçon* of caricature which is sufficient to emphasise the moral of the text. Numberless passages of directness and force are quotable with reference to any situation that may arise in the work of African administration which are just as cogent to-day as they were in 1903. Notable in the author's insistence that the first and the second qualification for a Political Officer is a knowledge of the languages in which the people with whom he has to deal speak, and think. Most notable is his conviction of the latent strength of African leadership, if rightly guided and rightly equipped. He bewailed the waste of energy, character and ability in the Europeanisation of an African. "How infinitely greater," he writes, "would be the services he would render the community, how infinitely greater would be his own contentment, were he filling the post of leader of Native thought and development for which Nature intended him!" It is a book which not only emphasises the high ideal which every sound administrator in Africa should have before

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THE PROGRESS OF FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

[By a Special Correspondent.]

That the progress of recent years in French Equatorial Africa was well maintained in 1928, although it was less rapid than he had hoped for, is a general summary of the position disclosed by M. Antonetti, Governor-General of the group, in his fourth annual address to his Council of Government. The retarding causes, however, were not such as could have been remedied by the Government, for they were chiefly bad health in the country and yellow fever at Matadi, which paralysed trade for the first five months. In addition there had been a poor market for rubber, and trade was further hampered by the high tariff on the Belgian railway, which at present affords the only access to the sea. In spite of these difficulties, the total trade for the first half of the year was 195,000,000 francs, which compared favourably with 309,000,000 for the whole of 1927, and exceeded the total for 1925. It could not be said that instability of currency was the cause of the advance, for the tonnage for the respective periods was 260,835, 401,136, and 280,481.

Financially, the position was satisfactory, and the general reserves, which were only 1¼ million francs in 1924, had risen to over 27,000,000 by the end of 1927, in spite of full programmes of public works. Two of the chief tasks accomplished during the year were the linking up of Duala and Bangui by road, and the clearing of 200 kilometres of the Ubangi River. The road would not settle down for several wet seasons, but it was already of great benefit to commerce. The Metropolis (France) was showing her interest in the efforts of the Colony to develop, by a concession by which no payments in respect of loan services would be exacted until the general revenue exceeded 30,000,000 frs., instead of 20,000,000, as formerly. This figure, however, was likely to be reached in 1929, if all went well, and the total amount budgeted for the year was 90,666,000, divided as follows: General, 29,891,000; special, 2,035,000; Gaboon, 16,250,000; Middle Congo, 17,250,000; Ubangi Shari, 14,240,000; and Chad, 11,000,000.

The construction of the Brazzaville-Ocean Railway was proceeding less rapidly than had been hoped for owing to lack of labour, for the time occupied in travelling, with its preliminary inspections and vaccinations, and subsequent rest, represented a loss of about 650,000 days in Mayumba alone. However, the year's recruiting showed that about 1,000 men had re-engaged for periods of 18 months, but the general skill shown was so poor that M. Antonetti had suggested the use of Asiatic labour, and a trial with 800 men from Indo-China was about to be made. M. Antonetti described the scheme for the port at Pointe Noire, which is to be completed in three stages. The first, estimated to cost 13,000,000 frs. and to take two years, will provide a calm basin of 160,000 square metres, half of it over three metres in depth, with 300 metres of quay, and 25,000 square metres of handling space. The next step will provide a further 2,100 metres of quays, with depths of from four to 12 metres, and warehouse areas of 450,000 square metres, while the third stage will bring in 18 hectares of land and 2,530 metres of quays with depths of five to 15 metres. M. Antonetti added that the possible extension of the port was almost illimitable, a fact of great importance to France in view of the predominant place taken by the Atlantic Ocean in the traffic of the world.

In a short description of the resources of the country he referred to the growing interest in its mineral possibilities, and announced that some of the auriferous areas located in Ubangi-Shari were about to be exploited, while the existence of tin and diamonds had been reported, and a three years' survey of the copper deposits in the basin of the Niari, Middle Congo, had been started.

The principal problem in public health had been, as usual, the struggle against sleeping sickness, which was greatly hampered by the scarcity of doctors. In the first nine months of the year 349,978 persons had been examined, and 15,453 found infected with trypanosomes. Attempts had been made to render "human reservoirs" of the parasites innocuous by treatment with atoxyl, but although this was often successful, it left many patients a danger to the community. With regard to education, there were 50 Government schools in the country, with 2,985 pupils and 29 European teachers, rising to 35 this year. The great difficulty was, as elsewhere, that of training African teachers, but the old monitor system was being reformed, and with the appointment of an Inspector of Education it was hoped that good progress would be made in the near future. The general condition of the people everywhere was good, although one of the problems that had come with more peaceful conditions was the tendency to drift from villages into farms, where it was exceedingly difficult to exercise supervision of any kind. Of actual breaches of the peace there had been few. In the north, there had been three raids from Saharan bandits, and two African "prophets" had arisen in Lai (Chad) and Babua (Middle Congo), promising their followers to drive Europeans out of the country. Except that such disturbances always arose in inaccessible parts of the Colony, there was little difficulty in regulating them, and they were chiefly of importance from the indirect effect they produced on normally peaceful people, encouraging them to think the time opportune for the settlement of private feuds.

NATIVE POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

June Election Issue.

(From our Johannesburg Correspondent.)

General Hertzog failed to secure the requisite two-thirds majority in the joint session of the two Houses of Parliament for a second reading of the bills to abolish the native franchise. General Smuts's amendment to refer the whole question to a special national convention was rejected, but it is important to realise that both the bill and the amendment are merely window-dressing with a view to the general election in June. For neither was there any hope of passing.

General Hertzog is now determined to make his native policy an election issue. The Opposition are concentrating on the proposal of a national convention as at the formation of the Union.

White Farmer Flogged For Injuring Native

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, May 1. —(AP)—For the first time in many years a white farmer was today flogged for injuring a native.

Jack Nafte, who tied a native employe head downwards by the legs from a tree and lashed him so severely that he subsequently died, had already been sentenced to seven years at hard labor. But the judge in passing sentence for the assault, which he described as "horrifying in its details," said that the punishment would not be adequate unless it also included infliction upon Nafte of physical pain.

The cabinet of South Africa decided that it was unable to recommend mercy for Nafte, and the farmer received ten lashes in the Pretoria jail today.

National Congress of British West Africa.

Now that the want of a Central organisation for the representation of our grievances is being felt, all eyes should be turned towards the Congress.

In order to afford an opportunity to all to enroll as members and to popularise the movement, the Local Committee has arranged to hold a series of meetings in the City as follows:—

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH SCHOOLROOM.

On Tuesday, 9th April, at 4 p.m.

Chairman—Hon. E. S. Beoku-Betts, (Vice-President, Congress, Local Section).

Special Speakers—Rev. I. E. C. Steady, B.A., B.D., F. A. Miller, Esq., J.P.

ST. JOHN (Brookfields) SCHOOLROOM

On Monday, 15th April, at 4 p.m.

Chairman—Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright, (Vice-President, Local Section).

Special Speakers—O. J. V. Tuboku-Metzger, LL.B., W. S. Cole, Esq., Water Works Superintendent.

CATHEDRAL SCHOOLROOM.

On Monday, April 22, at, 4 p.m.

Chairman—Hon. A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, (President, Local Section).

Special Speakers—Rev. W. B. Marke, Dr. I. C. Pratt.

All are invited. Collections in aid of the Funds will be taken at the close of every meeting.

To meet the convenience of the Mohammedans, special meetings are being arranged at the Mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay at 2 p.m., on the 12th and 19th instant.

F. A. Miller,
Honorary Secretary.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

NEW NATIVE COURT REGULATIONS.

—

THE New Native Court regulations drafted by the Resident Commissioner on which he has asked the chiefs and the Basuto public to express their opinions against them if they have any objection to any of the clauses and to supplement them where they find it expedient to do so, have been some months in the hands of the people now, and there is no doubt each individual has made a perfect study of them all by this time.

In these laws there is nothing out of the ordinary course to speak so much of. Nevertheless an opportunity is given everybody to improve them the best he can. It does not matter even if he would jettison the whole of them and replace them with the best that he thinks would suit the present day Basuto public. Each individual in the country has been given an opportunity to show off his best legislative faculties. It is not time for the best destructive critics nor is it the hour for the best pessimist. This is time to give best reforms for the safety of the Basutoland chieftainship and the rights belonging to it, and the reforms for the safety of the Basuto public and their interests. The reforms that would restore the people's confidence in their chiefs.

There are many people who attribute sinister motives to the Resident Commissioner for the attempt he has made to arrest the progress of practices of the chiefs and the people which are unquestionably destined to the fall of our chieftainship and the sequential detribalisation of our Basuto nation.

It has been openly stated in public meetings as well as in the press that by the new regulations the Resident Commissioner is aiming at the extinction of the Basuto system of chieftainship. This statement is based on the legal authority given to him by proclamation no. 2 B of 1884, which invests him with powers to appoint chiefs. This is the worst thing that could be imagned by any man who has sense and intelligence to speak of. It is utter foolishness to think the Resident Commissioner has any power to put an end to our system of chieftainship without the aid of the Basuto public, nor would he have attempted the new regulations if he was not forced by public opinion which was and is still clamouring for reforms in the administration of justice in Basuto chiefs Courts; and unless he has received orders from the Imperial Government to do so, which is totally inconceivable, and sheer madness to nurse such feelings after sixty years of spotless protection against our enemies and against our ownself.

It is to be ungrateful to attribute such motives to either the Imperial government or its representatives. The fate of the Basuto system of chieftainship is in the hands of the chiefs and their followers. They will rule as long as they have the confidence of the people. If the Basuto people no longer have confidence in their chiefs, our pessimists should be assured that the clock has struck for its end.

The course the events have taken now will not be obstructed even if the new regulations would be thrown into the waste basket. People are tired of the old system of things. They are too advanced for the ages of Moshesh and his successors. They live now in an age of systematic order of things. They are ruled by chiefs who live in palaces, who travel in motor cars, and they want to keep in pace with their progress. They want up-to-date courts and methods of running them.

The Association known, as Lekhotla la Bafo, headed by Mr. Josiel Lefela has been organising to raise money, in order to send a deputation to England, and there to submit to the Colonial Secretary, the grievances which they purport to be grievances of the Basuto nation, that, laws are being made and promulgated in the territory without the people being given chance to express their feelings on them before they become laws. This is one of their chief grievances, on which before now the Paramount Chief was held as the chief defaulter, as he was the first to refuse to recognise this body unless it affiliated itself to the Progressive Association. Now since the new regulations proposed by the Resident Commissioner became known in the territory, they are announced by the same body as the second cause for sending a deputation to England, as it is stated that, these laws are intended to extinct the obtaining system of chieftainship in Basutoland. The name of the Paramount Chief is cleverly, or we may say cunningly omitted. Now here is just where the fun is. The Resident Commissioner who has fulfilled just the course desired by Lekhotla la Bafo, has his proposals added to the least of grievances, and that body purposely refrain from giving its suggestions or amendments. However it is apparently clear that their last manœuvre has succeeded to find them favour with the Basuto chiefs. They are allowed to hold meetings in the "spider's parlour" where the Progressive members dare not put their foot.

However there need be no fear that Lekhotla la Bafo would upset the good work that is started; for who are they after all! There are many years now since we heard of Lekhotla la Bafo, but we have known or heard of no other member except Josiel Lefela whose son or cousin is now his Secretary, and has Communist demagues to dramatise him in the act of overthrowing the Basuto chieftainship, for this Communist party is the best actor in such affairs.

Readers Views.

The Department of the Comptroller of Stores

Star of Basutoland

The article which appeared in this paper last week bearing the above heading has made my thoughts to wander boundlessly, though I tried to control them it was all in vain. In the first place I think this department has not studied how the Basutos labour to get the money with which to make it possible for it to pay the whites, who may at any from the Union, who from time to time have shown us our place to be at rear. Why should they even where they do not sow be allowed to reap? Now this will make us feel not safe with such people at such positions, because the department is on the keyhole of the money we so much struggle to get. If this department could be composed of the equal number of the Basuto citizens as the other people who compose it now, I think the arguments would be divided if not wholly given to poor people who have so hardly laboured for it. I know that some are ready to criticise that the children turned their taxes you will never foget a bad time in Basutoland. People wander to the length and breadth, far and near, selling their belongings in order to get money for their tax. Some are so poor that they sell the very last of their belonging, whereas they can be helped with work which has been reserved for some people from the other side of border, it would be better if they were black, because they have no place in the control of things there. Most of them are the people whose parents went there in order to get work. and as the whole of their situation is so familiar to one and all, they had to become adopted citizens of the Union. They are not adopted rather they stay because they get their daily bread, and when the time comes for them to come home they still find place. The writer of the article referred also to the transmit of the transportation which has been recently turned by this department to the rich people over the border, this was where some citizens got their taxes by transporting the whole time their animals were fit for the work. It is also funny to notice that their oxen are allowed to graze on the maboella where those of the citizens will not be admitted. I believe this has been noticed by the chiefs or the people looking after the maboella that if such oxen are permitted all must be permitted.

It is also mentioned that many offices formally held by the Basuto have been made vacant for the employing of the Whites. Will this kind of a thing help? Basutoland progresses year by year, I deem to be a high time that her children be put to work at these offices where they have been found fit, and through prejudices they have been made to evacuate their posts unreasonably. If the eyes of those who rule us may be turued to such dealings and judgments of such departments in their territory and help to adjust the matters for the "linta tsa kobo ea Moshoeshoe" whose memory in our hearts is so dear that is hard to forget, we shall rest assured that our affairs are not wholly given to poor people save with them as our superiors.

If you can be in the territory when the time comes for them to pay their taxes you will never foget a not fit to hold some offices in Basubad time in Basutoland. People toland. They forget that we know Basutoland and get posts which they are in no way competent for. They begin with terrible mistakes, for they are now in school, as time passes they become used to the work but in no way fit, they remain because of their colour. I hope and wish that the Basutoland government should give us justice in the state, and grant us the rights which by nature of our births should be ours, and which we have by improvement made possible for our having them, and that there should be no racial spirit between Whites and Black in Basutoland. I still say the policy of this department needs thorough investigation.

—NON COMPARIVISET.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

Livestock in the Eastern Province.

One becomes so accustomed to looking to the North for a supply of live-stock in the Gold Coast that the report of Capt. J. L. Stewart, of the Veterinary Department, on the possibilities of stock-raising in the coastal areas of the Eastern Province is somewhat of a surprise. The district is generally suitable for cattle, and when the usual lack of interest in breeding, etc., is removed, the chief danger to local livestock is, Capt. Stewart thinks, the importation of cattle-plague from animals in transit from Togoland, or through the marketing of diseased meat. Capt. Stewart would meet this risk by rigorous segregation of transit animals, and by the education of those who inspect beasts slaughtered locally, but there seems to be an even more reasonable course, —the immunisation of the local herds, on the lines that seem to promise so much for Nigeria. At present, the Eastern Province provides perhaps a thousand head for the market, when Capt. Stewart considers that 4,000 annually should easily be available if proper care were taken. While this is not a quantity that need be regarded by the Argentine as a menace, it would be a most valuable addition to local food supplies, and would, moreover, turn to good account lands that have hitherto been too unproductive to merit expenditure on the increase of their supply of permanent water. There is also much promise for small livestock and poultry, and a veterinary officer is to be stationed permanently in the district in the near future to improve local methods.

New Education Rules.

Encouraging though the new official interest in education be, probably few missionary educationists can read new rules issued by West African Boards of Education without feeling that the authorities have some of the mentality of the German officer in the Cameroon, who, captured in an ambush at the bottom of a hill, turned in a superior way to his men and said, "These English no savvy war proper. Top of hill be proper position." The success of the methods adopted count for little with them, but the methods themselves are to be treated most seriously. The new rules issued for the Gold Coast are certainly more elastic than was formerly the case but they still endeavour to provide conditions that are no to be found in the rural schools of England, and that, desirable though they may be, are hardly fitted for the opening of a general educational campaign in "bush" districts. Doubtless many of the missionary societies will declare themselves satisfied, for the part of the rules devoted to grants is decidedly more generous than was formerly the case, although one feels that, even with the Government ultimately paying the major part of the salaries, the fixing of a minimum scale for teachers according to qualification and service will have the effect that it has had in England, namely, of preventing the more expensive teachers from obtaining new posts, even when they realise that their outlook is becoming limited from lack of change. In addition to the grants calculated on the salaries of the African teachers, which range from per cent., 50 per cent. in the case of primary schools, with a possible rise in boarding schools to 110 per cent., there are grants of £150 for a European graduate and for each of any further qualified Europeans, and building grants of one-third the cost of approved new buildings or extensions, or of rent and maintenance, with special grants when local circumstances create special conditions, so that, unless official standards of efficiency are raised unduly, the Government will at any rate make a useful contribution to the cause of education.

The Co-operative Societies Bill.

The Bill to regulate the constitution of co-operative societies has been published in the "Gold Coast Gazette," and, unavoidably, leaves large powers to the Governor-in-Council to make rules in the light of further experience, The minimum number of members of a society is fixed at 10 who must be over 18 years of age, and must either reside or own land in the proposed area of operations—a requirement which will provide the necessary limitation of membership to persons well known to one another. The liability of societies may be limited or unlimited, and their privileges include priority of claim to crops and property of members obtained through the society, and freedom from stamp duties, etc. Their capital is to be raised by shares or by initial payments of not less than 5s. per person, and of deposits or loans from members and non-members, the last not to exceed the paid-up share capital and reserve fund in limited, and three times this sum in unlimited, societies. Since the societies are primary institutions, their power to make loans is restricted to members, but loans to other registered societies may be made with the approval of the Registrar. This official is to be the Director of Agriculture, who is given complete powers of inspection and audit, either on his own motion, that of a Provincial Councillor, or of an unsatisfied lawful creditor; while safety is further ensured by giving the Secretary for Native Affairs and all political officers the right to inspect records at all times. The Bill will undoubtedly be a disappointment to many, for in spite of repeated addresses on the subject there is still a strong impression among farmers that an officially recognised co-operative society should be a means of obtaining unlimited loans from the public revenue. On the other hand, once this disappointment has been overcome, the people's experience with co-operative marketing should soon lead them to turn to advantage a scheme which will help to ensure co-operation without fraud.

The Gold Coast Agricultural Department.

With the issue of an annual year-book, the report of the Gold Coast Agricultural Department for 1927/8 has shrunk to an insignificant document of 10 pages, giving only the sketchiest outline of departmental activities. The most noticeable development is the broadening of interest as shown in the despatch of representatives to the first West African Agricultural Conference at Ibadan, to the first Imperial Agricultural Research Conference, and the first International Soil Congress, and in the formation of a local Board of Agriculture and other advisory bodies. The ill success that has followed efforts to develop economic crops other than cocoa is evident, although when the Director, Mr. G. Auchinleck, says of sisal that "it has now been definitely ascertained that no agricultural difficulties exist in the cultivation of this crop on the Accra plains," he is evidently anxious not to anticipate Government policy in the matter, for, as Sir Ransford Slater has since shown, the technical agricultural difficulties have been by no means the decisive factor against the extension of this crop. The agricultural education of Africans is being steadily continued, and 47 learners were in residence at the training centre during the year, 23 of them in the youngest division, 19 in the second, and five in the final year, while nine passed out into the Department. Under the Sir Alfred Jones Bequest, provision was made for two scholarships tenable at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, but since the date of the report it has been stated that the first holders will be trained in the United States, a change which is, to say the least, disappointing.

At the end of last year, the road system of the French Sudan comprised 2,464 kilometres of all-season motor roads, and 7,555 kilos of dry-season tracks, as compared with 2,200 and 7,150 kilos at the beginning of the year.

The American Consul in Sumatra states that shipments of palm-oil from that island to the United States amounted to 29,761,000 lbs. last year, against 340,000 in 1924, and an increase of 12,000,000 lbs. over 1927. American buyers are said to take 30% of the output, and it is estimated that 40,000,000 lbs. will be purchased by them this year.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

EXPLORING DARKEST AFRICA'S JUNGLES FROM THE AIR

Literary Digest
Feb. 29
Vol. 101, No. 2,

HOW THE AIRPLANE can be of value in exploring a savage region, locating mineral deposits, paving the way for road and railroad building, and obtaining all sorts of information for use in the future development and upbuilding of the country, may be seen from the account of such a survey just completed in Rhodesia, Africa, contributed to *The Engineering and Mining Journal* (New York), by its special London correspondent, George L. Walker. As he relates:

"Two years ago the announcement was made that the Rhodesian Kongo Border Concession, Ltd., had arranged for an aerial survey of its mineral prospecting concession of about 52,000 square miles, which stretches along the Belgian Kongo border in Northern Rhodesia, and lies immediately south of the great Katanga copper region. That work has now been completed. The objects were to locate mineral outcroppings, and to obtain a fuller knowledge of the vast bush area. The photographic map of the country shows the best routes for travel and the most available areas for prospecting.



Photographs by courtesy of *The Engineering and Mining Journal* (New York)

THEY SPOT ORE DEPOSITS FROM THE SKY

Major Cochran-Patrick, chief of the patrol, stands in the center.

"Such mineral indications as the photographs have disclosed are yet to be determined. It is certainly too early to decide that they show nothing. Geologists are studying the photographs and will restudy them from time to time in the new light shed by future experience in the field.

"The concession is larger than either New York or Pennsylvania. More than two-thirds was unmapped—unexplored, it might almost be said. Except for the survey of the boundary between Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Kongo, and the mapping of some of the principal rivers and streams by the company's own engineers, only such information was available as could be supplied by travelers, missionaries, big-game hunters, and casual prospectors.

"There were no wagon or automobile roads until the company constructed them. Discoveries of great value had already been made. Immediately to the north, at Katanga, are large and sensationally rich deposits of copper ore—a copper region nearly 250 miles long. A few miles south exist large ore deposits that average approximately 40 per cent. zinc, lead, and vanadium combined. In the same portion of the continent, but farther away, are the world's greatest diamond, gold, chrome, and asbestos mines. Thus the possibilities of the Kongo Border area were and are enormous.

"Such great possibilities seemed to call for quick action. With this in view arrangements were made to photograph the area from the air.

"Tho drawings had been prepared for an airplane specially designed for work in a country where a forced landing, it was believed, would almost surely be disastrous, none had yet been built. It thus was necessary to clear emergency landing grounds at twenty-mile intervals. Trees and grass made this work difficult, but more expensive to remove than the vegetation were the numerous and frequently large ant hills existing everywhere.

"Haze and the smoke of the natives' bush fires, followed during the wet season by rain and mist, obstructed photographic work greatly. To cope with the low visibility, faster films than at first provided were secured from America. The work was carried out rapidly and, incidentally, almost exactly along the lines originally planned.

"In Rhodesia, any considerable natural opening in the orchard-like bush covering the region is called a 'dambo.' The first dambos to rivet the attention of technical men were those which resulted from copper salts in the soil that made it impossible for trees to grow.

"Consequently, one feature of the survey was a search for dambos. Many dambos apparently result from water percolating constantly through the surface soil. It is usually possible to recognize the types in photographs, however, and the presence of two kinds caused little confusion.

"A far greater number of rock outcrops was shown than had been expected. The value of a knowledge of the exact locations, particularly to those who are engaged in making a geological survey, will at once be realized.

"It has been shown that only those copper outcrops which happen to be covered very thinly with soil are marked by dambos. At N'Changa, for instance, there are two extensive dambos, but drilling has shown that more than 95 per cent. of the total outcrop is covered deeply enough with soil to support forest growth. Roan Antelope's ore deposit, also, has now been proved to continue for over two miles beyond the point where the last vestige of the dambo disappears. Thus the absence of a dambo does not indicate an absence of ore."

Of particular interest, Mr. Walker says, is what was learned of the relation of the vegetation to the geology of the region. Most of the soils were formed where they lie, by the disintegration of the rocks immediately below. Such soils and the alluvial deposits along the streams cover practically all of the region. Conditions favorable to a most intimate relationship of vegetation and geology in consequence are ideal. No similar relationship could possibly exist, of course, in the glacial soil areas of Canada and the nothern United States. To quote further:

"From the first it was assumed that a forced landing would spell disaster, so, as has been noted, emergency landing grounds were made at twenty-mile intervals over the 20,000-square-mile area selected for the most thorough examination. The work over that area was completed, however, without a forced landing ever becoming necessary. It was then decided to make a visual aerial reconnaissance of the remaining 32,000 square miles. The geologists and the flying personnel requested permission to undertake it, tho it was largely an unknown area and no emergency landing grounds had been prepared. It involved flying several hundred miles from the nearest base. While this work was being done two forced descents occurred. The first was forty miles from the nearest base, but Captain Roxburgh-Smith glided to a grassy dambo and landed safely. He then walked the forty miles covering most of the distance through wilderness in the night, obtained the needed assistance and finally flew his airplane back to its base.



OUTCROPS REVEALED BY THE AERIAL CAMERA

"The other forced descent also was accomplished in safety, tho it was 100 miles from the nearest white man, and in the one region of Northern Rhodesia most thickly infested by lions. After the stranded airplane had been located by the other in flight, a rescue party was sent and the men returned unharmed.

"In both of these episodes the flyer was favored by luck, chance, or fate, his own cleverness doing the rest. The experiences proved the desirability of an airplane equipped with two engines, each powerful enough for every rising and flying requirement.

"The survey was carried out by ten Europeans, native negroes being quickly trained to per-

form much of the work, including developing films and printing photographs. As herds of big game were to be seen on many of the dambos, the flyers always carried rifles and ammunition for protection.

"Major H. Hemming, managing director of Aircraft Operating Company, Ltd., says:

"'It must be clearly understood that the air method is not competitive with the ground method of surveying. Each has its own particular uses, and the air method can not exist without the ground method.'"

Mr Payn's Views

From the "Cape times" of the 14th ult we excerpt the views of the member for Tembuland as expressed in Parliament during the Native franchise debate. It is noteworthy that the hon. member while pleading for consultation of the Natives nevertheless expressed the view that the Natives would see that the present system was unsatisfactory and be prepared to accept some other system. Where Mr. Payn got the mandate to say this, it would be interesting to know. "Mr. A. O. B. Payn (S.A.P., Tembuland) pointed out that in the Cape the percentage of Natives holding land was 4.8, in the Transvaal 3.7, in Natal 2.7 and in the Free State Natives did not hold one acre per head. The Free State was dependent upon Native labour that came from Basutoland; it had not had to make provision for a large Native population; it had only two small locations. To people who lived in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal it seemed extraordinary that a solution of the Native problem should come from a Province the people of which had never had any actual contact with the Native. The unfortunate position of the Prime Minister was that he had lived in the Free State and had never had to deal with the difficulties the other Provinces had to contend with.

The hon. member was convinced the Natives themselves were quite satisfied up till recently that the Prime Minister was trying to deal with them honestly and justly, but the issue of the "Kafir Manifesto" had changed that opinion. Mr. Payn maintained that the measures introduced now were entirely dissimilar to those brought forward before, and the Natives had not been consulted. A few years ago Mr. Van Niekerk, as a member of the Native Affairs Commission signed a report by that Commission in which it was stated that the feeling of the Natives against the then Native Bill had been too intense to be lightly ignored. If, commented Mr. Payn, it was intense then it had been intensified infinitely more in the last few years.

PROMISES TO NATIVES

Mr. Payn asked the Prime Minister if these Bills had been before the Native Affairs Commission or any responsible body of men? Of course not. They were simply placed before the House and no one in the country knew anything about them. Under the 1920 Act certain privileges were given to the Natives, one of which was that they would be consulted on matters of legislation effecting them, while the Prime Minister, in addressing 2,000 Natives at Umtata, said: "Any measures I bring forward dealing with your interests will be placed before your leaders." For two years a Select Committee had been discussing Native measures, but the Prime Minister had never asked any member of the Committee from the Opposition side of the House if they had any proposition to put forward. When the Select Committee, sitting as a Commission, was dissolved at Pretoria some time ago there was a distinct understanding that discussions would be resumed in Cape Town; there had been no division at all; members had co-operated, and he had been prepared to continue in that spirit. Instead of the Committee being allowed to resume, the whole thing was thrown aside and nothing further was done. The Bills were thrown on the table and the country was asked to go into them at practically a moment's notice.

The Urban Areas Act, if properly carried out, would do more to bring about friendly relations than this Bill could ever do. The South African Outlook, controlled by the Presbyterian Church, had been advocating the principle of separate representation and advising the Prime Minister to accept that. There were factors in this country working in that direction. He himself was convinced that if we dealt justly with the Native, in a comparatively short time—and what were a few years?—the Natives themselves would see that the present system was unsatisfactory and be prepared to accept some other system. In the meantime, these Bills were premature."

THE NYASSA CHARTER.

The official decree, issued and published this week at Lisbon terminating the Charter of the Compania de Nyassa, which we reproduce in full translation on page 33 of this issue, will be received in this country with surprise and considerable regret. The action of the present Colonial Minister at Lisbon is all the more inexplicable as important negotiations had been proceeding for some time with a view of arriving at a mutually satisfactory arrangement for all concerned. It is well known that for some reason or another not very difficult to analyse, the chief agitation for the drastic change in the future of the Nyassa territories has been fostered from Lourenço Marques. In a short time we may be able to publish some highly intriguing disclosures from that aspect. As the matter of the cancellation of the Nyassa Charter will certainly not be permitted to remain where it is to-day, and as we still consider it somewhat unlikely that the projected official change will come into force during the year, pending important news on the subject being expected from Lisbon within the next fortnight, we refrain from commenting further on the latest development, which—it may, however, be stated—is not likely to foster the financial prestige of the Republic of Portugal among influential investors in the City of London.

CONGO FAMINE NOT WIDESPREAD

Rukira Territory Affected Is Densely Populated And Has Capricious Climate

To the Editor of The New York Times:

A report sent out from British East Africa by The Associated Press, entitled "Thousands Starve in Congo Famine," attracted my attention in THE TIMES last Sunday. As a matter of fact, the famine-stricken region does not lie within the boundaries of the Belgian Congo; it is part of the small negro kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi, more precisely the Rukira territory, once part of German East Africa, and now under Belgian mandate for the League of Nations.

The particular section where famine prevails covers approximately one-eightieth of the area of the Belgian Congo, but it is most densely populated. Due to a very capricious climate, that country has for many years periodically suffered from famine. It is a matter of absence of rain during the sowing season and abundance of it at the time of harvest or, as the case today, drought prevailing for a period of more than a year.

Since the time when Belgium took over the administration of these territories any number of measures have been taken to relieve this situation. Special legislation was passed preventing exportation of foodstuffs from the regions where famine had come up before. The government encouraged the cultivation of manioc, a plant needing little water and which could be used as a first means of relief in case of danger. As soon as news of the famine spread Governor Postiaux went down in the stricken district and organized several food-distributing centres as well as a special relief service by motor trucks. Also, Director General Leplaye, on mission from the Ministry of Colonies in the Kivu Lake region, was ordered to Ruanda. The Prime Minister and Minister of Colonies, M. Henri Jaspar, wired the Governor to spare neither efforts nor money in his endeavor to check the famine and that he approved of all measures the Governor would take, however burdensome.

Certainly, the Bahuti slave race is suffering most, as the overlords, the Batusis, keep all the food they have for their own use. Yet it cannot be said that the Batusis do not care for the welfare of their slaves, for what could the ruling classes do without them? The slaves are part of their wealth. But, naturally, in a case like this, when there is not enough food for all of them, the Bahutis have been told to leave the villages to escape death. Although the British Government of Uganda has taken measures to prevent their migration into the British colony, yet the Bahutis cannot be said to be shut up in a trap of starvation, for great numbers of them are now flocking into Belgian Urundi, where crops have been good.

Then again, although the Belgian health service in Africa is by no means perfect, yet to call medical attention a crying need seems slightly exaggerated. I really wonder if there is any colony in Africa that can boast of a medical service up to the right standard? As far as Belgian Congo is concerned, any one interested in the matter can, by a mere glance at the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi budgets, realize what efforts Belgium has made, buying millions' worth of medicines and sending out to Africa doctors and veterinarians.

ADOLPHE VAN GLABBEKE.

New York, April 8, 1929.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Joint Declaration of Great Britain and the United States of America of their special interes in the independence of the Liberian Republic.

From a copy of the Annual Message of His Excellency President King delivered at the last sessio of the Legislature we noticed the above joint declaration which we hereby publish below for th information of our readers, as official news ar rarely given publicity in this Republic, and publicit of the state of affairs of the Country is what th people desire.

British Pro Memoria.

British Embassy,
Washington,
March 8, 189

"The undersigned is instructed by his Governmer with reference to repeated encroachments on th territory of the Liberian Republic to submit to th United States Government the following suggestion

It might prove of service to the Liberia Republic and encourage it to resist absorptio by a foreign power were the Governmen of Great Britain and of the United State to make a joint declaration of the specia interest taken by them in the independenc of that Republic."

Julian Pauncefote
H. B. M. Ambassador

American Pro Memoria.

Department of State
Washington,
March 13, 189

Having reference to the confidential pro mem ra submitted by His Excellency the British Am bassador on the 8th of March last, and being de sirous in view of the circumstances of that Re public being an offshoot of the community of th United States, and to show toward it the kinc spirit and all proper sympathy, the United State for its part declares

the special interest taken by it in the in dependence of the Republic of Liberia, an the concern it must feel should any prospec of its absorption by a foreign power deve op in the future. The Government of the United States is gratified to perceive from the British pro memoria of March 8, last, that her Majesty's Government entertains a similar special interest in the independence of the Liberian Republic."

JOHN SHERMAN.

We have much confidence in the ability and integrity of the two powerful English-speaking nations to live up to the above moral obligation. Hence other nations will please take notice of the joint declaration as given above and cease encroaching on the independence of this Republic.

CINEMAS IN TROPICAL AFRICA.

It is gratifying to note that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has set up a strong committee which is to inquire into exhibition of cinema films in the Colonies, Protectorates and mandated territories of the Empire. Sir Hesketh Bell, the late Governor of Mauritius, and with great experience in many parts of the African Continent, recently drew public attention to the great harm that is being done to the prestige and authority of the white governing races through certain film pictures displayed before tropical peoples. Ninety-five per cent. of the films exhibited in the tropics, it is stated, are of foreign origin, and the great proportion are of the most sensational kind, produced at Hollywood. The effect of these on the native mind has for some years past caused serious concern and the subject was fully discussed at the Colonial Office two years ago and at the West Indian Conference last month. The chief points to be considered by the Committee, which is comprised of men most experienced in Colonial affairs, are in examining the existing arrangements for the supply and censorship of films in tropical areas to consider how such arrangements can be improved, and to devote special attention to firstly developing the use of the cinematograph as an instrument of education in the widest sense, and secondly, as to the desirability of encouraging the exhibition of British films on political as well as economic grounds. In the chairman, Captain Brass, M.P., a practical cinematographer himself, as witness the fine films he took of Mr. Amery's recent world tour, the Committee has an exceptional advantage for the start, whilst many of the members of the body are distinguished Empire administrators, whose services will be most valuable with expert knowledge. We congratulate Mr. Amery on the selection of the members, and feel certain the results of the labours of this special Committee will prove a blessing and of far reaching consequences to all interests concerned with particular reference to the great native populations affected.

CONGO RAILWAYS.

The latest announcement made at Brussels that the Belgian Colonial Ministry has decided to construct a railway to link Lake Kivu with Lake Tanganyika is of great importance, and likely to have beneficial consequences for Central Africa to-day but little understood in their future potential value. Comparatively few people are aware that the country around Lake Kivu in the mountainous volcanic areas of the Congo Colony has not only some of the most fertile soil in the world, but, contrary to the usual rule in Africa, enjoys a very healthy climate. Our Belgian friends have long ago realised this, and are completing plans for large hotels with airship communication to Khartoum and Cairo, under the auspices of that great financier, Baron Empain, and his railway company, known as the Chemin de Fers des Grand Lacs. Companies have for some years been formed at Brussels for the cultivation of coffee, cotton, and other products in the Kivu regions, where some flourishing European settlements have been established. Although airships can bring passengers and tourists, they cannot as yet convey heavy export tonnage to any extent, and the new railway linking the two great Central African lakes will make Dar-es-Salaam the outlet for a further big proportion of Eastern Congo products, and incidentally benefit Tanganyika Territory's transit traffic very considerably.

EXPERIMENTAL WORK ON COTTON.

The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation (Millbank House, S.W.1) has issued, at the price of 2s. 6d., its "Reports from Experimental Stations, 1927-8," a volume which covers practically the whole field of experimental work on cotton within the Empire, for stations have been established in all the more favourable Colonies and Dominions. In West Africa, of course, the seed-farm at Daudawa, Northern Nigeria, is the centre of chief interest, and in his report for 1928, Mr. J. Browne, the Manager, states that another 30 acres have been brought under cultivation, making 270 in all. No better method of clearing trees has been found than that of pulling them down after the lateral roots have been severed, but it has been found that the breaking of the soil can be accelerated by hand-hoeing lines and ridging these over by local hand-ploughs, a method which not only turns the soil, but gives a further depth of broken soil beneath the ridges. It is true that the interval between breaking and sowing is so short that the soil does not weather properly, but the operation must prove beneficial in the long run.

The co-operative scheme, by which Africans work ten-acre farms under supervision, and have their cotton ginned by the Corporation, is proving successful, and the farms all have money to their credit. In consequence, more farms are being taken up, and, also, the body of permanent labour in the neighbourhood is steadily growing. For the Corporation farm, Mr. Browne has introduced contract work as far as possible, and is proving, as others have proved, that this is in every way more satisfactory than trying to turn the African into a daily hireling. The attempt to introduce ox-drawn ploughs has failed temporarily, as the presence of tsetse on the farm delayed the introduction of oxen for so long that the men who had been trained in their use had time to forget their new skill. Trials in mechanical cultivation, however, were effected with a tractor loaned by the British Cotton Growing Association, but these were too short to show whether the system would prove economical, although it was certainly practicable.

From an outsider's point of view, the success of the farm is best shown by the fact that it passed 26,100 lb. of improved seed to the Agricultural Department for general distribution to farmers, and has thus begun within three years of its institution, to fulfil the primary object of its existence—no mean feat, considering the unavoidable slowness of agricultural operations.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Bridging the Atlantic.

The journal of the West African Students' Union proceeds from strength to strength. The editor and his staff are to be congratulated on the increased circulation reported in the latest issue (No. 8, January, 1929). One of the most interesting items in this issue is the report of Dr. Alain Locke's address to the Union on "Afro-Americans and West Africans: A New Understanding." Dr. Locke, as representative of what he calls the "new negro" in America, struck the same note as the editor of "Wasu" representing the new negro in Africa. Speaking for the young American negro, Dr. Locke said: "We are no longer dazzled or awed by the white man's culture, but wish to use its best elements towards fresh expression of our own." In his "editorial" the editor of "Wasu," expounding the W.A.S.U. spirit, writes: "Our acquaintance with non-African societies and institutions must not induce us to destroy our native institutions, but rather give us hints as to methods whereby we may strengthen these institutions by resort to indigenous materials." The fact that on both sides of the Atlantic the minds of the young generations is turning inwards, looking into its own soul and realising the value of its African heritage, marks an important stage in the formation of the coming African civilisation. The transatlantic branch must play a great part in the development of the negro race. Dragged from its native continent by ruthless cruelty and immersed in a new environment, it was, as Dr. Locke said, "inevitably led to a complete adoption of the elements and background of American civilisation." Its first task was to establish itself in its new home; it seemed as though it would become a branch of the Euro-American population. Even when it began to turn towards its native continent its vision was warped by European bias; "we saw Africa through a glass, darkly, at a second remove," as the Dark Continent which it was exhorted to save. The New Negro realises that the cultural situation in Africa was under-estimated, and that the "co-operation on a large scale of African leaders" is essential. Therefore, Dr. Locke appealed to the members of the Union to co-operate with their contemporaries in America, for "to see at all into the future to-day one must look with the eyes of youth and think in terms of the great revolutions which on every side are transforming the world about us." The eleven millions of negroes in America "look to the African for information and needs in Africa, and for a programme which will meet those conditions." With this co-operation they can bring about a more vital contact between the Western and the African civilisations than any yet made or thought possible.

The Wasu Spirit.

The members of the Union are also turning from imitation of foreign ways to study of African institutions, so as to "discover and adopt native outlook in all matters, so long as that outlook does not clash with principles of human conduct." Rich as is the continent in economic resources, its most precious asset is the African spiritual heritage derived from contact with the many civilisations—Egyptian, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, and Islamic—which spread from the east and north before the advent of the Western. The young African's task is, by synthesising these varied cultures, to produce a new and higher civilisation. To accomplish this a thorough understanding of indigenous cultures is necessary, and this can be attained only by Africans. European anthropologists and ethnologists may do useful work in collecting records of customs and institutions, but their work is vitiated by their method of approach to the inquiry. The "superiority complex," which is strong in them, leads them to regard everything not conforming to European standards as inferior, and sets them searching for the bizarre and abnormal. As Dr. Malinowski wrote in his article on "Practical Anthropology" in the latest issue of "Africa," "the everyday facts of life are ignored by anthropologists." And yet knowledge of these everyday facts is of fundamental importance, for they are the roots from which institutions and laws grow. This knowledge can be required only by those who live the life, and can interpret it from first-hand experience. Achimota may play a great part, by bringing about co-operation between Europeans and Africans, in transferring inquiry from the abnormal to the normal, if it will enlist the help of intelligent natives. Great as is the confidence inspired by the principal's broad-minded policy, there is a general feeling that the richest branch has fallen from the tree. The late Dr. Aggrey's position on the staff was a guarantee that native ideas would be allowed proper scope; a guarantee which will be renewed only when he is replaced by another African.

Native Study of Native Institutions.

The value of practical knowledge and experience of the everyday facts of African life is shown in Mr. Ladipo Solanke's article on "The Royal House in Yoruba Policy" and Mr. Ojo-Cole's on "The Wisdom of My Forefathers." Mr. Solanke indicates the difference between European and African conceptions of kingship. While in Europe the monarch, as the fountain of law, was above the law, was owner of all lands, and absolute master of his vassal subjects, ruling by divine right, in Yorubaland the Oba is the guardian of the lands for the benefit of the community, he reigns by election of the Great Council (the Ogbonis), and is the father of his people. His title is cognate with "Baba" (father), and means the "Father of the State or Community," considered as forming a family. "To understand fully the power and position of the Oba in the community requires a thorough knowledge of the standing of a 'baba' in the family"; it is through living the family life that a thorough understanding of the State system is gained. Mr. Ojo-Cole's article could only have been written by a son of the soil and a partaker in the racial life. His and Mr. Solanke's articles can be placed with Dr. Danquah's books on his native state, Akim Abuakwa, as choice first-fruits of the young African's return to introspection of his own soul.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Liquor Trade.

Public attention has once more been called to the traffic in spirituous liquors and its effect on the peoples of West Africa by Mr. Hyslop Bell's address to the last annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Niger Company, in the course of which he made a lengthy reference to this traffic, which has led to a correspondence in the Press. Those two ardent opponents of the trade, the Bishop of London and Mr. Thomas Welsh, take the opportunity to once more advocate total prohibition of the importation of spirits into West Africa, but those who have considered the problem raised by the traffic know that they are not so simple as that; they are complicated by social, moral, and economic considerations. It must be admitted, however, that the policy of *total* prohibition has not been given a trial. In Northern Nigeria, alongside of nominally total prohibition of spirituous liquors and the sale thereof to natives of the territory, there is a system of licences by which Europeans can obtain all the spirits they want, and loopholes are thereby made through which these liquors pass into native consumption. The League of Nations condemned the importation of arms and spirits into Africa, but while the former recommendation has been drastically enforced, a convention of seven European Powers to carry out the latter could get no nearer to its avowed object than to permit, on payment of heavy duties, the importation of all distilled beverages except what were loosely described as "trade spirits." The definition of trade spirits—"spirits imported of a kind previously imported for sale to natives and not generally consumed by Europeans"—was an attempt to extend the policy of Northern Nigeria, prohibition for natives only. As the late Mr. C. L. Temple, sometime Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, pointed out when the subject was being discussed some years ago, the chief obstacle to the enforcement of total prohibition is the unwillingness of Europeans to forgo indulgence in intoxicating drinks. Until Europeans submit to a self-denying ordinance in this matter the enforcement of native abstinence has a flavour of racial discrimination which is certain to arouse resentment.

The Economic Factor.

There are three different aspects of the question, according as it is looked at from the point of view of the trader, of the administrator, and of the social reformer. For years European traders have been protesting loudly that the trade in gin is unprofitable and that they would gladly do without it, but none of them has the courage to set an example by abandoning it. As Mr. Thomas Welsh said in his recent letter to the "Liverpool Daily Post," "If all others stop selling liquor, I'll stop" is about as far as anyone will go. Even the head of the powerful Niger Company goes no further than to suggest that merchant firms will give their support if the Government deem it desirable to take restrictive action in the best interests of the natives, but gives no indication that they will forgo whatever profit is to be made out of the sale of spirits as long as the trade is not illegal. The administrator claims that any social evil caused by the traffic is offset by the beneficent effects of the works of development which the revenue derived from it enables the Government to carry out. Sir Ransford Slater has assured his Legislative Council that the consumption of gin is a proof of patriotism, the native "thereby showing his willingness to pay a higher rate of taxation," and "so far from that taxation impoverishing the people, its proceeds would be more than repaid to them in the form of more water supplies, medical and sanitary improvements, and the like."

The Social Problem.

For the last fifty years the trade in alcoholic liquors has been denounced as causing the ruin of the natives of West Africa by turning them into drunkards, degenerated by alcoholic excess. Opponents of the trade maintain that the consumption has steadily increased, and that the expenditure on alcohol is driving the people into poverty. The Gold Coast is generally held up as the awful example of the baneful effect of the traffic, with the implication that the wealth acquired by the cocoa industry is being squandered in orgies of drunkenness, but an examination of statistics does not confirm this view. In 1892, before the cocoa industry was started, the import of malt liquors, spirits, and wine was 1,295,132 gallons; in 1913, with a larger population and an eightfold increase of trade during the twenty years, the quantity of alcoholic liquor imported increased by one-third only. The import in 1927 was over one-third (750,000 gallons) less than in 1913; the import in 1928 was 9 per cent. less than in 1927, and nearly 250,000 gallons less than in 1892. Sir Ofori Atta has admitted that he and his fellow chiefs and the literate Africans, on whose behalf the Bishop of Accra claims to speak, are unanimously in favour of total prohibition, not because they believe that their people are being poisoned and degraded by excessive consumption of spirits, but because they believe that they are being impoverished by the heavy taxation which Sir Ransford Slater contends is so beneficial. The chiefs and the literate leaders may study with profit the results of the attempted enforcement of total prohibition by law in Sweden and the United States, which emphasise the impossibility of making people abstinent by legislative or administrative action. It is a matter for social reformers to tackle, and native leaders of opinion can bring it about. Discouragement of indulgence and condemnation of excess by social leaders will do more good than any official action. As it is well known that a very large proportion of the trade is due to the consumption of gin at funeral customs, in the belief that the honour shown to the dead is measurable by the amount lavished on a funeral orgy, the leaders might make a start by reforming this ancient custom. If they teach their people that the dead will be better honoured by devoting the funeral contributions to some permanent memorial than by squandering them on drink, an impetus will be given to progress by devoting these really considerable sums to the endowment of local schools, or the foundation of scholarships, or of beds in hospitals, or some other public purposes. A tablet in the school or hospital or some other public place, recording that the gift was made in memory of the person whose funeral funds were devoted to the purpose, will preserve the memory of the deceased to future generations instead of allowing it to evaporate with the fumes of the funeral "drunk."

W. F. H.

Race Problem—1929

Africa

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

ELECTION PREPARATIONS — PACT PLANS — BIG SURPLUS BAIT — "SHERLOCK HOLMES" SUMS UP—BLACK TRADE UNIONISM.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, Dec. 28.

Though most of us are still shaking off the care-free happy spirit that Yuletide brings, it is not so with the politicians. They realise that if elections are to be won there is much preliminary work to be done, and this most of them are tackling with vim.

The Government's plans are well advanced and it is certain that the General Election will take place in the middle of June. Mr. Havenga is expected to have the way popular support by guaranteeing something exceptional in the way of Budget surpluses—an astute move. He expects to be able to anticipate the closing of the accounts for the year and deliver his Budget speech about the middle of March. Instead of the usual six weeks on the Estimates, the Minister will content himself with taking a Vote on Account.

Great Pact Demonstration.

Nine Cabinet ministers will participate in a great rally at Pretoria West prior to the opening of Parliament, and it is suggested that advantage should be taken of this occasion to present General Hertzog with the casket and address provided out of the "shilling fund" inaugurated shortly after his return from the Imperial Conference. This proposal has aroused keen antagonism in certain quarters because the fund was designed as a spontaneous tribute to General Hertzog for his work at the Conference and was to have been entirely removed from politics. In this spirit, donations were made by all sections, and the appropriation of the casket for political purposes is deprecated.

The Trade Treaty.

The Pact has not exactly played a trump card in attempting to make a trade treaty with Germany on lines that suggest that South Africa is more deeply concerned with Germany's welfare than that of members of the British Empire. The treaty, which has been subjected to severe criticism, is regarded as being utterly out of keeping with the spirit of Empire.

The South African Party is determined to fight the treaty tooth and nail, which is as it should be, seeing that the clause at the head of the South African Party programme stands for the maintenance of preference and co-operation within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Stuttaford is concerned on what he describes as "a most appalling position in the matter of immigration as revealed in the statistics for September." During that month South Africa lost thirty-one British-born subjects, while for all other races there was a gain of 237.

"If we go on like this," says Mr. Stuttaford, "with British subjects leaving the country the whole aspect of South Africa will be changed; the whole genius in this country will alter, and it is vitally important that we get some Government that will foster immigration of a good stamp."

"Sherlock Holmes."

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle is finding South Africa a very different place from that which he knew in the old Boer War days—a better and more healthy South Africa. When last he was here, he told us, the country seemed to consist of dead horses and bad smells! Seriously, though, the thing that most surprised him was the very good feeling between the two white races. In England, he said, they had not been led to expect this, especially in view of the reports of the flag dispute.

Incidentally, he was driven out to Sana's Post from Bloemfontein by a man who had shot at him thirty years ago!

On the *faux pas* made by Sir Arthur at Bloemfontein there is no need to dwell. For once Sherlock Holmes was caught nodding, but he made the *amende honorable*, so all's well.

Coloured Trade Unionism.

The growth of the coloured trade union movement in South Africa is alarming a number of white folk, Mr. A. S. van Hees, M.L.A., among them, who fear that the white man's future might be jeopardised by the incursion of the native worker. After reminding us that the natives outnumber the whites by six to one, Mr. van Hees points out that while in the towns work such as that of bakers, butchers, carpenters, masons and the like was still in the hands of the European, there was absolutely nothing in our legislation to prevent that class of work from falling into the hands of the natives and being carried on by the black man in the future.

It was most desirable, according to Mr. van Hees, that steps should be taken by the white man now to provide that such trades and work should be carried on exclusively by Europeans. There was no doubt that the native could do that type of work just as well as the white so long as he was taught, and, in addition, the native was much more hardy than the white man and could live on far less.

Against Mr. van Hees.

The consensus of sane public opinion will be against Mr. van Hees. White civilisation in South Africa will never be maintained if based on any policy of injustice to those lower races to which we are in the position of trustee.

As was to be expected, the Dutch Reformed Church Synod has declared itself emphatically against the idea of State lotteries, which are regarded as both economically and morally harmful. The Synod has also declared itself against all forms of lottery at church bazaars and Christian charitable concerts in connection with church institutions.

All very praiseworthy, but all the synods or legislation in the world will not eliminate the gambling spirit from the lives of the people. However, there is no call to argue the ethics of the subject here.

A wife's influence over her husband is to receive, probably for the first time in history, official recognition.

This step has been decided on by the Central Committee of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association, which met at Port Elizabeth on October 11.

The Central Executive felt that, in view of the proved and marked importance of the part played in the future success in South Africa of new settlers by their wives, it should decide that wives of intending settlers should also be interviewed and "passed or rejected" by the London office in the same manner as their husbands.

And a very good idea, too, for wives have been known to play no unimportant part in the making or marring of a husband's career.

"SOME NIGERIAN FERTILITY CULTS."

Mr. Amaury Talbot has certainly an extraordinary faculty for arriving at conclusions. In his letter, published in your issue of December 15, he suggests that "Student's" failure to endorse some of the opinions expressed in the above book may be due to a "lack of acquaintance" or "he may not have made sufficient allowance for the very rapid changes taking place in the country."

"Student" is quite prepared to admit a "lack of *knowledge*," but he cannot oblige further, and alter facts. As it happens his experience of Southern Nigeria extends over a longer period than that of Mr. Talbot. Through the intervening years he has watched the manifold changes and, not only watched, but has felt the effects of some. In this respect "Student" is in full agreement with Mr. Talbot, that the changes are "not always for the better." All that can be said is that they appear to be almost impossible to avoid, and must be regarded as part of the price of progress, the disturbing accompaniments of a people in the travail of a new birth. It would be easy to expand on this subject, but this is not the appropriate occasion. "Student" is desirous only to point out that to lay a charge of "lack of acquaintance" was rather risky.

"Student" can, at least, claim to have examined a number of Mbari houses distributed over a considerable area of the country where they are to be found. Further, he has enjoyed what is possibly a unique experience for a European, namely, the special concession of being allowed to enter and inspect an Mbari compound in course of preparation while the work has been progressing secretly behind the barricading fences which screen the operations from the prying eyes of the public. He has met and conversed with actual artists—with and without interpreters—and discussed various aspects of the exhibition with understanding Natives of long-standing acquaintance who were completely at their ease and unembarrassed by strangers.

Prior to the coming of the European it is probable that the Mbari compounds were rather smaller than some of recent years. There would be no "upstairs" houses, no large models of locomotives, motor-cars, banks, assize courts, gunboats and other European accretions. The idea of a house with rooms above ground level—with stairs to ascend—appears to have been based on the Government House, Owerri. But since the modern additions have come we cannot recall a single case where the figures "upstairs" were regarded and spoken of as any other than caricatures of Europeans. As previously stated, these figures, and other side issues, are merely show pieces; they are not essential to the purpose of an Mbari.

When some workmen stated that they obtained their ideas of certain expressions of their art from pictures, "Student" was as much surprised as Mr. Talbot could have been. It did seem too incredible, but the men ought to know as they were skilled craftsmen. They volunteered the statement, and it came to "Student" as a shock as he had, hitherto, not associated an Mbari exhibition with European pictures. It may be worse in Mr. Talbot's case as it may also have upset a theory. Certainly this was the explanation of some of the crude things on show, and it was supported by names and other details. The explanation accounts clearly for the "Geschlechts Akt" referred to on p. 24 of "Some Nigerian Fertility Cults." There is no need to speculate which was the point "Student" sought to demonstrate. Further, and more emphatically so, this is the explanation given by artists themselves of figures of women and animals in circumstances counterpart to the incidents noticed near Ingan, in Owerri district, described in the last paragraph of p. 33. If the testimony of workmen themselves is not convincing, one fears no evidence will suffice.

"Student" is quite familiar with the representation of "Ogbango." He has seen a number of specimens, and he is invariably shown as an impossible beast. He is just a black bogy, a crude, disreputable gollywog. He is usually from two to three feet in height and always placed *alone*. Never once can it be recollected has this "wer"-beast been seen in juxtaposition with any other figure, human or animal. This is the point argued in "Student's" earlier communication. Ogbango is a "wer"-beast, short, black and ugly, studded, in places, with great thorns, and armed with the fabled hard balls for hurling at people as they pass in the forest, whereas the figure in the "Geschlechts Akt" is always *a man*, plain and simple, and a man it is intended to be by the artists.

Everybody acquainted with the Owerri district is aware of the fact that great numbers of the younger men (and women) have, for years, sought work in other parts and, particularly, at Lagos and other ports, and some know also that indecent pictures have occasionally been brought home by these travelling Natives, and herein lies, what is asserted by the artists themselves, the explanation of certain unseemly exhibitions found in Mbari houses.

STUDENT.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Hundred Years Ago.

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The Growth of the West African Press.

Like every other form of activity in West Africa, the Press is making marvellous progress. Though the tendency is to unduly

together, nor deny that individualistic ideas are rapidly being fostered by the economic evolution of the last quarter of a century, of which a revolution in ideas of property (including land) is a part. But there is room for difference of opinion as to how far these ideas have taken root, and how they should be dealt with, and the desirability, or otherwise, of hastening the change from communal, or family, to individual ownership. Mr. Bell's point of view is that of the merchant desirous of removing an obstacle to commerce and in touch with Africans engaged in trade with European merchants in towns which have become commercialised, among whom there may be "a growing dissatisfaction with the existing communal land tenure regulations."

The disintegrating effect on the native social system of close contact with European commercialism can be seen in the ports of the Gold Coast which have been under this influence for nearly 300 years. In these towns tribal and family groups have been almost dissolved, and individualism asserts itself, just as is happening in Abeokuta. This has been caused by a realisation of the fact that, owing to growing demand, land in towns has a market value and can be used as security on which to raise the capital needed for trade. Outside the small circle of the towns and their population are the great agricultural masses—probably 90 per cent. of the population and 98 per cent. of the area of the country. Is this vast majority desirous of change? When the agricultural departments shall have taught them to adopt intensive culture and the permanent cultivation of a plot by rotation of crops they will follow the example of the towns-folk and desire to introduce individual ownership. The most powerful incentive to this change is to imbue the peasants with the commercial spirit by bringing them into contact with markets which will absorb their crops, and incite them to larger output, so as to take advantage of the opportunity presented them to acquire wealth. Mr. Bell points out that "during the last few years there has been an increase in palm produce exported from the Eastern Provinces, but this increase comes solely from the districts which have been tapped by the new railways and roads that have been constructed." When the still backward areas in South-Eastern Nigeria are also tapped by roads and railways they, too, will respond to the stimulus. When land becomes a source of profit and acquires economic value, the demand for individual ownership will follow in good time.

The administrator's problem is to decide which is the better and wiser policy—to hasten the revolution by legislation, or to wait till economic evolution causes the people to desire it. The problem is extremely complex, because a change in the system of land tenure will affect the whole structure of the West African social system, which is based on communal ownership. To sweep away, or to substantially modify, the existing system, before the ground has been prepared for the new, will precipitate a social and moral cataclysm. The Bishop of Liverpool's advice to British administrators among "what we are pleased to call the backward races," to exercise their "capacity to lead without domination, and to let them grow without forcing or hurry," is pre-eminently applicable to the problem of land tenure in Nigeria and West Africa generally.

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Christianity and Civilisation.

This quarter's issue of the Elder Dempster Magazine has an appropriate air of conveying good will and good wishes. Besides the Editor's New Year greeting to his readers, there are special Christmas messages from the Anglican Bishop and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool. Both prelates are impressed with the growing importance of West Africa as a field for Christian labourers; but to one reader at least the Bishop's message seems to have the more human appeal. He speaks of the emotions we all can share—imaginative picturing of unvisited lands whose life is interwoven with our own by social or spiritual bonds; the wistfulness of partings, the admiration of and sympathy for brave men doing good work—all these we have felt and understood. The Bishop seems to dwell on the work of individual Christian men and women, the Archbishop to stress the work of the Christian Church. The two messages are equally eloquent; there is nothing to choose between them as utterances, but the personal tone of the Bishop comes home to one more intimately than the Archbishop's survey of world-history, because the progress of the work of both Christianity and civilisation depends, in Africa, more than anywhere else, upon the personality of the workers, and it may be said that in most cases the worker—administrator, missionary, merchant, or teacher—looms larger in the minds of the Africans than the institution—Government, Church, or firm—which he or she represents. The increasing realisation of the obligation which rests upon the Europeans in West Africa, to which the editorial message refers, has been one of the causes of West African progress during the last thirty years. Both parties, European and African, have been stimulated by the growth of interest in their own particular sphere of work as something into which they can put themselves, and that as they "are in their day and generation legatees of a heritage" so it is their part to "seek to foster and to protect it."

Land Tenure.

All the articles in the issue are interesting. Much valuable information will be found in "Relativity Value of West African Produce" (E. H. Nuttall) and "The Development of a Great Industry" (dealing with the manufacture of margarine), both of which should be read and pondered by every West African native trader interested in the export of produce. The two leading articles—"Land Tenure in Southern Nigeria," by Mr. E. Hyslop Bell, chairman of the Niger Co., Ltd., and "The New Educational Policy in West Africa," by the Rev. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Prince of Wales's College, Achimota—deal with the two most important and widely discussed West African problems; the experience and positions of these writers must command respectful attention to what they write. Mr. Bell discusses the effect of the native systems of land tenure on the growing commercialisation of the British West African colonies, from the point of view of the trader. No one will dispute his thesis that the communal system of land-holding and commerce cannot exist multiply the number of journals published in each colony, the fact that so many can find sufficient support to enable them to appear regularly every week is striking evidence of the spread of education and the increase of interest in public affairs. It is only natural that a large proportion of the space in every issue should be taken up with matters of local interest; men everywhere are more interested in the happenings at their own doors than in events affecting the fate of great, but distant, nations. Even in the great "leading journals" of Europe and America a murder in the town, a robbery in the next street, a divorce of a well-known citizen are granted as much space, and are read as eagerly, as the proceedings of international conferences, while the sayings and doings of leading statesmen in foreign countries are overshadowed by the bickerings and rivalries of the leading members of the national political parties for control of the national affairs. So also the West African Press must address itself to local matters in order to gather supporters, but it also gives a large amount of world news, with reports of events of international importance, which are discussed with commendable moderation and an intelligence which commands attention even when it fails to convince. Critics of the West African Press must bear in mind that it is only within the last quarter of a century that there has been a reading public sufficiently large to provide a circulation to cover the cost of production. The first newspapers on the Coast were the ventures of individuals with an itch for writing who had more trouble to dispose of their papers than to produce them. My first connection with journalism was as sub-editor to the late Prince Brew of Dunkwa at Cape Coast. There were no advertisements, little news from out-stations, and few letters from correspondents. When the editor and I had written leading articles, comments on local and foreign affairs, paragraphs on topical subjects, and got sufficient matter to fill an issue, we had to personally superintend the printing of the 300 copies of the four foolscap pages which formed our "influential journal." Whatever bread (and it was little enough) we got from the Press was earned by the sweat of our brows and brains, but we had the satisfaction of knowing that we had the approbation of the "audience meet though few" of Milton's desire, and that we did exercise some influence on the opinions of our supporters on what is truly described as "in itself and readers. The advance of the local Press an event which marks an advance in journalistic enterprise." The production is an can be gauged by comparing that four-page broadside, poorly printed on poor paper, achievement by the excellence of both read- with the journals of to-day running to four ing matter and illustrations. From the mes- or more sheets, carrying advertisements, sage of Sir Ransford Slater on the first page regular reports from special correspondents to the final paragraph of "Editorial Notes" giving a view of the doings in all districts on the last, every page carries something of and provinces, regular cables from Europe interest. As reminders of the pre-railway and America, and well-considered and well-days the photographs of Sir Frederick and expressed articles on many topics, with Lady Hodgson on their return to Accra after sound and moderate leading articles for the the siege of Kumasi in 1900, and the others guidance of public opinion.

on Page 14 are of special interest. I hope that the returns from this bold venture will be such as to encourage the publishers to further and greater efforts.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

(Continued from our issue of 29th December.)

Mr. Miller then read a resolution of confidence as follows :—

"That this meeting representing the electorate of the Colony of Sierra Leone having heard the three elected members of the Legislative Council give an account of their stewardship as such elected member hereby expresses its appreciation of their services to the country as rendered in the Legislative Council, warmly congratulate them on the dignified and constitutional manner in which they have represented the electorate and cordially agrees to continue to give them their support." And said :—

"As you will have observed, the Resolution is in three parts. We express our appreciation of their services : we congratulate them on the dignified and constitutional manner in which they have represented the electorate and we pledge ourselves to continue to give them our support. As to (1) you have heard this afternoon from themselves a brief account of their services in the Council and we who have been reading the Council Debates have an appreciable knowledge of the praiseworthy manner they have been performing their arduous duties, and we hereby express our high appreciation of them. They have comported themselves with dignity and have been acting constitutionally in making their representations; whatever fears and apprehensions to the contrary were entertained, have been falsified —for this we heartily congratulate them.

I come now to the last part which has formed the subject of appeals to you. They have taken us to task for not having expressed from time to time our appreciation or otherwise of the action taken by them in the Council, and thereby failed to give them the necessary support to which they were entitled. We all must plead guilty to that. The First Urban Member when he returned from Monrovia, asked—"What is wrong with Sierra Leone?" And yet I can assure him, despite the strange silence maintained in the matter of their doings *re* the Assessors Ordinance, that we all appreciated the Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright's courageous and noble effort; we felt very keenly, very deeply on the subject matter of the Address delivered and published by him in a Pamphlet in England and also the subsequent debate in Council on the Assessors Ordinance. I do not think you can find ten or rather more than five per cent of who are in favour of the Assessors Ordinance. And yet the ninety or ninety-five per cent who felt so strongly on this matter, never said a word, that is, never gave public expression of their opinion or views on the subject. They were inarticulate. But there was a strong desire to make some demonstration and expression of public feeling regarding this action of our elected members. A meeting was convened to deal with the matter, but owing to the paucity of the attendance, it was postponed and another was not convened. And there the move ended—abortively. There must be something wrong with us as a people—this inability to take concerted action. But I will not stay to say what I think it is to-night. Some months ago, I was talking with a young man on the Assessors Ordinance and he said to me, "I tell you, sir, that the day I am appointed an Assessor by the Court, I will refuse to sit even if I am sent to prison for it." And I say, if we could have such men who will prefer to go to prison rather than sit as Assessors, I think it would not be long before the Assessors Ordinance die a natural death. So I would ask the honourable elected members not to regard this silence, this dumbness, as indifference on our part. There are deep and strong objections to the Ordinance, a strong feeling of resentment at the injustice of such a Law; it only requires leaders to elicit articulate expressions of such objections and resentment and to effect organised persistent action for its repeal. But I have every hope that concerted action will be taken between our Elected Members and the people through the medium of the National Congress of British West Africa as will result in the repeal of the Ordinance. Meantime, let each one try to do his or her bit—honestly, faithfully, courageously. Duties are ours—results are God's.

I move for your unanimous acceptance of this Resolution or Vote of Confidence in our Elected Members in which we express that we highly appreciate their services, we congratulate them on the work they have done and we pledge ourselves to continue to give them our whole-hearted support throughout their remaining period of office.

This resolution was seconded by Mr. J. D. Oldfield, who spoke as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure you do not expect anything much from me at this stage and if, as some people would say, I say "I concur," I am sure you will be satisfied, But permit me to say very briefly my mind. To be a leader in a community like ours, is not an easy task. To be able to do even one-half of what we have read in the Legislative Council debates that our elected members have been able to do is not an easy task, and sure enough there will be not only no divided opinion amongst us, but if it were possible to get the entire community to express their opinion, I believe they will be unanimous in their appreciation of the good work that has been done by the elected members. The three elected members have very briefly given us an account of their stewardship, even the Doctor who felt that we should give an account and not they. He finds that he cannot do that and he has given us something of what they have done in the past. The only thing that we can do to show our appreciation, not in words but in deeds, is to give our vote of confidence. Not merely say they have done well, but to give them our vote of confidence. And I think all I can now do is to second this vote of confidence as expressed in the Resolution which has been read—that this meeting, representing the electorate of the City of Freetown, hearing the three elected members of the Legislative Council give an account of their stewardship, express unanimously our vote of confidence and pledge ourselves to support them in their labours in Council.

The Rev. W. B. Marke said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, you have heard the Resolution which has been moved and seconded. What I have to say is this, that if it has your concurrence and approval you will signify the same by standing. (All stood). I thank you. Then this vote is unanimous. I am sure that if our elected members had at any time felt depressed, if they thought that your silence was a sign of indifference they would now realise that they have our full and unqualified support.

Rev. J. O. E. Taylor said :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure you will associate yourselves with the Vote of Thanks to the three Elected Members, who have addressed us, the Ladies of the Musical Society for their musical service, and to the Chairman for presiding on this occasion. It is a very important occasion, and I am sure you will appreciate the fact that the Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress of British West Africa has had the nerve to make this gesture for the resuscitation of the Sierra Leone Section of Congress. I have no doubt you will join them in this new effort.

Mr. W. S. Cole :—The time is far advanced, I beg to support heartily the Resolution just moved.

The meeting having signified its approval of the vote of thanks put to it by Mr. Miller, he presented it for acceptance to the Chairman.

The Chairman in reply spoke as follows :—I have very great pleasure in accepting the vote of thanks on behalf of the ladies of the Musical Society. I hope that Dr. Bright's suggestions as regards the inclusion of ladies in the Legislative Council by giving them the franchise will materialise, if for nothing else, because if one may judge from the effect their singing has had on this gathering, one may well expect that the admission of ladies will create a soothing atmosphere in the Legislative Council Hall.

Our time is gone. But for that I should have liked to join issue with Mr. Tuboku-Metzger as regards the position he said those he mentioned and I took at the time in the matter of the building at 'Njala. I should have liked to point out to him that the position he and others took at the time was not in favour of a modified building as now exists.

It was that there should be no building at all. My view is the same now as it was at the time when, with others, I gave my opinion in a report in favour of a building as then estimated to be put up.

Dr. Bright said a while ago that no notice was taken of the efforts made by our representatives for the abolition of the Assessors Ordinance. I imagine there are different ways of expressing one's appreciation; sometimes through the Press. Sometimes in other ways. I think I am right to say that when Dr. Bright last returned from England and attended, on his first Sunday in the Colony one of the largest churches in town, the minister of that Church went out of his way I really should not say out of his way—and publicly thanked Dr. Bright for his commendable efforts in England against the Assessors Ordinance. Of course, one cannot remember everything. I can therefore excuse the Doctor that he has forgotten this. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

Mr. Miller :—I shall be too happy to receive applications for membership from Ladies and Gentlemen.

The National Anthem was sung and the proceedings closed.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE.

A MISGUIDED POLICY.

II.

We propose this week to review the Report of the Director stating his reasons why vernacular education should be introduced into the Protectorate. In reading this Report, one is confronted with a difficulty, which even the Director himself tacitly admitted—that is the question of suitable teachers. His optimism seems to have enabled him to brush this difficulty aside; but we must confess that this optimism is, like the policy itself, misplaced and unwarranted. Let us consider the position from its real stand point. To teach vernacular education properly, the teachers themselves must have a thorough ground work; they must in effect be philologists, men who study the science of languages. We ask, where are they to be found in the Protectorate? Mr. Sumner may be a paragon, and his duplicate is impossible of procuring. We will now consider "the advantages of beginning in the vernacular" as stated by Mr. Kilgwin. To some extent we agree with him that Government is out to educate Africans to be better Africans and not imitation Englishmen. The extent to

which we agree with him is that the African must not be made to forget that he is an African, that he should not despise his country, or his customs, or his people and imagine he is other than an African. But if the Director means by this that everything English should be excluded from the curriculum of the African, and that he should not in anyway imitate the Englishman, we would part company with him. We are of the opinion that no nation or civilisation is self-contained, that education, and all that it embraces, namely, sanitation and other personal improvements are borrowed materials.

The African in imitating the good qualities of the Englishman, and incorporating them into his customs, in improving his sanitary condition in laying out his town on more improved lines, is simply doing what other nations, not excluding the English, have done.

The primers which were being used in our schools showed the Englishman in early stages in no better condition than the natives of the Protectorate, with loin-cloths as his only garments. To-day the Englishman is in a different condition, and his improvement is due to his adoption of Roman and other systems of culture. The African in his association with the Englishman and other European nations in Africa, will eventually develop a civilization and culture which must contain borrowed materials from these nations, and on that account he is not to be disparaged as an imitation Englishman.

We cannot understand what Mr. KEIGWIN means by "the premature teaching of English." English has, during the past, been taught at an early age in order that the children may have ample time to digest and understand it. This value to the natives in the past has been inestimable, and from experience they clamour for it. To characterise this request for more light, as ignorant clamour by unrealizing people, is undignified, and is an unmerited reflection on those who, know that in the world of the survival of the fittest, they must be efficient in that language which has become the *lingua franca* and it is also discrediting the work of his predecessors who appreciated what a thorough knowledge of the English language is to the natives, and who although they did not reach the climax of perfection yet took into consideration the opposition of the natives to vernacular education and never introduced it.

In our issue of the 19th October last, we quoted His Excellency Sir RANSFORD SLATER on Vernacular Education as follows:—

> "I should, however, have little hesitation in saying that it is in the highest degree unlikely that anyone of Sierra Leone's many vernaculars will ever become the *Lingua Franca* of the Protectorate. If there is any language possessing in this Protectorate any of the characteristic's of a *lingua franca* that language is English. And one of such characteristics is popularity. Although local educational opinion displays on the subject of vernacular education a considerable measure of divergence, even those most keenly in favour of it would admit that what the natives are clamouring for is English.
>
> Indeed the people of the Protectorate strongly object to the native language being taught in the schools. They demand English, and several of the Managers of schools have informed the Acting Director of Education that if Government forces the vernacular to the detriment of English then the people will refuse to send their children to school."

Mr. KEIGWIN seems to base his case for vernacular education on his experience in South Africa. But from what we know of the standard of education in South Africa, we are apprehensive that vernacular education can never be in our interest. We would say at once that the result of the introduction of vernacular education would be to lower the standard of education.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

In Memoriam: Leslie Couper, C.M.G.

The news of the death of Mr. Leslie Couper, C.M.G., has been a great shock to West African circles, as it was generally believed that his return to business was evidence of complete recovery from the illness from which he had recently suffered. As general manager of the Bank of British West Africa he was in close touch with every section of work, commercial, financial, official, and missionary, concerned in West Africa, and each and all of the workers will feel a sense of personal loss in the passing of a charming personality, a widely informed and far-seeing business man, and an adviser, with a sound grasp of affairs and a well-balanced view of probabilities (and possibilities, whose opinion was reliable. Mr. Couper may be said to have spent his whole life in connection with West Africa. His father had been a member of the firm of Couper, Johnstone and Co., West African merchants, of Glasgow (which then took a larger part in the West Coast trade than it does to-day), for some time when his son, Leslie, was born in 1871. Educated at the well-known Kelvinside Academy, his personality was marked by the best characteristics of the Scottish business man, caution in judgment combined with boldness in decision, and determination in execution. Through his father's influence he was taken into the service of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., then under the management of Mr. (Sir) Alfred Jones, for whom he acted as private secretary. The bank with which he was to be so long and closely identified was established as an offshoot of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., in 1894, and was housed in a few rooms in that company's office building in Liverpool, with Mr. Couper as assistant secretary as a sort of side-show. The increase in the bank's business caused by the feverish activity in gold concession hunting on the Gold Coast, which culminated in the boom of 1901, necessitated the establishment of a London branch, and Mr. Couper was appointed London manager with rooms in Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co.'s offices at 4, St. Mary Axe, E.C. The flood of business which poured into the bank during the boom, when every day witnessed the birth of two or three Gold Coast gold mining companies, led to its removal to its own premises in the Old East India House in Leadenhall Street, London. Here Mr. Couper and his staff wrestled with the affairs of 400 and odd companies, with a nominal capitalisation of nearly £40,000,000, which were floated during the boom, all of which had to deal, directly or indirectly, with the only bank operating in the colony.

The B.B.W.A.

Mr. Couper's assumption of the London management also coincided with the opening of the era of development which has accompanied the improvement and cheapening of transport in West Africa. In 1901 the colony of Sierra Leone had 76 miles of railway (Freetown to Moyumba) in operation; the Gold Coast 40 miles (Sekondi to Tarkwa); and Nigeria 120 miles (Lagos to Ibadan). The bank's function was to expedite the transition from barter to cash trade, which had begun about twenty-five years before, but had been impeded by the small quantity of coined money available for general circulation. The demand of the mining industry and the railway contractors for coins to pay wages led to the bank importing nearly one and a-half million pounds sterling worth of British silver currency into West Africa, the circulation of which by the labourers and their families largely contributed to educate the people in the use of cash. The bank was then in its infancy, its authorised capital being only £250,000, of which £110,000 was subscribed; it had only four branches in West Africa—at Freetown, Cape Coast, Accra, and Lagos. Under the fostering care of Mr. Couper, who became general manager in 1910, it has grown pari passu with the commerce of the British West African Colonies. Its palatial offices in 37, Gracechurch Street, London, are the headquarters of an organisation with sixteen times the capital originally authorised. The paid-up capital has been increased tenfold, and the four branches have grown into forty in the British West African Colonies, besides which there are nine branches in Morocco, two in the Canary Islands, and agencies in Hamburg and New York.

The Watchman of West Africa.

The office of the general manager was a watch-tower from which he surveyed West Africa as a whole and in detail. Holding the reins of the widespread organisation which had grown up under his supervision, he had unrivalled opportunity of keeping in touch with present conditions, and of appraising the value and possibilities of enterprises in the colonies. His wide knowledge and reliable judgment were enlisted for the public service by his appointment to a seat on the West African Currency Commtitee in 1911, of the Edible Nuts Committee in 1915, and of the Board of Trade's Advisory Committee under the Trade Facilities Act of 1924, to which was added, in 1926, membership of the Palestine Currency Board. He enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the prominent public men—Sir Alfred Jones, Lord Kylsant, Lord Lugard, Lord Milner (a past chairman), and Lord Selborne (the present chairman)—who have been members of the board of directors. His high standing in banking circles is shown by his having been twice elected chairman of the British Overseas Banks Association, which office he was holding at the time of his death. To the clients of the bank, European and African, he was always accessible, courteous, and helpful. A visit to "our bank" is included in the programme of every African visitor to London—whether President of a Republic, Emir from Northern Nigeria, Chief from the Gold Coast, pilgrim to Mecca, or trader from Freetown or Lagos—and each and all received courteous hospitality and wise counsel from the general manager. The grant to him of the C.M.G., in 1919, was felt to have been fitting reward of his services to the British West African Colonies. The robust faith in the future of these colonies which he inherited from Sir Alfred Jones was an asset which will be most felt in its loss. West Africa mourns, in sympathy with his widow and family, at the loss of a true friend and faithful helper, for whom there was every reason to hope for a still long term of the activities which had filled his life.

Race Prejudice.

South Africa is in the unhappy position of making herself notorious throughout the civilised world with its detestable and narrow-minded weakness of race prejudice. India's highly respected representative in the Union, the Right Hon. V Srinivasa Sastri in a valedictory speech at Kimberley warned his European audience "not to let the spirit of racialism get the upper hand." He urged his hearers "to see that Cape politics were maintained on a higher standard than that at present obtained in the Transvaal and the Free State." Gen. Smuts speaking at Bethal on Tuesday last remarked that "it will be an unhappy day for South Africa if they succeeded in fighting the next election on a cry of white South Africa." "It will be a fatal thing and a calamity regarding Native policy," he said.

No less a notability than the Hon. V. Sastri repeats the argument adumbrated in the columns of this paper that the government should model its Native policy for the Union from that of the old Cape regime, and leave the rest to time; but in contradiction to this advice the Premier in the despair of extending the Transvaal policy to the Cape, intends to appeal to the country with the cry of "a white South Africa." Let us for a moment assume that the Premier's dream was realised, and that in twenty years' time the Union Natives (what was left of them) were transported to the Sahara Desert; a more acute problem would still confront Gen. Hertzog. Who was going to substitute the Native in the mines, the farms, the harbours and industries and do all the filthy work of the country?; the question would arise.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

PROGRESS IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

A REMARKABLE GATHERING AND A TRIBAL FRATERNISING.

[FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

Owo, Southern Nigeria, January 7.—Ikare town is situated in the centre of the Akoko district, about 28 miles north of Owo. After the tiresome and gloomy uniformity of the most southerly areas of the Ondo Province, the Akoko country presents a charming, picturesque and refreshing change. Everywhere the country ascends into hills. The foothills are wooded while the higher slopes contain little vegetation and are often composed of bare granite rock. Quite the most attractive group of hills is the one in whose intermediate valleys lie the quarters of Ikare. If one ascends any of the surrounding hills the panorama is a full reward for the climb. All the quarters of the town can be seen lying peacefully in the sheltered valleys while the view extends north and north-east beyond the Erusu and Ikeram ranges to the well defined granite hills of Ogidi and Kabba, in the Northern Provinces. At this time of year the colouring afforded by the red leaves of the Udan and Damipara trees, which grow freely all round the foothills, is delightful, reminding the European sojourner of an autumn at Home.

Ikare has a population of over 10,000 people and even before the construction of the road from Owo to Lokoja it was the centre of trade and marketing over a wide area. The coming of a motor road has brought increased trade and well ordered prosperity. Ikare's future as a town of commerce is assured and its people are keen and energetic traders and farmers.

Such was the setting selected for an agricultural and industrial exhibition, the first of its kind held in the Ondo Province. The idea originated in the mind of the Rev. L. A. Lennon, the West Indian clergyman in charge of the Church Missionary Society's work throughout the Akoko, Kabba, Igbirra and Kukuruku districts, himself a keen and able tropical agriculturist. The co-operation of the District Officer and Native Administration was assured.

Towards the end of the year all the District Heads were asked to give their aid and enlist the sympathy of the parents and children.

The District Officers of surrounding districts took up the work of propaganda among their Chiefs and long before the date of the show the organisers were confident that there would be no lack of exhibits. The exhibition was primarily one in which the school children would take part but such was the keenness displayed by everyone that it was decided to accept exhibits from the Chiefs and parents.

During the week before the appointed date stalls of bamboos and palm leaves were erected on a large open space, reserved in 1927 by the Olukare of Ikare and his Chiefs as a playground for Ikare children. The stalls were gaily decorated with flags and bunting and the whole site was enclosed with a stout bamboo fence. The entrance was the principal decorative feature of all. It included an archway of palm leaves supported by plantain and banana trees in full fruit, the whole being ornamented with flowers. Overhead was a large red banner, with the words "Agricultural Show" interwoven in white. Simple posters and tinted shrubs lent further colour. The people caught the festive spirit and the entrance to the Olukare's Afin was adorned with arches of palm leaves and flowers. For the work connected with all these preparations thanks are entirely due to the Olukare and people of Ikare, who worked like Trojans from morn to eve.

On the 19th the exhibits began to arrive and it soon became evident that there would be little room for the school exhibits arriving the following day. Further stalls were hurriedly erected. Mr. Kincaird and Mr. Voelcker, officers of the Agricultural Department, Benin City, arrived the same day, bringing with them a palm-oil press and a nut-cracking machine, which were soon functioning. These machines were the centre of interest on the first day. Large stocks of palm fruit and dried nuts had been supplied and the oil and kernels were returned to the owners.

The Resident and Mrs. Bewley also arrived on the 19th and took up residence in the Native court-house.

On the 20th the District and Village Heads arrived bringing further exhibits. A spectacular arrival was provided by the Olubaka of Oka and the Olisua of Isua. They were preceded by a band of over 150 hunters, in the ancient garb of their craft—their necks and waists hung with numerous jujus and medicines. These hunters climbed the high hill where the District Officer's rest-house is being built, and extended into single file along the ridge. The guns were fired in groups of two or three until the end of the line was reached. They then performed a mock attack on the Native court-house and rushed headlong down the slopes and across the open to their objective, to the accompaniment of war-whoops and tom-toms.

The rest-house was easily "taken" despite the honest endeavours of a solitary Olopa (N.A. policeman) to defend. There the leading hunters performed a war dance while the Olubaka and Olisua saluted the Resident. The Chiefs then proceeded to view the exhibition. Chiefs from Kabba, Okeni and other places arrived.

By this time it seemed as though Ikare was invaded by all the Akoko. Then the C.M.S. school children arrived headed by banners and drummers. Each school after reporting its arrival at headquarters marched to the exhibition. Some schools came from distances such as Okeni, Kabba, Ibillo and Isua. At the ground they deposited their exhibits, which were then arranged by a staff of clerks. The quartering and feeding of the children over the period of their stay were arranged by the Rev. Mr. Lennon and his Ikare school teachers. It was no easy task, as over 600 children had to be cared for.

By mid-day it was possible for the committee to judge the entries in the agricultural section. The committee was the Resident, the District Officer, Mr. Elliott of the B.C.G.A., Lokoja, and the Rev. L. A. Lennon, assisted where necessary by the representatives of the Agricultural Department, Messrs. Kincaird and Voelcker. A difficult task was theirs, as the exhibits of the leading crops and sylvan produce were numerous and of a high standard, particularly so in the yam, kola, cocoa and bean sections. The poultry exhibits were also of a high order. Some Ikare euthusiast, having observed what he considered to be a competition open to all live stock, had produced a pet monkey, which had a lively time among ducks and turkeys tied up in its vicinity. The plantain and banana stall next door also suffered. The cotton exhibits were unfortunately not numerous, as the crop was only then in flower. A special feature was a demonstration of pot-making. Many pots of artistic design were exhibited by the people of Erusu, Arigiddi and Aje. The more difficult sections, containing handicrafts, carving, sewing, weaving, mats and baskets were left to the evening. A special committee of ladies, Mrs. Bewley, Mrs. de Montmorency, Mrs. Lennon and Miss Wait (C.M.S. Girls' School, Akure) judged the sewing, mat and Native cloth exhibits. The most difficult task of all was in the handicraft and industrial section, where the children's efforts were as varied as they were numerous. They were arranged in groups embracing the following and prizes were given in each group:—Farming implements, fish-nets, musical instruments, fans, hats or caps, carpentry, Native games, tobacco pipes, and any handicraft worked in school. Four prizes were awarded in the last-named section, as it was obvious that the children had taken much trouble and displayed great imagination.

That evening there was prolonged drumming in the town and plays and dances were continued until late hours. Each Chief had been asked to bring a company of players.

The morning of the 21st was heralded by the many dawn drummings of the District Heads, while at 8 o'clock the hunters fired another salvo from the hill tops. The sun was early up, and long before the appointed hour the Chiefs and people began to arrive. It was a sight which will long be remembered. The Akoko District Heads arrived on horses followed by a multitude of people resplendent in best apparel. The colouring and splendour of the finery of the Chiefs vied with the gay array of the enclosure. Only Chiefs and a few attendants were permitted to the sun shelters reserved for them and the gate attendants had their work cut out to avoid a rush in, but the people for the most part were orderly, and arranged themselves round the barriers.

"On time," the Owa of Owo, accompanied by the Chiefs Ojumu and Ojomo, arrived in his car. He was welcomed by the District Officer and proceeded to his place beside the Akoko Chiefs. This was a great event in the history of the Division as the Owa was making his first sojourn to the Akoko and it was hoped that the distrust and misunderstanding between the two peoples would disappear as a result of this meeting.

The Resident and Mrs. Bewley arrived and after they had greeted the Owa and the Akoko Chiefs they entered to the European enclosure and the proceedings commenced.

The school children who had assembled in the mission compound and marched to a parade ground adjoining the enclosure, gave their display. Each school was required to march round the enclosure, and halt beside the assembled Europeans and Chiefs. There, a song, play or drill had to be performed and prizes were awarded the best banner, the best drum-beats and the best performance. The judging was carried out by Mrs. Bewley. Special prizes were given to the small school from Okeni for the general impression of personal cleanliness they conveyed while a "battalion of soldiers" drafted from Akunnu distinguished themselves with a smart performance of parade drill under an exacting "sergeant-major."

After the last school had marched past the District Officer (Capt. J. A. Mackenzie) gave an address, in the course of which he said, after paying a warm tribute to the keenness and energy of Mr. Lennon and the magnificent response of his teachers and scholars:—

The object of this exhibition is to show Chiefs, parents, teachers and children that farming and the cultivation of sylvan crops is the keynote to the future prosperity of this country. Not all scholars can be clerks or teachers. Another aim is to stop the migration of the youth of the Division to perform farming work at such places as Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijebu Ode and other centres. Youths leave their own farms in this productive and charming area and elsewhere perform farming labour at rates of pay which are not very high. Could they put the same amount of energy into the family farms or their own farms they would be much the gainers, beside being assets to the community. I am glad that the Chiefs and parents as well as children caught the exhibiting spirit and many prizes have been awarded to them. I want specially to thank the Olukare and people of Ikare for the help they have given in the erection of the stalls and enclosures and in preparing the town for a gathering unique in your history. I am afraid the calls on the Olukare's hospitality have been many. In conclusion I want to thank those people, officials, missionaries and com-

mercial, who have given financial and other help to the success of the exhibition.

The Resident also spoke, saying in the course of his remarks :—

I salute the Owa of Owo and thank him for being present, also thank the Olukare for having given him such a friendly welcome. I trust that to-day will see the beginning of a real friendship between the people of Owo and the Akokos, and that petty jealousies are past and forgotten. An agricultural show such as this which brings together people belonging to far distant towns, will bring about mutual understanding, and will encourage competition, which is the secret of prosperity. The idea originated with Mr. Lennon and the greatest credit is due to him. He is a busy man, and exhibitions involve much work and trouble.

I am sure that Mr. Lennon will be the first to admit that without the help of a District Officer such as Captain Mackenzie the scheme would have been difficult to carry through. Captain Mackenzie has put his heart and soul into making it a success. With Mr. Lennon's name I should like to couple that of his wife, who has worked enthusiastically and provided many interesting exhibits. The show has been a wonderful success. From small beginnings it grew into a large undertaking. The exhibits are most interesting. Palm-produce will be improved and increased by mechanical processes shown in operation here. I thank the Agricultural Officers for their presence, and for advice and instruction so readily given; also Mr. Elliott, of the B.C.G.A., whose long experience of the country has been of the greatest assistance. A feature which particularly appealed to me was the school children's handicrafts, such as cages, houses, musical instruments, etc. They must have devoted much labour and time to these exhibits, and I only wish that each one could be rewarded with a prize. There is a splendid spirit among the children here to-day and I am sure that they will grow up to be a credit to their parents and teachers. Once again I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Lennon and Captain Mackenzie for the excellent show. My wife and I would not have missed it for anything. We shall take away with us pleasant recollections of our happy days at Ikare among you."

The distribution of prizes was presided over by Mrs. Bewley.

The Owa Native Administration voted £20 towards the expenses and a prize fund, while several friends interested sent subscriptions. Seventy-eight prizes were presented and although most of them were won by Akoko schools many found their way to schools from Kabba, Igbirra and Kukuruku.

The proceedings closed soon after mid-day with the singing of the National Anthem, and thus ended a memorable gathering of the Akoko and surrounding peoples.

The European visitors and the Rev. and Mrs. Lennon were entertained to luncheon by the District Officer in St. Stephen's school. The luncheon arrangements were in the capable hands of Mrs. de Montmorency and Mrs. Hewitt, who forewent a visit to the exhibition in order to ensure that the final festivities lived up to the programme which had preceded them.

In the picture, in another column, of the District Heads who attended the gathering are the Owa and the Chiefs Ojumu and Ojomo of Owo; the Olukare of Ikare, the Olubaka of Oka, the Olisua of Isua, the Owa of Ogbagi, the Olumuo of Omuo, and the Ahala of Ikeram. In the European group are, standing, from left to right, Mr. Bath, Capt. de Montmorency, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Kincaird, Mr. Bovell-Jones, Mr. Voelker, Mr. Hewitt, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Herbert (Education Department), Mr. Thorburn, and the Rev. Mr. Jebb. Sitting, Mrs. Lennon, Mrs. Hewitt, Mrs. de Montmorency, Capt. Mackenzie (District Officer), Mrs. Bewley, Mr. Bewley (Resident), Miss Wait (C.M.S.), and the Rev. Mr. Lennon.

THE GOLD COAST LIQUOR QUESTION.

DIFFICULTY OF CONTROL.

Reproduced from "The Times."

The Government of the Gold Coast is in an unenviable position, because of the fact that it derives part of its revenue from the import of spirits. It is exposed to the reproach that it profits by what is harmful to the people in its charge, and that its social improvements are to a considerable extent financed by a social evil. Its zeal for the reduction of the consumption of spirits is suspect, for the more it tries to reduce the consumption by raising the duty, the greater the revenue it receives and the greater its interest in the continuation of the trade appears to be.

The fact of the matter is that there is a very strong demand for potable spirit in the Gold Coast, and that those who want it are willing and able to pay a high price for it. The Government cannot renounce its interest in the trade by abolishing the Customs duty That would cheapen gin and presumably enormously increase its importation and consumption and the consequent evils. To prohibit the trade would be to create a contraband traffic, and the country would be flooded with liquor of unknown quality. At present a standard quality is set, and all liquor imported is carefully scrutinised by the Customs Department.

It would be a serious disadvantage to lose this control over the kind of liquor that comes into the country. What the Government has done is progressively to increase the rate of duty. In 1919 the duty on gin was 9s. 6d. per gallon. In 1921 it was 25s. per gallon, and now it is 27s. 6d. per gallon. And still the trade increases. It is far from having returned to what it was before the war, but has increased steadily since 1920, when it was at its lowest. It is doubtful how far this policy of increasing the duty can beneficially be pressed. Certainly so far the prohibitive rate has not been reached. It has been suggested that the Government should go on increasing the duty until the revenue begins to decline, and, further, until it goes back to some far lower figure than the present, to be arbitrarily fixed. This would demonstrate the bona fides of the Government, and there is no doubt that the Government could dispense with the revenue lost (the reimposition of a small cocoa export duty, for example, would ease the transition, if considered necessary), but if the rate of duty becomes really prohibitive it will have the same bad results as the express prohibition of the trade, and actually more will be lost than gained.

Increase in Consumption.

The consumption a head of the people in 1927 was 0.21 gallon, or approximately two-fifths of the consumption in 1913. But it was very much less still in 1920, and has risen steadily ever since. The present consumption a head is stated in the 1927 Gold Coast Trade Report to approximate to the consumption a head in the United Kingdom. It is to be hoped that it will not continue to increase, but so far no means has been devised for arresting its increase.

It has always been an unfortunate feature of West African life, for both natives and Europeans, that so much spirit is drunk—that is to say, that the easiest and most convenient form of refreshment and stimulus, ever ready to hand, has been one in which a high percentage of alcohol is concentrated and injurious quantities of alcohol are easily taken. It is satisfactory to note that more wines and malt liquors are now arriving on the Gold Coast in palatable condition, and are increasing in popularity. The consumption of malt liquors (chiefly light lager beer) in the colony continues to increase rapidly. Unfortunately for the argument the consumption of gin also increases. The consumption of gin during 1927 increased by 446,003 gallons. However, the trade report demonstrates that malt liquors and wines are gaining in popularity at the expense of spirits.

Two economic tendencies go far to explain the recovery of the liquor trade since 1920 and to indicate that, in the Gold Coast at any rate, provided the trade is wisely controlled, there is no cause for serious misgiving or alarm. The first is that those who acquire wealth in a newly developed region naturally wish to avail themselves of such comforts, luxuries, and pleasures as the world's markets have to offer them. Liquor is by no means the only thing they buy, but it is one of them. The second is that cocoa (to take the principal product as an example) is what the world requires from the Gold Coast African, and the more he can produce the more money he gets. He, therefore, has a tendency to concentrate all his energies and his available labour on the production of cocoa, and to avail himself of our products, which he can purchase with money, to satisfy his needs. This is not a tendency which is always satisfactory in its results, but it is understandable, and the demand of the world's markets for cocoa reinforces it. We cannot, and would not wish to, discourage the African from purchasing our products. What we must do is to see that they are of good quality and do him no harm.

Little Drunkenness.

Drink is not the only article on the market of which the African with money avails himself to his possible detriment. Attention might also be turned to cigarettes, the increase in the use of which is no doubt injurious, and to tinned foods, which the African uses very extensively for the same reason that he drinks imported liquor instead of the local product, so that his labour may produce cocoa instead of foodstuffs, and pays the penalty in "deficiency diseases."

Nobody who knows the Gold Coast well will say that it is a country in which there is much drunkenness. As a police-court offence drunkenness is almost non-existent. Large quantities of liquor are consumed on festive and ceremonial occasions. At present this is still the African's idea of lavish hospitality and a good feast. The same idea has been prevalent in Great Britain within living memory, and there are not wanting signs that in the Gold Coast, too, the fashion is changing for the better. The very fact that Sir Ofori Atta, a Paramount Chief, can with such obvious sincerity and concern deplore the effect of drink among his people at a time when the quantity consumed in the country is, in proportion to the population, only two-fifths of what was consumed in 1913, shows a sensitiveness to the evils of excess that augurs well for the future. It is hard to imagine a Chief in 1913 standing for temperance reform.

The Gold Coast African has his head screwed on the right way, and those who know him best are not afraid of his going under to drink. The situation, however, undoubtedly requires to be watched, and so far as possible directed. One of the most hopeful signs is the growth of a sound African public opinion. There has been a campaign against alcohol in the local Press during the last year or so. Much can be done to encourage a good public opinion, and the Missions and Achimota College and educational influences generally are already doing this. The Government of the Gold Coast appears to be fully alive to its responsibilities. In April last the Governor appointed a committee, with Sir Ofori Atta among its members, to make recommendations for a more effectual control of the sale of spirits than the increase of the Customs duty. The terms of reference suggest the increase of the fees for licences to sell, the reduction of the hours of sale to 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. instead of 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., that the provisions of the law as to the type of building for which a licence may be granted should be made more stringent, and that licences should be limited according to population.

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Africa

VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE.

A MISGUIDED POLICY.

Vol. XIV No. 23

THE editorial notes of the *Aurora* of the 18th January in dealing with the subject of education contained certain references which are partly directed against the views we have expressed on this subject. The writer however has done himself injustice in that he has misread and misinterpreted our contribution.

Weekly News

Our principal objection to vernacular education is that the system necessarily defers the early insight into the English language which is a desideratum in the future relationship of White and Black in West Africa.

2/2/29 Freetown Sierra Leone West Africa

We confess we cannot understand the strange argument by which the writer approves the idea that the first stage in which the foundation of knowledge should be laid, should be the language in which the children were born, and yet in the same paragraph says that "there is hardly any part of the Protectorate where English in some form is not used." The writer, in effect admits that English is the *lingua franca* of the Protectorate, and yet advocates, that at the most plastic stage in the mind of the children this *lingua franca* must be disregarded and the children (who already know their own languages) must be taught in that which might be of no practical benefit to them.

If it were suggested that English and vernacular should be taught together, there would not be much opposition to the scheme, but one must view with alarm the future of the next generation of the children of the Protectorate, who will only begin their English education after the third or fourth standard.

The Colony will not come under this scheme, but our duty is not to think of ourselves in the Colony only, but those in the Protectorate as well, who have every right to be properly prepared to meet the altered and changing conditions of their environments,

It may be amusing to the writer when we talk of philologists; but equally so do we consider his comparison of teachers in the vernacular and teachers in English. Comparison between the two is out of the question. The English language has passed through centuries of sifting and the result is the existence of excellent and first class text books which not only teach the scholar but teach the teacher, if we may use this phrase.

At its early stage, when the root-words were being found, when it was being developed grammatically, the men who undertook the task were trained men; they were philologists. The result of their works enables us to be taught more easily than in these days.

Vernacular education in the Protectorate is only now to be started. The first essential, namely the characters of the alphabet are wanting. Trained men are required to evolve these characters and lay a foundation. Without first finding out these men, the system is to be launched, and teachers and pupils necessarily will be groping together for light. Surely the position is not enviable.

The writer, however, admits the difficulties of teachers, and suggests that "ways and means to overcome the difficulty" should be found; whilst these "ways and means" are being found, "ways and means" which we say will tax the genius of Mr. SUMNER and the organising ability of Mr. KEIGWIN, the proper education of the children are being neglected. We ask is it fair? Would we in the Colony have approved of it to them if we were similarly situated? It is easy to describe our views as over-heated imagination but we invite the writer to a dispassionate examination of our views as expressed in our three contributions. No true lover of his race condemns merely for the sake of doing so, and we can state positively that our object in writing these series of articles on vernacular education is to make manifest the defects of the scheme. If vernacular education must be taken, them let it exist side by side with tuition in English, and give the children of the Protectorate the same opportunities which we have.

THE PROBLEMS OF EAST AFRICA AND WEST AFRICA.

Vol XIV No. 23

Weekly News 2/2/29 Freetown Sierra Leone West Africa

THE whole world is now so closely related and drawn together by modern inventions and improvements that we cannot afford to disregard what is taking place in other parts, however far removed from us. For sometime now, comparison has been made between the position in East Africa and that in West Africa, and when we have two important reports like Sir HILTON YOUNG, Commission, and that of Mr. ORMSBY GORE, they affect us sufficiently to merit consideration. The present tendency of Colonial Governments is to assimilate the methods of one country to another; and reforms which in one Colony have proved successful are being introduced into others. The reforms therefore which have been suggested by these reports may some day be regarded as necessary for West Africa, and our opinion at this stage seems relevant. The Sir HILTON YOUNG, Commission, was appointed to consider the question of federation or closer union of British dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa. The report of the Committee is against federation at this stage in so far as the term conveys the idea of a complete union of these dependencies. The Committee reported that:—

> "Though the time is not ripe for any drastic or sudden change, nevertheless, a co-ordination in policy on all affairs of common concern, particularly in regard to native questions, is needed."

In effect the Members of the Commission do not think it is possible to have such a union of the Colonies affected as would effect the present system of government, but urge a gradual change, and agreement on all questions of common concern.

The native question in East Africa is a burning one, and so fundamentally will it affect any union in East Africa that some policy is necessary to be adopted. Such a policy must be successfully tried and proved before it could be considered safe for federation, if dissatisfaction is not to continue. This portion of the report may, with advantage, be considered as if it were a Commission on West Africa. We are of opinion the time is not yet ripe for a federation in West Africa.

We understand the subject has been mooted, although nothing official has been done to indicate any intention of the Imperial Government on the matter. There are, as in East Africa, many and varied problems to be considered before federation can ever be regarded as within the range of practical politics, and, as in East Africa, so in West Africa, the "Native" question would boom largely, although not as acute as in the East. The proportion of White and Black, their future relations, the representation of the different colonies, the question of direct or indirect rule, the judiciary and several other matters are of very huge proportions and must need gradual solution in East Africa as well as West Africa. The "co-ordination in policy on all affairs of common concern" is already taking place in West Africa, and the several conferences which have been held by representatives of the different governments are all directed to the achievement of this end. For this foresight the West African Governments owe a debt to the National Congress of British West Africa which foresaw the necessity of common agreement on all matters of common concern, and despite opposition, put their policy into operation.

Another recommendation of Sir HILTON YOUNG'S Commission is the appointment of a High Commissioner whose post may later be converted into a Governor Generalship for East Africa . . . . . who will act as a personal link between the Colonial Secretary and the Northern Territories of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganika." We are not able to discern from the report to hand whether the High Commissioner is to reside in England or in East Africa, and would therefore reserve comments on this head.

As far as West Africa is concerned, we do not think there would be any opposition to the appointment of a High Commissioner, if such an officer is to reside in England and be the representative of the West African Governments in the Motherland. But such an appointment can only take place if there is a complete co-ordination in policy on all affairs of common concern, otherwise the officer would become a cumbersome and useless official, and instead of facilitating the carrying on of the government of these Colonies, would prove a great hindrance to progress.

The other report is that of Mr. ORMSBY-GORE on Malaya, Ceylon and Java and reviewed in the issue of *West Africa* of the 5th ultimo. Our able contemporary in commenting on this report wrote inter alia:—

> "To many Africans, over-zealous for "superficial progress, indirect rule is "regarded as stagnation, but Mr. "ORMSBY-GORE evidently means the "ordinary goals of human endeavour to "be kept in view."

Indirect rule is unpopular to many Africans because it is ill-conceived in operation. By this we mean, the recognition which is given to the Chiefs, and the rights of governing their own people conferred on them, in some cases result in the departure from the prevailing principles of justice paramount in the British Empire. The limitations to be imposed on indirect rule to make it popular should be such as should regard as illegal anything which conflicts with the standard of justice set by the British Empire. Indirect rule is responsible for the system of judiciary operating in some parts of Nigeria and Ashanti which have received such merited condemnation recently. It is the desire to foster this principle which made possible the restriction of the right to be defended by Counsel; and it is these considerations which weigh greatly with the African concerned about the life and liberty of his brothers.

The reference to Agricultural Developments in East Africa deserves the careful study of the West African Colonies, and although we must admit there has been a great revival in Agricultural undertakings, yet we think a little more could be done. In Conakry, only a few hours from Freetown, a great industry has been established in banana snd orange exports, and we see no reason why Sierra Leone could not be made to produce banana and oranges in large quantities for European market.

Our contemporary thinks that the broadening of the curriculum in West Africa may be opposed as "any change is hailed as a new attempt to curtail African opportunity." This is unfortunately a wrong impression so far, as Sierra Leone is concerned; and we think, in this regard, we

may say, so far the whole of West Africa. We are always anxious to embrace any improvement in our educational curriculum; the opposition has always been to the introduction of experimental system of education to the detriment of other systems which have been tried with beneficial results. Any system which takes into consideration existing conditions, and is not purely iconoclastic will always receive our sincerest support.

MR. HOFMEYR'S TIMELY HINT.

At a time when practically every politician in South Africa is flying at some opponent's throat and taking part in an orgy of invective in the hope of furthering his chances of success at the forthcoming Election, it is well that there should be someone possessed of common sense and foresight enough to remind these impassioned gentry that there are matters of greater moment to South Africa than the pettiness of party politics. We have in mind Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, who, on the eve of his retirement from the Transvaal Administratorship, has courageously come forward with a characteristically eloquent plea for racial harmony. South Africa, he declares, should consciously and determinedly turn her back on all that has divided the people, one from another, in the past. To-day, as never before, the people should forget the old controversies and the old feuds; to-day, as never before, they should turn away from the nightmares of the past and tackle the problems that confront them in the freshly dawning day. In this noble attitude we discern again the fine spirit of the late General Louis Botha, and we applaud it the more because it is a good augury for the country's future that a man who, we feel certain, is destined to play a big part in the guidance of South Africa's destiny should also be imbued with this splendid spirit of conciliation and goodwill. In Mr. Hofmeyr we see all the qualities that go to make the successful statesman, and the efforts that have been made in certain quarters to enlist his support indicate that others, too, are realising that in this remarkable young South African lies dormant a force that will inevitably prove a great factor in the future political history of the country. Happily Mr. Hofmeyr is content to hasten slowly and, like a wise man, he is chary of committing himself till he satisfies himself in which direction he can best serve South Africa. Meanwhile, he dreams his dreams, visualising a great united nation hastening away from the diversions and dissensions of the past and pressing on with all possible directness to the achievements that are before. It is a grand ideal such as appealed to Rhodes and in later years to General Botha and General Smuts. Mr. Hofmeyr has rendered the country a service in once more propounding it, and, as he enjoys the regard of both Generals Smuts and Hertzog, we earnestly trust that his words will not fall on deaf ears.

Lourenco Marques.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S OPTIMISM.

Speech at Opening of New Council.

Following the recent elections, the first session of the Government Council was held at Lourenço Marques on January 2, when the Governor-General reviewed the past year's work and referred to the prosperous financial position of the colony.

His Excellency said he had greater satisfaction with and even more immovable faith in the destinies of Mozambique. The financial situation was entirely free from worry, and thanks to that happy circumstance the Administration, notwithstanding that it had effected improvements of a material order and had carried out many schemes of development, had paid out big sums of money without any embarrassment.

Other improvements and new schemes of development could still be carried out and old accounts with the mother country—which seemed to have a big balance against the colony—could be settled. The general economic situation was improving from year to year. The exchange question could be regarded as settled, as was shown by the fact that at any time within the last two years there had been an appreciable balance of cover even after all external payments had been met. Statistics showed an increase in the commercial movement, notably in exports.

The Convention.

He referred with satisfaction to the successful conclusion of the negotiations for a Convention with the Union of South Africa. The conditions which, even up to a year ago, had made the colony's commercial relations with the Union uncertain, had disappeared, while the traditional relations of loyal friendship and good neighbourliness which had always connected Mozambique and the Union of South Africa had been reaffirmed.

The Nyassa Company.

Recent decisions of the Government of the Republic, and of the colony itself, marked a new and great step towards the nationalisation of Mozambique, and the day was not far distant when in reality there would be administrative unity in this great colony.

All of which, concluded His Excellency, well justified the great faith and optimism in the future of the colony of Mozambique.

Mr. Santos Gil said that the financial position of the colony was in a large measure due to His Excellency's intelligent action and energy.

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ADMINISTRATORS' COURTS IN WEST AFRICA.

By W. H. Stoker, K.C.,
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The case of Dr. Knowles, who was convicted recently in Ashanti on trial before a Judge sitting alone without a Jury, and without professional representation, and this moreover without any right of appeal (except in so far as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in their special and peculiar jurisdiction might allow) came as a shock to people in this country who were unaware of the existence in the British Empire of such tribunals as the Chief Commissioner's Court of Ashanti. Even in war time, or under Martial Law, an accused person would not be similarly tried, and a judicial system which allows of such a negation of the ordinary rights of a British citizen, as in the case of the Chief Commissioner's Court of Ashanti, must itself be on trial before the bar of public opinion.

Briefly, and without using language too technical the position in the territory of Ashanti and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast are as follows:—

These regions are outside the ordinary jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast, but the Chief Commissioner's Courts have and exercise within them all the powers, but not all the incidents, of the Supreme Court of the Colony of the Gold Coast. The Governor of the Gold Coast in 1901 by ordinance, not an ordinance passed in the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, but passed by himself alone, enacted in this manner under powers conferred on him by an order of His Majesty the King in Council, set up a Court called the Chief Commissioner's Court, to be presided over by the Chief Commissioner, or some other person appointed by the Governor or the Chief Commissioner, who was to have full judicial powers and jurisdiction. Neither the Chief Commissioner nor such person need have any legal training or qualifications, though in recent years what is called a Circuit Judge, with professional qualifications, sometimes presides as such person. In Dr. Knowles's case it was the Police Magistrate, who has full professional qualifications and was apparently acting as the Circuit Judge, who presided. Nevertheless his functions and the system and incidents of a trial before the Circuit Judge differ in no respect from the ordinary procedure and incidents of other trials before the Chief Commissioner's Court, and the following observations as to subsequent procedure apply also to trials before a Circuit Judge.

A Nominal Provision.—Although the Chief Commissioner's Court exercises quasi Supreme Court jurisdiction and is, so far as is practicable and local circumstances permit, to follow the procedure of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast Colony, in point of fact this provision is quite nugatory in regard to important safeguards, and cannot be regarded as more than a nominal provision. There is no jury, as in the Gold Coast Colony, and in no cause or matter, civil or criminal is the employment of a barrister or solicitor to be allowed. And no appeal is to lie from the decision of the Chief Commissioner or other person presiding in any criminal matter. In civil matters an appeal in cases of a hundred pounds in value or upwards lies to the Supreme Court of the Colony of the Gold Coast but only by leave of the Governor, that is to say the Executive. Also, any cause, civil or criminal, may be referred to the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast. But such reference is by the Chief Commissioner with the approval of the Governor in writing. Here again the power rests with the Executive alone.

As regards capital cases, in the event of a judgment of guilty and sentence of death, the President of the Court is to forward to the Governor a copy of the notes of evidence taken at the trial, with a report in writing signed by him, containing any recommendations or observations which he may think fit to make. The Governor after considering such report communicates to the President of the Court a copy under his hand of any order he may make thereon. On receiving such order the effect thereof is to be entered on the records of the Court, and if the sentence is to be carried out the Chief Commissioner issues his warrant for execution. Apparently on the Governor's order the judgment and sentence become complete. The Governor has, however, still, under the Royal Letters Patent, the delegated prerogative of mercy, and can reprieve or commute. But this is a separate and distinct matter.

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They were originally constituted in 1901, shortly after the annexation of the territories in question, when the inhabitants, apart from officials, consisted almost entirely of Africans of the previous régime in particular areas, who under the native system had their cases tried, and were liable to be punished and sentenced to death by their former rulers often on evidence no stronger than "smelt out" by a witch doctor or other functionary, as guilty persons. Obviously so far as they were concerned they had no birthright entitling them to trial by jury or professional representation by solicitor or counsel. But entirely different considerations, it is conceived, apply to British officials and British unofficials coming out from Great Britain, and also to Africans of the Gold Coast Colony and other longer settled and more civilised parts of West Africa, where they enjoy the full privileges of inhabitans of such Colonies. Some of the latter may have gone into the new territories of their own free will and for trading purposes, and others as officials in the same way as those who had come out from Great Britain, though in more subordinate positions.

The question also arises whether the time has not come when the indigenous Natives of these territories should also be put on a similar footing. Why should differentiation exist? The position of the European official who has come out from Great Britain and is asked to assume duties in these territories seems too clear for any comment. Manifestly he should not be allowed to suffer any deprivation of his birth-born rights.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

GARVEYISM.

Letter To The Editor "Imvo"—

Sir,—I crave space in your widely circulated journal to express my opinion in encouragement of Rev C Nyombolo in his endeavour to enlighten the South African native peoples. The term "Garveyism" is a bugbear to some of our people in this part of the world, for they do not realise that their chief talent "brains" which is a natural endowment has been robbed of its power by the people of foreign birth, and consequently such brains to a large degree are not functioning for the Natives' own protection. The invitation of Marcus Garvey is of vital importance to the Native peoples of South Africa. It deserves the warm support of all leaders and their organisations. We South African Natives are the only people who seem to be "marking time" while our brothers in consanguinity elsewhere on the globe show remarkable progress and initiative. The reason for this detestable national stagnancy is due to the fact that we have no representatives in negro international conferences, who would obtain first-hand information and be fully armed to break down the ancient and primitive conservatism deeply embedded in the minds of their fellowmen whose ignorance is bliss in this gloomy South Africa. So I whole-heartedly support the proposition of sending a delegate to Toronto or Canada.

I am, etc.:—

ALEXANDER NJABA,

King Williams' Town.

The Wellington Movement

[By Rev. J. G. Cooke.]

(*Continued.*)

All members would escape the payment of dipping fees and ordinary taxation and would share in the spoil of trader's goods. If any movement is to be judged by the character of those who are swept into it then surely the Wellington movement must stand condemned, for among those entrusted with leadership are to be found disgruntled members of the various churches, fugitives from discipline and others who were never a force spiritually in any community. Consider also the teachermen under discipline untrained youth and maidens! A few days after Student-Teacher was expelled from one of the Training Institutions for immoral conduct he was employed as a teacher in one of the schools. And yet it must not be forgotten that some whom the churches had trusted with official positions were influential agents in the rapid if evanescent spread of this irritating, troublesome and tantalising movement and what about the aftermath? To visit certain parts of the territories now and take notice of the changed attitude of some of the Native people, especially the young people is to be filled with a deep misgiving and to ponder deeply regarding the future. The Wellington movement though practically extinct prepared the soil for the sowing of other seed that promises a prolific harvest of misery and woe unless controlled by moderate men. I.C.U. branches are being established throughout the Union and organization proceeds apace and money is being collected for Sunday purposes. Some of the best of our educated and Christian Natives as well as men of rank and influence are beginning to look askance at the work of the churches especially the educational work, for all progress and development seem stayed and insuperable barriers are erected as regard the establishment of new schools and the appointment of additional teachers to shockingly understaffed schools. The well-informed Native knows that the old terminology such as "financial stringency" and "the critical condition of the finances of the country" fail to provide a satisfactory explantion of the present educational stagnation in view of the Native Development Fund which totalled over one million pounds. The day has gone by forever when any Native would purchase buck shot at an exorbitant price as seed for which to reap pots and kettles and frying pans etc

What ought we to do in face of such disquieting movements—let another speak here. "That is the greatest concern of our modern needs as a Church—the training of our messenger. What is it that our people require? It is not fundamental Christian character, intelligence and adequately informed leadership, moral guidance and steadying wise counsel from our Bantu Apostles? In these days of growing perplexity, in the presence of dark problems of race and economies, with a thousand false voices appealing to the people for a following, to whom should they look for clear sympathetic, well-informed leadership, but to the ministers, the evangelists, the leaders of the Church! Above all our Bantu apostles must be Rona to the heathen people. Passionately sacrificially the message must be brought home to their hearts that Christ is the only Saviour equal to the redemption of Africa. It would be worth while for them, nay for all of us, to sell all we have, to give all we saved and to serve until the ministry costs us blood and tears, if by any means we can save the races of Africa from darkness and sin.

Faku Institute.

The Faku Training Institution, Emfundisweni is to be congratulated on the result of the N.P.T. III Examination. In the 3rd Year 27 students sat and 25 passed—eight of these in the First Grade. It is probably the best Pass Average obtained by any Institution in the Cape. The names of those who obtained a First Grade are :—Mavis Busuku, Deborah Godlwana, Mary Ann Koyingana, Walter Madikiz la, Albert George Mayeza, Samuel Mngonyama, Constance Ndlovu, Beatrice Rashuza.

NATIVE BILLS JEOPARDISED.

Conference Proves a Fiasco.

CAPE TOWN, Jan. 5.

The Commission which has been sitting on General Hertzog's Native Bills during the recess has proved a fiasco. No progress was made, and matters stand substantially where they did at the close of last season.

It is stated that the main obstacle was the question of native representation. No compromise was found possible because the South African Party felt that General Hertzog's proposals for the future fail to offer the Cape natives reasonable compensation for the ultimate loss of their existing rights, which they prize as a heritage from Queen Victoria.

It is now regarded as certain that the Government will represent the native question as the main election issue, while the Opposition will respond by attacking the Commercial Treaty with Germany as detrimental to the best interests of both South Africa and the Empire.—"The Times."

PHŒNICIAN FINDS ON THE ATLANTIC COAST OF MOROCCO.

("African World" Correspondent.)

ALGIERS, Jan. 6, 1929.

Some weeks ago, through the care of French scientist, M. Maxime de Roquemaire, finds have been made on the Atlantic Coast, between Mazagan and Safi, which are sure to arouse the deepest interest among archæologists.

Indeed, these finds, rather extensive, are the remains of Phœnician cities, and it is the first time that the existence of colonies of that people on the Atlantic Coast has been proved, as up to now it was generally believed Phœnicians lived only in Asia and along the shore of the Mediterranean sea.

The above finds include, among others, several funeral subterranean vaults very long and large—as large as our modern cathedrals—these vaults have the form of crypts, at the bottom of which deep wells have been dug for the ashes of the dead to be thrown in; a great deal of earthenware and marble-tables, ritual chapels (veritable grottoes) excavated on the slope of rocks, huge urns, into which it is thought priests of these remote ages used to place the blood and viscera of ritual victims.

Let us add that M. Maxime de Roquemaire has carried on these excavations by himself without any official help whatever, but I learn that, owing to the importance of finds —both archæologically and historically speaking—the Moroccan Government is to support his works financially that they may be continued.

NATIVE QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Labour Support for Policy of Government.

Reuter's telegrams from Capetown say that at a joint session of Parliament on Wednesday morning the discussion of the Government's Native Bills was resumed.

General Smuts, Leader of the Opposition, reiterated his warning against making the bills an election cry, and emphasised that the question was more difficult even than the creation of the Union. The country, he said, was not prepared for this legislation at present, and the atmosphere was most unfavourable.

Government speakers contended that if they listened to the Opposition there would never be a solution to the native question, and they vehemently urged that the proper course was to go to the country and get a mandate. This remark was greeted with loud applause from the Government benches.

Colonel Creswell (Labour), Minister of Defence, then asked: "Are the most important questions of the nation never to be discussed in the House or on the platform?" The present Opposition, he said, was wrong in the interest of both whites and blacks. It was not right to mix up whites and blacks in the same electoral system. General Hertzog's scheme for a separate black representation was the proper solution. (Government cheers.) Colonel Creswell added that he greatly regretted that no agreement had been achieved, but the Opposition would only contemplate an agreement on their own lines. General Hertzog was right to deal with the native question promptly. The great delays in Home Rule were an example of disastrous procrastination.

Speeches in opposition to the bills were made by a number of members and senators, especially those representing native interests, and the debate was adjourned.

ARTS AND ARTISANS OF BAMOUM.

To anyone interested in the articles made by West Africans it would be worth while to visit Fumbam, the capital of Bamoum, in the Northern Cameroon, under French Mandate. Here are African weavers, potters, wood engravers and wood sculptors, dyers, bead, and ivory workers. The French have given the people every encouragement in the various branches. Not only have the young people, apprentices, been encouraged, but the French officials have looked up the old workers and have allowed them to work in their old way and use their old methods. They also impress upon the people to use solely the materials of the country, and to resort to imported materials only when necessary.

From their own grown cotton the Native weavers weave their cloths which are usually worn by the Chief, his wives, followers, and countrymen. These cloths, though coarsely woven, are of good, lasting quality and very strong. They would serve well as bed quilts and table covers. Should the cloths be required coloured they are sent to the dye-pits, where the dyers can be seen at work. The colours mostly used are red and indigo, and the latter is preferred. The wood engravers have excellent ideas of designs and will engrave on furniture and anything in wood, such things as frogs, lizards, and other kinds of animal life. The wood sculptors cut out of wood animals such as monkeys, dogs, and the leopard. The last-named is made frequently and is often used in the making of supports for tables. But the chief subject for nearly all wood sculptors is the image of man. The artisans will make the figure in all sorts of attitudes, running, jumping, hunting, all realistic, and finely done. Amongst the potters the head of man seems to be in demand as a model. The potters make smoking pipes, the bowls of which would form the head of a man. They also make cooking pots, vases, and all manner of useful articles. It is unfortunate that the art of the potter goes no further than his own country, for his articles, dried as they are only by the sun, are delicate and fragile, and this renders it difficult to ship them.

The art of the brass worker much resembles that of the potter, for his works, cut out of brass, consist of animals, man, pipes, etc. Many of these brass articles are covered with beads, and this is the work of another artisan—the bead worker. The art of the bead worker requires patience which only a man unconscious of the value of time possesses. It is interesting to watch a bead worker at work. He first takes the article and covers it with some rough material. He is careful to see that the whole article is covered tightly, and that no brass is left showing. On the material he then sews the beads, one by one, to whatever design he is asked or desires. The result is a nice curio in beadwork. But what patience!

The impression gained by a visit to these Fumbam workers is that they have a keen sense of decorativeness, designing, and colouring, and are clever artisans. Under French tuition their work will be immensely improved.

C.

WHAT WE THINK.

EQUATORIAL LABOUR PROBLEMS.

The problem of recruiting sufficient labour locally to cope with the existing and ever-increasing immense development schemes in Central Africa has for some time engaged the close attention of official and financial circles at Brussels, where the impending trouble of obtaining the necessary native labour in the Congo Belge is not under-estimated in its importance to all interests concerned. Whilst there is a great desire not to introduce any measure which would imperil the future of the native population, every day makes it more clear that much of the great natural wealth of the colony must be left undeveloped and unexploited unless the necessary extra labour supply is secured in the early future. The present visit of the Duke of Brabant to the Far East is popularly believed to be connected with the desire of King Albert to secure at first hand all particulars of coolie labour in the Dutch and British East Indies, should it become necessary to study its possible use for the development of Equatorial Africa. There is in Belgium, as in Great Britain, a wide divergence of opinion on this thorny subject. There are those that point out that Indian and Chinese labourers are more active and intelligent workers than the African aborigines. This is a highly debatable assertion, for, from personal knowledge, it is our belief that no better or more willing manual labourer exists than the African native if fairly and well treated. Twenty years ago in the Transvaal on the Rand Gold Mines the Chinese worker was a great success as such, but outside of that a failure and a peril to existing affairs as he was not accompanied by his family. It is our conviction that should the absolute necessity arise, if the Belgian Congo authorities could arrange for Asiatic labour to be accompanied by their women folk to settle in properly segregated communities, the solution of the labour problem would not be as difficult as it would be under other circumstances. The Rand Goldfields gave a great object-lesson on this subject, but the Equatorial Congo Belge has an entirely different aspect, and would, in our opinion, be a far more suitable locality for such an experiment, properly controlled—yet dangerous as it would be at all times.

ASHANTI GOLDFIELDS CORPORATION, LIMITED.

ANNUAL MEETING.—STEADY PROGRESS REPORTED.

Mr. Jeremiah Colman, J.P., presiding at the 32nd annual general meeting of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, Ltd., held on Wednesday at the Holborn Restaurant, said that in the balance-sheet they would notice that the capital still stood at £250,000, and it was interesting that it had not been increased since the formation of the company 32 years ago.

The reserve account was £200,000, and if the recommendation of the directors was approved, the addition of £50,000 would bring it up to the same figure as their capital. The sum represented by this account had been invested in the undertaking in an exactly similar manner to the share capital.

The creditors' and sundry credit balances in London and West Africa, totalling £59,000, were £5,120 more than the previous year. The remaining item on this side of the balance-sheet was the profit and loss account, with which he proposed to deal in more detail. On the other side the purchase of their lease and the additional firewood concessions remained the same. The plant, machinery and works account showed a net increase—after deducting depreciation—of £13,260. The investments, standing at £59,700, included more than three-quarters in Government securities. The last item on the balance-sheet, viz., cash in hand and bullion (since realised), standing at £175,714, was £13,706 more than at the corresponding period last year.

Increased Profit.

Turning to the profit and loss account, the profit earned, viz. £163,440, was just over £22,000 more than that of the previous year. The tonnage treated was somewhat larger, but the use of coal in the steam plant, instead of firewood, during the whole of the year, was mainly responsible for the increase of 2s. 1d. in the "cost per ton" figure.

Coming to the disposal of the profit earned, they had already paid an interim dividend of 25 per cent. and they now recommended the payment of a final dividend of 30 per cent., making 55 per cent. for the year, as against 50 per cent. in the previous year. Sanction was also asked for the transfer of £50,000 to the reserve account. This would leave a balance of £59,176 to be carried forward.

A Strong Ore Reserve.

The outstanding feature of the mining position was the fact that they had over half a million tons of good grade ore in the reserves, or in other words, sufficient to feed the treatment plant for 5½ years at the present rate of crushing. Being in such a satisfactory position they could take time and full consideration before making further moves in the direction of prospecting the reefs. This was a point of importance, for the new make was behaving in a somewhat erratic way. At No. 23 level the gold values were disseminated over great widths and it would not pay to work it. They were still looking for it at No. 19 and No. 20 levels. The latest developments in the south-west ends of both 21 and 22 levels were encouraging, both in respect of widths and values. They had, too, recently cut the new make at 24 level, where, at the point of intersection, it gave low values, but they hoped for better results as development proceeded north-east.

In the Obuasi chute, crosscuts at 22 and 23 levels had been put out to test the ore-body, and, as they would have gathered from the consulting engineer's report, this reef was now beginning to look up again. For instance, No. 4 crosscut N.E. on 22 level was 39 feet wide, averaging 40.5 dwt., and No. 4 crosscut N.E. on 23 level was 23 feet, veraging 23.4 dwt. per ton. In fact, these two levels showed arked improvement over the results at 20 and 21 levels. What would finally happen when the junction of the two reefs was complete no one could say, but the fact that the fissure or fissures still persisted down to 24 level, and that good values had been found both at 22 and 23 levels were features full of hope for the future.

At the last annual meeting he had referred to their interest in Bibiani (1927), Ltd., and informed them of the intention to increase the capital of that company, for the purpose of de-watering the mine and carrying out some further development. The authorised capital had been duly increased to £100,000, and the £44,000 offered was readily subscribed by shareholders in the Ashanti Company and the Bibiani Company. The programme of work laid down was proceeding vigorously at Bibiani.

Sir George Lawson Johnston (vice-chairman), in seconding, said that the chairman had covered all the more important points connected with the company, but he would mention one matter. At the last meeting their shares stood high, and he had advised them not to let the favourable news then arriving make them unduly optimistic. This time he wished to warn them against a depression that would be due to influences having nothing to do with their mine. The head of a very important group of newspapers had proclaimed a Socialist Government for this year. They might remember the slump in values that occurred at the time of the first Labour Government, and he would not be surprised if even the possibility of another caused a severe drop in share prices before the election. The fear of Socialism might justify a slump in many shares, but not, he thought, in the case of those of a gold producer like their own company. Gold would have its world market, quite apart from what happened in England, and in fact the more a country's credit was damaged, the larger was the proportion of gold required to bolster up what remained of its credit.

The reports and accounts were unanimously adopted.

FLOGGING IN THE BELGIAN CONGO.

The place of flogging as a punishment in the Congo has been attracting much attention in the Belgian press, owing to the alleged growing "insubordination" of the people. A writer in "L'Essor Colonial" ascribes such difficulties as have arisen to four causes: firstly, the impunity with which employees can break contracts and commit petty crimes; next, the inadequate occupation of the country through lack of political staff; thirdly, the absence of any sound local public opinion; and lastly, the presence of "foreign Natives," usually in positions of comparative authority, and in any case not subject to local customary law. The same writer points out that at least a flogging justly administered is less harmful to the African in the bush than to send him, as is done at present, to the big prisons, where, although his offence is probably the "crime" of travelling without a passport, or of breaking an imperfectly-understood labour agreement, he is chained to criminals steeped in the worst vices of civilisation.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

African World 3/2/29

Gold Coast Cocoa.

Who was the founder of the Gold Coast cocoa industry? Among the people of the Gold Coast the honour is awarded to one of themselves, Tettie Quashie, a peasant farmer, who, having been employed on a cocoa plantation in São Thomé, on his return home brought some cocoa pods, the seeds from which he planted, and by his example induced his neighbours to take up the cultivation of the tree. This view has been adopted by the Gold Coast Government, which has recently awarded a sum of money to members of Tettie Quashie's family in recognition of the benefit the country has derived from the industry. Since this award Sir W. Brandford Griffith, late Chief Justice of the Colony, has put forward a claim that the real founder of the industry was his father, the late Sir Brandford Griffith, K.C.M.G., who was Governor of the Colony from April, 1885, till April, 1895, the period which covered the birth and infancy of the industry. In a letter to "The Times," published on February 25, Sir Hesketh Bell supports this claim with evidence from his diary and his own action while serving on the Gold Coast. As I was at that time labouring to persuade the people that the future prosperity of their country depended on agriculture, and not on trade with the interior, I was keenly interested in everything that tended to encourage them to extend the cultivation of their land. I set a practical example to the educated class by starting and working a plantation near Elmina about 1884, where I experimented with various crops, including cocoa. I make no claim to the honour of starting the cocoa industry; my plantation was not suitable for its cultivation on account of the smallness of the rainfall (40 inches per annum) and the lightness of the soil, and so I gave up the culture. I was able, however, to convince some of my friends that cocoa growing (under favourable conditions) would be more profitable than rubber growing, which was attracting some attention at the time. Mr. J. H. Batty, the late chairman of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Ltd., and then agent for Messrs. Miller Brothers at Cape Coast, started a cocoa plantation near Jukwa, a few miles north-west of Cape Coast. This had no influence on the cocoa industry, but it was the first European-owned cocoa plantation in British West Africa.

The Start.

In consequence of my interest in agriculture, I was appointed, in 1887, vice-president and secretary of a Commission on Economic Agriculture on the Gold Coast, with instructions to inquire and to report on the best means of its development. During the two years that the commission was collecting information I had many conversations on the subject of its work with Sir Brandford, who was a firm believer in the agricultural future of the country. He took great interest in my experiments, and always spent a day at my plantation when he visited Cape Coast or Elmina. He was as much disappointed as I was at my failure with cocoa, and told me of the difficulty he was having with the cocoa he had obtained from the West Indies for the purpose of introducing the plant into the colony. The result was so unsatisfactory that the curator in charge of the botanical station at Aburi reported that the soil and climate of the Gold Coast were unsuitable for the cultivation of cocoa. Sir Hesketh Bell tells in his letter how he succeeded, in the latter part of 1890, in putting the curator into the right way, and proved that cocoa could be grown in the country. Nurseries were established at Aburi, and by 1892-93 thousands of young plants were available for distribution. In the meantime Tettie Quashie had succeeded admirably with his experiments, and his neighbours were enthused by his success. It is very doubtful whether they knew anything about the Governor's experiments, and still more doubtful whether they would have been much impressed by the most brilliant success at the Government Garden at Aburi. That would have been considered "White Man's Palaver," something beyond their means and capacity. It was because Tettie Quashie was one of themselves, pursuing their own methods, that they followed his example. The demand for cocoa seeds and plants soon exceeded Quashie's means, and there would have been a check to the development of the industry but for the assistance of the nurseries at Aburi, whence large numbers of young plants were distributed, some gratuitously and the rest at nominal prices. So I think that the honour must be divided—that Tettie Quashie was the founder of the industry, but that its rapid development and spread were due to the foresight of Sir Brandford Griffith and the nurseries at Aburi.

African Artists.

The exhibition of pictures by young African art students now on view at the Imperial Institute is full of interest. The exhibits are not works of accomplished genius, but they carry promise for the future and reflect great credit on Mr. George A. Stevens, the art-master at Achimota, as well as on his pupils. The master has evolved a method of instruction which encourages his pupils to develop their individualities, to express themselves in their work. The result is a series of drawings and paintings which have life and character. There are no wooden reproductions of set copies, uninspired and leading to nothing but vapid repetition with no vivifying idea behind it. Mr. Stevens is to be congratulated on his success in "sewing the seeds of what may become a real contribution to the art of the world." European art is being used to stimulate æsthetic feeling, but the African style of expression is not being smothered by servile submission to a foreign mode. The felicity and fruitfulness of Mr. Stevens' method are shown by the work of his pupil, J. E. Korsah, carried out spontaneously and without supervision. I found the essays in "imaginative composition" equally interesting. Some of the black and white drawings reminded me of the wood-cut illustrations in early printed books, while the "Biblical subjects," by their composition and naïveté of presentation recalled the works of early Christian artists. The portraits are marked by strength and an almost brutal frankness. If the "African School of Painting" develops along these lines, it will show us Africans as they appear to themselves, which will be something as different from what they appear to foreign eyes as a representation of an Englishman by an English artist is from an Englishman as seen by a French artist. It is work like Mr. Stevens' that makes the lavish expenditure on Achimota worth while by providing a place for educational experiments. It may be the cradle of a modern African school of craftsmen in the graphic, plastic, and musical arts.

W. F. H.

REMOVING A MISCONCEPTION

Gold Coast Times, Replying to British Official, Defines the Term "Europeanized African"—Says "Europeanization" Is a Mental Affection—Education Abroad Does not Change the Racial Mentality of the African of Character—Cites Examples of Liabilities and Assets to Race from Among Those Educated in England

Negro World 3/23/29 N. Y.

(From The Gold Coast Times)

In the special West African number of the London Times issued in October last appeared an article on Native Political Institutions contributed by Mr. C. W. Welman, a former Secretary for Native Affairs, which reveals a closer acquaintance with the political life of the country than is generally manifested by white officials who have attained to high administrative positions. We have not much to question in regard to his delineation of the features of our political institutions; but there are two points raised in the article outside the main subject which should be noticed in order to remove misconceptions abroad.

The first is in regard to the widely-discussed "Europeanized" African, and the other to the relations between him and his Natural Rulers. We shall deal with the first now and with the other in a subsequent article. The writer opened his subject with a reference to the power of the chiefs, which, he said, has declined with the growth of the power of the "Europeanized" African, and he proceeded to give a description of this type of African. According to the writer the "Europeanized" African "is a class intermediate between the Europeans and the mass of the people, who is very largely the product of different points of view regarding the best means of raising Africans in the scale of culture." The Europeanized Africans and their predecessors, he said, were the sons of native merchants and notables (described as "friends and helpers of the English on the Gold Coast"), who were sent to complete their education in England and who "have been a very useful and, indeed, at times an almost indispensable class." These Europeanized Africans "have facilitated communication between the English and the people of the country, and they have helped each to understand the other." Their countrymen, too, "have eagerly availed themselves of their skill and knowledge of the white man's mind to lay their cases before the courts"; and "it would be ungracious and unwise to alienate these people and give them cause for bitterness." He referred to them as "clever and capable people" and added that "on the Gold Coast they are not so detribalized as the superficial observer supposes," since "they come from the tribe, their education is paid for from family and tribal funds, and they acknowledge family and tribal obligations on their return home to their own country."

Different Conceptions

All this should be of interest to the "Europeanized" Africans and fill them with gratitude since it is seldom that they have a good word uttered in season on their behalf by the very white people whom they understudy. But what is a "Europeanized" African? The European and African conceptions of a "Europeanized" African travel along divergent lines. The European conception of a "Europeanized" African, as defined by Mr. Welman in his article, and which finds general acceptance among white people, is an African who has completed his education in England. The native conception of a "Europeanized" African, however, is not necessarily the African who has completed his education in England, but one who, while pursuing his studies there, had developed European habits of thought and European ideas, for with us Europeanization or denationalization is a mental affection which has nothing at all to do with the development of the intellect. To absorb ancient and modern literature in England or to acquire skill in the arts and sciences there does not necessarily Europeanize or denationalize an African. It is only when with this absorption the mind is permitted to be infected with European ideas that an African becomes Europeanized. There is a mental individuality which the African race has evolved for itself, and there have been several Africans educated in England and elsewhere who have succeeded in preserving this mental individuality; others have returned home from completing their education in England and elsewhere so saturated with European ideas that they have become liabilities rather than assets to the race.

Some Examples

We shall now proceed to make a few contrasts to show that an African does not necessarily become Europeanized by reason of having completed his education in England or elsewhere. We have, for example, the late Mr. John Mensah Sarbah, the author of standard works on native customary laws and institutions. Mr. Sarbah was a Fanti who spent some years in England completing his education, but he returned home without a change of outlook or the taint of Europeanism. All who knew of his private and public life will readily acknowledge that Mr. John Mensah Sarbah lived like an old-fashioned African and that the secret of his vast influence was his preservation of the mental individuality of the African which enabled him at all times to keep in closest touch with his people and to share their views and aspirations. On the other hand, we have still living among us Mr. Casely Hayford, who also completed his education in Eng-

land, but who, unlike Mr. Sarbah, could not preserve this mental individuality of the race. Mr. Casely Hayford is so thoroughly Europeanized in his views that he thinks and acts like an English professional politician and finds it difficult to follow tribal traditions. The manner in which he got himself elected to the Legislative Council and his adoption of the electioneering practices followed in the English counties and boroughs prove conclusively that during his student days in England his mind could not resist the spurious impressions of his temporary environments. The difference between Sarbah and Hayford, therefore, lies in the ability of the former to resist extraneous ideas, which had nothing to do with the development of the intellect, and the failure of the latter to do so.

Mr. Sekyi and Mr. Korsah

Side by side we have also Mr. W. Esuman-Gwira Sekyi and Mr. K. Aaku Korsah. The former is a graduate of the London University, which has a world-wide reputation, while the latter is a graduate of the University of Durham. That Mr. Sekyi has attained to a high intellectual level and is a brilliant man must be admitted by his worst enemies; and if to be educated in England is to be necessarily Europeanized, then this would be the most hopeless case in the country. But what are the facts? Well, black and white alike concede that, if he is anything, it is that he is radical in his Africanism. He is a man whose education in England has been most successful in the sense that it has strengthened his African individuality to such a degree as to enable him to perceive the beauty in African culture more clearly than most of his contemporaries. Like Mr. Sarbah, Mr. Sekyi is all for the preservation of native customs and institutions and for their development to conform with the sober advance of his people. He has not yet produced a work on "Gold Coast National Institutions," but we are persuaded that if he ever puts one in the market he would not find himself in the embarrassing position of Mr. Casely Hayford, whose own book is often quoted against him owing to the divergencies between his European mentality and the principles dealt with in his work.

On the other hand, we have our estimable friend, Mr. K. Aaku Korsah, who is hopelessly imbued with European ideas. This is the gentleman so divorced from the views and aspirations of his people that he recently got himself elected to the Legislative Council by English election practices, and later on applied for a writ to imprison his own Omanhin and State Councillors for the recovery of costs in an Election Petition opposing the methods adopted as being irregular and inimical to the best interests of the race. Does anybody suppose that Mr. Sarbah would have acted the part played by Messrs. Casely Hayford and K. A. Korsah in the recent municipal election and the subsequent action in the court? All who knew the late distinguished statesman would testify that he would have scorned to be a party to such proceedings, and that the last thing he would have thought of doing was to accept a fat retainer to defend what he would have regarded as a public scandal.

The contrast between Mr. John Mensah Sarbah and Mr. W. Esuman-Gwira Sekyi, M.A. (Lond), on the one hand, and Mr. Casely Hayford and Mr. K. Aaku Korsah, M. A. (Dunelm) on the other, shows that it is not the education in England that Europeanizes the African, but the lack of sufficient strength of character on the part of the individual to preserve his racial mentality from the strange surroundings of his temporary abode.

Europeanization, denationalization, detribalization, or call it whatever name, is an attitude of mind which should not be associated with the development of the intellect.

THE NATIVE BILLS.

Government Contention that Further Delay is Impossible.

CAPE TOWN, February 13.

The two Houses of the Legislature sitting together debated this morning General Hertzog's motion for leave to introduce two Bills dealing with the franchise of the natives and coloured persons. The debate was not concluded, and will be resumed to-morrow afternoon, the ordinary business of the Legislature being suspended.

General Smuts pleaded for delay, saying that the introduction of the Bills on the eve of the elections would have disastrous consequences. Other members of the South African Party showed that the native leaders had not been consulted about the Bills, though General Hertzog had promised that they should be consulted during his tour in the Transkei territories in 1925.

The Government arguments for the Bills are that further delay is impossible, and that the Government should have a mandate at the elections to carry out its policy. This is an admission that the Government cannot secure the two-thirds majority required at the third reading. General Hertzog will insist, however, on the Bills going to the third reading, when they are certain to be defeated.

The motive attributed to him by the Opposition is to make certain of an effective election cry.—"The Times."

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

ROMAN CATHOLIC JUBILEE IN UGANDA.

An Impressive Ceremony.

An impressive ceremony marked the jubilee of the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda. In the vast Cathedral of Rubaga, which occupies a dominating position on one of Kampala's seven hills, a congregation of Europeans, Africans, and Goans joined in the magnificent High Mass while in striking contrast thousands of simple worshippers surrounded an altar built in a village twelve miles away on the spot where thirty years ago a devout Muganda was burned at the stake for his faith.

The Papal delegate, Bishop Hinsley, was the centre of fervent and emotional scenes. So great was the crowd of devotees that the Cathedral, immense though it is, was insufficient to accommodate them, and many hundreds of natives knelt outside the great doors.

There was a large attendance of clergy from all over the Protectorate and Catholic representatives from neighbouring countries. Eight bishops were present.

The service was conducted by Bishop Hinsley, assisted by native priests. Bishop Gogarty recalled the landing in East Africa of the first Catholic missionaries, white fathers, fifty years ago and the establishment of the first mission at Entebbe by Brother Amans, who crossed Lake Victoria in a small and leaking boat. Then followed a period of relentless persecution, many native converts dying at the stake. Now there are 300,000 native Catholics in Uganda.

The service concluded with Bishop Hinsley reading a special Papal blessing.

CHRISTIAN BURIAL WITH PAGAN RITES.

Kenya's Biggest Chief Laid to Rest,

NAIROBI (Kenya), March 3.

A strange mingling of barbaric splendour with the rites of the Christian Church was seen at the burial yesterday of one of Kenya's biggest native chiefs, Kinanjui, paramount chief of the Kikuyu tribe, who died on Friday.

Kinanjui was a notorious heathen, but three European ministers of religion were at the graveside, and ministers of the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church held a joint service in the presence of thousands of Africans to whom Kinanjui was lord and master.

A goatskin was placed on the coffin as it was lowered into the grave as an indication of the natives' recognition of his power among them.

The dead chief had many wives, and several of these with their children mourned tearfully at the graveside while the Christian Burial Service was being read.

Kinanjui came into prominence thirty years ago in the early days of the administration, when as a young man his commanding presence and influence over the natives made him useful to officers on safari.

The Government then appointed him first paramount chief of the Kikuya, but as the tribe has since been organised into units under official headmen it is unlikely that a successor will be appointed.—Central News.

UNIFICATION OF EAST AFRICA.

Formation of Vast New British Protectorate said to be Contemplated.

Great prominence was given in the "Daily Mail" on Wednesday to a suggestion that it is proposed to form a vast new British Protectorate in Africa by the union of Kenya Colony, Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory under one Governor-General. The new country is more than seven times the size of Great Britain. Its population is only a quarter of that of the Home Country, and white settlers are few. It has rich mineral and other resources. The British Government is said to have a scheme for the opening up of the country and the exploitation of its wealth.

The important decision reached by the Government (said the paper) indicates the coming union of the Uganda Protectorate, Kenya Colony and Protectorate, and Tanganyika Territory in one Protectorate, with a Governor-General of Eastern Africa at its head, representing the Crown and the Colonial Office.

The Europeans in the combined dependencies number roughly 18,000.

Plans of Great Importance.

It may be found that the decision will be linked up very definitely with plans of even greater importance to Britain. The Government is credited with a scheme for raising a great loan, to be expended in the provision of railways, and the subsequent exploitation of the rich mineral and other resources in Eastern and Central Africa. The scheme envisages the provision of remunerative work at home, and great openings for employment in the new areas. I find a disposition to read into the prophecy of the Prime Minister, when he met the Miners' Federation on Tuesday, that within two years the unemployed miners will be absorbed in other areas in other districts, his belief that the development of the great African possessions will provide a new and unrestricted field for the employment of our surplus labour.

I am told that the Cabinet, at its meeting yesterday, had under consideration the recommendations of the Commission which, under the chairmanship of Sir Hilton Young, the Conservative M.P. for Norwich, investigated the position of the three territories, and that the main recommendations were approved. The principal recommendation is the appointment of a Governor-General for the united countries.

The Commissioners were not altogether agreed as to the position of Kenya, which is more highly developed than the other two territories. I learn that the Government has decided to send out a High Commissioner further to investigate the position in this country, particularly with regard to the composition of the Legislative Council. This will be the first step towards the constructive policy which is to follow the adoption of the recommendations.

The Governors of the three territories have been in London for some time, and have been in consultation with Mr. Amery, the Colonial Minister. A very large measure of agreement on details has already been achieved.

Extent of New Union.

An idea of the size of the three territories which it is proposed to unite may be gained by comparing them with Great Britain, which has an area of 89,000 square miles and a population of 42,919,000 :—

	Sq. Miles.	Population.	Europeans.
Kenya	208,320 ..	2,602,900 ..	12,500
Uganda	98,770 ..	3,148,470 ..	1,700
Tanganyika ...	365,000 ..	4,319,000 ..	3,500
Totals	672,090 ..	10,070,300 ..	17,700

Tanganyika Territory was taken from the Germans in 1918.

Race Problem-1929

Africa

REGISTER
DES MOINES, IA.
FEB 18 1929

WHERE RACE PROBLEM IS ACUTE

FROM PITTSBURGH, PA., COURIER, COLORED.

The white people in South Africa are growing more alarmed every day over what they term "the native problem." There are 6,000,000 blacks, mulattoes and East Indians in South Africa and only 1,800,000 white people. The darker peoples are struggling for a larger measure of control in their own country, politically and industrially, while the whites (at least some of them) are not only determined to keep the colored folk in the place they now occupy but are even talking of pushing the dark brethren further down the social and industrial scale. The party now in power, headed by Premier Hertzog, is so obsessed with the idea of increasing the exploitation and suppression of the black folk, that it is even suggested by some leaders that all of the natives be put on reservations like the Indians in North America.

While all of the whites in South Africa agree in believing the Negro inferior and in keeping him below the whites in rights and privileges, the South African party, headed by Gen. Jan C. Smuts, favors a milder policy. It would not make an issue of the color question like the Hertzog group but would keep the good will and confidence of the natives by granting a small concession here and there. The basis of this difference of opinion among the whites is, of course, economic. The party headed by Jan Smuts is the spokesman of the rich mine owners and industrialists who must have cheap and amenable labor in order to pile up inordinate profits as of yore. The Hertzog party, on the other hand, is largely representative of the Dutch farmers and the white proletariat, the former desiring to keep the Negroes as agricultural laborers in a state of practical slavery, while the latter, cursed by periodical unemployment and lowered wages, does not wish to have the competition of natives for their jobs added to their troubles. The relations between the two white groups are growing worse, while the natives are growing louder and louder in their demands for a larger share in government and industry.

Here we have over again the historic struggle between the north and south in the United States. At first there is the long period of acrimonious debate during which nothing is settled. Then follows (or may follow) the resort to arms. The Smuts party is numerically small but financially powerful; the Hertzog party has the advantage of large numbers but does not enjoy the support of the moneyed classes. Thoughtful white people in that country are growing more and more alarmed over the state of affairs in the union. Some see civil war in the offing; others prophesy an early uprising of the natives who are reported to be growing increasingly bold in their demands from the white point of view. Either is remote but the interesting situation in South Africa will merit the attention of our people the world over. In all of the British states in the southern half of Africa, including the Union of South Africa, there are over 20,000,000 blacks and less than 2,000,000 whites. Millions of these natives are working in mines and mills and on docks—an industrial population. They have in the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of America, headed by Clements Kadalie, the largest labor union in Africa and the largest Negro labor union in the world. It is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, while the white labor unions, aside from the communists, have no outside connections. It is a militant, persistent and aggressive organization, and its activities since 1920 have largely been responsible for bringing the race problem in South Africa to a critical point. It includes not only industrial but agricultural workers and has spread all over the union.

Here are black and white facing each other in the vast country that Hottentots took from the Bushmen; that the Bantus took from the Hottentots, and that the whites took from the Bantus. The whites, feeling the pressure of the rising Negro masses, are divided, undecided. Something must be done, but what? And how? Neither side wishes to give in, and while the whites have the arms and power of the British empire behind them, the blacks have their great numbers, their organization ability, their courage and their persistence.

MISSION NOTES.

[FROM SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS.]

It is hoped to dedicate the chancel end of the new Christ Church Cathedral, Lagos, at the end of May, during the meeting of the Diocesan Synod.

At the laying of the foundation-stone for a new church at Akwete, in the Niger Delta, the Ven. Archdeacon Crowther gave an interesting account of past customs there. At one feast a light-skinned girl was paraded round the town and then loaded with white fowls and thrown into the creek. Fortunately, the fowls helped her to keep afloat, and she was rescued farther down the stream by a group of Bonny Christians. There was not, nor could there have been, a similar happy rescue in another case which he described, where four girl slaves, with broken limbs, were buried alive in the grave of an important chief. These memories of the past, together with reminiscences of 40 years' labour in the Niger Mission, which include the early days of the Enugu district, are to be found in the February "Western Equatorial African Church Magazine" (24, Grey Street, Newcastle—3d.).

West Africa

The "Golden Shore" for the current quarter is almost an "Education Number," for the part that is not devoted to news of the steadily-growing Accra Diocesan Association is almost entirely concerned with some aspect of school-work, although Bishop Aglionby finds room to mention the Government official who greeted him when he was home with an expansive "Well, Bishop, and how's India?" A pleasantly surprising announcement is made by the Bishop in regard to the new school-buildings that became necessary if the new regulations were to be complied with. The cost of the school was to be £9,000, one-third of which would be provided by the Government. Of the remainder £3,000 was to be raised in England and £3,000 in Africa. Of the former £2,100 have already been received, £1,200 of it from firms trading in West Africa, while of the Gold Coast quota £2,000 have been raised. At Sekondi, too, the foundation-stone of a new school was laid on August Bank Holiday, and the ceremony forms the subject of a lively description by Archdeacon Sugget, who hoped that the building would be in use by January this year. Other articles include Mr. A. Duncan-Johnstone's very sensible speech to the boys of Cape Coast School on their prize-day, three little word-pictures of St. Monica's Girls' School, and an account of the third London Festival of the Diocesan Association. The magazine costs 3d., and may be obtained from the editor, Hilden Grange, Tonbridge.

The 1928 report of the Wesleyan Boys' High School, Lagos, states that the response to the Jubilee Fund started during the year has been disappointing, while the institution is prevented from exercising its full influence through the prevailing habit of parents in taking away their sons before they have reached the top forms. The year closed with an enrolment of 259 pupils, and from the Friday collections of scholars it had been possible to send £20 each to the Ilesha Hospital and the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Last year 50 candidates for the C.M.S. Teachers' Training College at Oyo had to be turned away owing to insufficiency of staff and buildings.

The February "Record" of the United Free Church of Scotland (121, George Street, Edinburgh—2d.) contains several itms of West African interest. One is an article on "The New West Africa," by the Rev. A. M'Leish, an Indian missionary visiting the Gold Coast. His record is principally one of the educational work that is being accomplished by the Scottish Mission, but his visit was long enough to show him that the chief duty of the European missionary in the Gold Coast is to prevent the materialistic bias that appears in a Church which is becoming self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. In a second contribution a West African explains what Christianity has done for his people, and paints a graphic picture of the conditions that are being removed under the influence of the new faith.

Mgr. Adam, who died at Bordeaux last month at the age of 83, was the Catholic Bishop of Gaboon, in which Colony he had laboured for about 30 years, and had earned from the Pope the title of "The Africans' Pope." Following the Catholic custom, his official title was not connected with his charge, but was that of Bishop of Tmui (Egypt).

Not everyone knows that when the Kumasihene Prempeh was confirmed in the Seychelles he gave a son, John, to be trained for the Anglican priesthood. The Rev. John Prempeh was ordained last March from St. Paul's College, Mauritius, and a photograph of him, in company with a local Creole and an Indian minister, is given in this month's "Mission Field" (S.P.G., 15, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W.1—2d.).

Some there are in West Africa who hold that certain peoples, notably the Gas, are directly connected with the Hebrews of old, and that such feasts as Homowo are connected with the Jewish feasts. To these "The Feast of the Passover," by the Rev. I. E. Davidson (Barbican Mission to the Jews, 82, Whitechapel Road, E.1), will be as interesting as it will to those who desire to know the exact relation between Protestant Communion and Catholic Mass and the festival at which they were instituted. The author, who is himself a Jew, has an inside knowledge of his subject and interprets the symbolism of the feast in a more modern light than do his non-Christian brethren, his deductions leading to the rejection of such doctrines as transubstantiation and consubstantiation in favour of that of the Real Presence. His detailed description of the Passover gives little encouragement to those who see in it the original of various West African feasts, although there are the occasional resemblances that so often lead the superficial observer astray.

As with the Wesleyan Boys' High School, the C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos, in its last annual report has to deplore the tendency to take boys away before they reach the upper school. There were 400 scholars at the beginning of the year, but under the new education regulations this number was reduced during the year, and accommodation is now reported to be so limited that seven-eighths of the applicants for admission have to be refused. A scheme is on foot to start new buildings at Yaba in this, the seventieth year of the school.

"God As Seen by Others" was a subject discussed at the Harlesden Wesley Guild on February 8, when Messrs. Melville Marke (Sierra Leone), Sinha (India), and J. A. Barbour-James (British Guiana and the West Indies) were the speakers. Rev. P. L. Watchurst, B.D., chairman, welcomed the speakers. Mr. Melville Marke referred to the African's idea of a God which only differed from the Christian principles, according to the tribal customs, etc., of each one. All Africans recognised the existence of a God, and no bigger mistake was made by people who had not knowledge of the African's point of view, than to assert that he was godless. When the African embraced the Christian faith none responded more readily to it.

Mr. Barbour-James said that for generations in British Guiana and the West Indies, Christianity was the accepted faith of the African Creoles. The London Missionary Society was the pioneer with his countrymen, and never would the name of Smith, the Demerara martyr, be forgotten by Africans in those parts. The Wesleyan and other bodies were also doing a great work.

Mr. Sinha said India's millions paid a high tribute to the devotion of Christian missionaries. He referred to Mr. Gandhi as a living example of what Christianity can achieve.

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For 1929/30 the estimated revenue and expenditure is £6,298,171 and £7,189,869 respectively, and the estimated deficit of £891,698 would reduce surplus balances to £3,585,083, which, Sir Frank points out, is approaching closely to the margin of £3,500,000 below which it is the policy of the Government not to allow surplus balances to fall. Actually, as he shows later in his address, the available balance is considerably less than this, for over £1,000,000 is constantly tied up in unallocated stores or remittances between Nigeria and the United Kingdom, so that the flotation of a loan is foreshadowed early in the new financial year, an operation which will release the sums already advanced from surplus balances on account of loan works. There was no increase in the public debt, which remained at £23,559,210, or 25s. 1d. per head of population. Sir Frank referred the Council to the Treasurer's report for further particulars of the various loans, with their sinking funds, and merely added that the annual charges in respect of the public debt amounted to £1,327,124, nearly half of which was contributed by the Railway.

The trade of Nigeria for the year was £32,470,160, or, including specie, £33,507,989. Of the former figure £14,437,993 represented imports, which showed a satisfactory growth generally. The principal imported articles remained as in previous years; the cigarette trade had reached the equivalent of 6,000,000 tins of 50, and showed every indication of further expansion, while, although unmanufactured tobacco showed a small decrease, the imports still totalled 5,000,000 lbs. Spirit imports fell by 7%, and kola nuts showed a decrease, thanks largely to the extension of local production. This fact, by the way, possibly accounts for the unexplained decrease in the Gold Coast overseas exports of this commodity. Other important articles of trade, both of which showed increases, were cotton piece goods and motor spirit, the consumption of the last named going up by 4,500,000 gallons.

The exports, exclusive of specie, amounted to £17,039,939, which was a "record." As with the imports, a small number of articles accounted for the bulk of the trade, first among them being palm products. In spite of not very favourable prices, the exports of palm-oil increased by 13,870 tons to 127,110, but kernels fell by 10,669 tons to 246,537, a decrease which seems to be but one of the normal fluctuations in this product. Cocoa production increased by 9,999 tons to 49,209, and ground-nuts by 12,389 to 103,162, while tin exports made a new "record" of 14,030 tons, as did hides and skins, the figures being 12,524,961 lbs. of cattle hides and 5,826,633 of sheep and goat-skins. The production of cotton was again low, and the lint exported only amounted to 74,957 cwt., a decrease of 24,589. There were, however, good reasons for this, for in the South the farmers were discouraged by low prices, while in the North attention had been directed to the planting of foodstuffs, at the expense of cotton, to make good the shortage of food of 1927.

Of revenue collected by the Customs, the import duties represented a "record," the total being £2,910,462, as against £2,763,996 in the previous year. The estimated loss of £150,000 through the removal of the food duties was not made up, for although revenue on tobacco and cigarettes increased, as had been anticipated, the falling-off in liquor imports was sufficient to bring about a net loss of £40,000. The actual duties collected on gin were £612,257, on cotton piece good £523,272, and on tobacco and cigarettes £751,231. The export duties brought in £584,646, as against £554,301 in the preceding year, and of this sum no less than £459,977 was yielded by palm products, this figure being almost identical with that of the previous year. Ground-nuts and cocoa yielded £51,582 and £57,390 respectively, and will doubtless account for a larger portion of the total revenue in the future.

IS IT NOT SLAVERY?

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—When in the beginning of the year 1928, the legal status of domestic slavery was abolished by our Legislature, most Sierra Leoneans rejoiced that Ancient and Loyal Motherland had been enabled to lift up her head from the shame in which she had been bowed for more than a hundred years. It is doubtful though, whether she has quite lifted up her head and can look the whole civilised world in the face. It is a comparatively easy thing to get a law passed, but untiring vigilance is essential for enforcing its strict observance, because human nature is always seeking loop-holes to wriggle out of restraints upon its conduct. Indeed seem the anti-abolitionist die-hards in parts of the Protectorate are endeavouring, with some success, to evade the law by two dodges, viz., (a) holding hostages for debts and (b) keeping in their harems virtual slaves euphemistically daubed "wives". In the former case, a parent, needing money, to pay a pressing debt, raises the required amount from someone to whom he pawns his child. The poor child is then a slave until the amount is paid back. This may take years, but as often as not, the money is never refunded and the child grows to maturity, begets children, all of whom become slaves like the parent. If the hostage is ever able to redeem himself, there is the difficulty of finding extra money to redeem his offspring who must otherwise, be left to their sad fate. Some hostage-parents, rather than part from their children, become resigned to a life-long bondage. It may be supposed that the recent abolition of domestic slavery has done away with all this wrong doing; the naked truth is that the practice is still going on under cover; thanks to the illiteracy and astounding ignorance of the generality of our up-country brethren. I knew of the case of a lad, Santigi, I think is his name, a native of Romaka in the lower Loko Chiefdom. For the past three or four years he has been held in thrall for a debt of fifteen shillings. He is alleged to have taken or stolen a single cassada when hungry and the owner, a notorious hard-hearted man, demanded his life blood; four pounds was asked, but the parents begged the palaver off with fifteen shillings, for which the boy was delivered as pledge to the lender. The parents very poor people, who can hardly keep themselves in food, have since absconded on account of sundry other debts and left their child to his fate. Simple folks will be told the boy was given to Pa to "rusum" (roosoom=train); but one should always have one's doubts about the roosooming" integrity of a Temne; the term is often a convenient one in which to disguise slavery. A similar case is that of a girl, Jenaba, native of the same town, who was held in bonds for a debt. Time and again she ran away from her master, only to be demanded and fetched back. She remained in slavery until late last year, when she again bolted and came to Freetown to join her elder sister. Her master went again to demand her and. finding she had escaped to Freetown, pressed her people for settlement of the debt; a cow had to be borrowed for the purpose. Jenaba is now safe in the "Town of the Free" so far. But who knows whether some other relative has not had to be given as a pledge to the new lender, or whether the liberated child may not yet have to be recalled to enter upon a new period of servitude. Some well-to-do Temne men seem to have recourse to a still safer dodge—they multiply wives, who do all the toiling and moiling that was once the lot of slaves. If a man is rich he can always buy a wife for a mere song in Temneland; he is not infrequently given one as a "dash"—the mere fact that he is a *bai* (king) or a *yola* (man of means) makes many parents long to boast that he is their son-in-law, though he be the very devil incarnate—so much do the Temnes venerate wealth. Sooner or later, the sacrificed damsel is disillusioned; she finds herself a virtual slave and makes a bid for freedom, but; alas, in vain. Her parents are unable to protect her for very fear of the persecuting influence of wealth. A case in point. Mariama, a native of Kamaranka in the Lower Loko Chiefdom, was in her childhood given by her parents to a woman to "rusum" (Rumour whispers, as hostage for a debt.) Upon attaining the age of puberty, she was given as wife by her mistress to the latter's brother, one Masa Wanka, Paramount Chief of Makama, who paid the princely sum of twenty shillings to his sister. No portion of this amount was seen or touched by the girl's mother. When the old woman learnt her daughter had been given away she was terribly upset and came to Town to consult with her eldest son as to how to get his sister back. The mother returned with six shillings, a pot and some cloth, took this present to the mistress to thank her according to native etiquette, for training her child and to demand the girl. The woman was put off by one pretext and another and returned to her chiefdom without her child. Not long after, the girl ran away back home and told of all her sufferings at Makama; she had been ill-cared for, and set to do very laborious offices, which made her hands quite horny, and she bore, as she still does, on her face, the scars of a brutal flogging. Messengers from the chief were soon at her heels to demand her return and the mother, a timid, ignorant woman, unwillingly sent her girl back to misery. Before long Mariama again struck out for liberty, reached home and, finding her mother had come to Freetown, took boat and mother and daughter were soon happily reunited. The girl was duly registered in the books of the Tribal Authority by her brother and now felt herself safe under family protection. But she reckoned without her host, poor girl. The chief

AN ADMIRER OF BRITISH FREEDOM.

Freetown,
January 29. 1929.

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If a man is rich he can always buy a wife for a mere song in Temneland; he is not infrequently given one as a "dash"—the mere fact that he is a *bai* (king) or a *yola* (man of means) makes many parents long to boast that he is their son-in-law, though he be the very devil incarnate—so much do the Temnes venerate wealth. Sooner or later, the sacrificed damsel is disillusioned; she finds herself a virtual slave and makes a bid for freedom, but; alas, in vain. Her parents are unable to protect her for very fear of the persecuting influence of wealth. A case in point. Mariama, a native of Kamaranka in the Lower Loko Chiefdom, was in her childhood given by her parents to a woman to "rusum" (Rumour whispers, as hostage for a debt.) Upon attaining the age of puberty, she was given as wife by her mistress to the latter's brother, one Masa Wanka, Paramount Chief of Makama, who paid the princely sum of twenty shillings to his sister. No portion of this amount was seen or touched by the girl's mother. When the old woman learnt her daughter had been given away she was terribly upset and came to Town to consult with her eldest son as to how to get his sister back. The mother returned with six shillings, a pot and some cloth, took this present to the mistress to thank her according to native etiquette, for training her child and to demand the girl. The woman was put off by one pretext and another and returned to her chiefdom without her child. Not long after, the girl ran away back home and told of all her sufferings at Makama; she had been ill-cared for, and set to do very laborious offices, which made her hands quite horny, and she bore, as she still does, on her face, the scars of a brutal flogging. Messengers from the chief were soon at her heels to demand her return and the mother, a timid, ignorant woman, unwillingly sent her girl back to misery. Before long Mariama again struck out for liberty, reached home and, finding her mother had come to Freetown, took boat and mother and daughter were soon happily reunited. The girl was duly registered in the books of the Tribal Authority by her brother and now felt herself safe under family protection. But she reckoned without her host, poor girl. The chief came to Town for the installation of his kinsman Ruler's Tribal Ruler, discovered Mariama's abouts, hounded her till fear of the Tribal Ruler's lending assistance to their persecutor compelled the family to hand her over. On the day for her departure to Makama the girl again disappeared and remained in hiding till the chief had gone. The chief went indeed, but his influence was at work behind him. In a little while the girl had become a prisoner in the house of the Tribal Ruler and only awaited escort to Makama. Fortunately for her, she fell seriously ill and the dreaded moment was a little delayed, as it was found advisable to allow the mother to take her home for treatment. After about a month in bed the patient became convalescent and, to keep the wolf from the door, got her brother to help her money to do a little fruit-hawking. The mother was at once threatened persecution and especially, for the continuance and encouragement of slavery in the settlement which the British Philanthropy has founded as a solemn protest against an age-long wrong?—Yours in deep earnest.

AN ADMIRER OF BRITISH FREEDOM.

Freetown,
January 29, 1929.

Race Problem- 1929

Africa

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

BELGIAN PREMIER ON CONGO QUESTIONS.

The Labour Problem—Colony's Economic Position.

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only too well founded. Through out his long official career Mr. Bennie had had the trust of Practising Schools followed with whom he had come into their tributes to the work that and they were parting the Chief Inspector had him with the sincerest and accomplished in raising the possible regret. The standard of the teachers courses, of W. G. Bennie would in expanding the system of be honoured and would secondary education in scope recall many years of and efficiency, and in developing deep inspiration and a tre- faithful and valuable service to the work in native languages

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These were memorials that would last to strenuous work done amid difficulties and criticism. Already the effect of the work was being felt and Mr. Bennie would increasingly be able to look back with satisfaction upon the work for which he had been responsible. In his retirement for which he had their united wishes, the cause of native education would still have a large place in his heart and thought.

Mr Njokweni voiced the deep regret that filled the hearts of native parents at hearing of the proposed retirement of the Chief Inspector.

The Chief Inspector who replied said that it was not easy to speak in a meeting such as that was, or to acknowledge the tributes that had been paid him. He was reminded of the words in the Old Book "So likewise ye, when you have done all those things which were commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do." He had regrets that more had not been done and that the work had not been done better. The work had at times been difficult, the obstacles to progress had not always been easy to overcome but he spoke in no spirit of complaining. Amid all the problems of his position, in spite of all its difficulties, he had experienced great happiness in the work, for he felt that he had had the trust and confidence of the native people, the missionaries and the teachers. This had made it possible to do what had been done. He thanked all very cordially for the kind expression they had given at that meeting.

Turning more particularly to the native students he urged them seriously to consider their opportunities and responsibilities. Upon them more than upon any others—except the mothers of the land—rested the future of the development of the education of the native people. They needed to take every opportunity to develop their hand and mind and character for the great tasks and opportunities that lay ahead of them. They required to develop above all strength of character; not the strength that showed itself in self-will but a strength to restrain passions and temper; to learn to obey that others in turn might obey them. These lessons were not easy to learn and many did not realise their importance but they had to be learnt if the students were to lead their people onwards and upwards. They should realise the seriousness of their responsibilities.

The students listened with rapt attention to these parting words of the Chief Inspector.

The meeting closed suitably with quiet singing of "Nkosi Sikelela i Africa" and the pronouncement of the Benediction.

The students then lined up outside in double rows while the Chief Inspector was driven away.

It is with universal regret that an official good bye has been said to the Chief Inspector whose work will long be remembered in in deep thankfulness and whose name in deep respect.

Location Boards' Congress

The congress of Native Advisory Boards of the Union of South Africa at Queenstown passed the following resolutions:—

(1) "That in view of the fact that Kaffir beer is being recognised as a commercial commodity in the urban areas, the congress is diametrically opposed to the principle of municipalisation of Kaffir beer, and directs the executive to consider further representations."

(2) "That in view of the meagre resources of the native people from which the revenue fund is derived, this congress urges upon municipalities the advisability of employing native clerks in location offices."

(3) "The example of the Bloemfontein Location Board in appointing a native sanitary inspector for the location is earnestly recommended for the serious consideration of other municipalities."

(4) "The employment in location offices of superfluous European clerks, whose high salaries, pension contributions, and locomotion allowances are fixed by municipalities under the grading scheme applicable to European employees, is not regarded as a healthy sign for the Native revenue account, and in the opinion of the Congress should be discouraged."

The delegates to the Congress included men from Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, East London, and other widely distributed centres.

THE COMING ELECTION.

As nervous as a negligent pupil who looks forward to the arrival of the school inspector with terror so does the Pact government tremble at the nearing approach of the country's verdict. The recent dissolution of the cabinet, the Labour imbroglio, the Namaqualand bungle by the Minister of Mines, the German trade treaty, the insincerity of the Prime Minister in handling his Native Bills (about which he now endeavours to raise a huge smoke-screen to envelop the leader of the Opposition), are only a few sins of the present government which in a few months time will bring nemesis to those who deserve it. With no political backbone to rely on, the Prime Minister had perforce to submit to the uncanny brain wave of his colleague the Minister of Justice whom he always trusted to produce a first-class party problem out of nothing. When it is remembered that the Native Bills are still "in the making" at the hands of the Commission appointed by Gen. Hertzog himself, and that the country is impatiently awaiting the outcome from this source, it passeth understanding to note that the Premier in one flash turns his back to the Commission, and accuses Gen. Smuts for making the position stalemate. What the Opposition leader has said about the Native Bills has not involved the issue in any way, and it is indulging in cheap politics for the Pact government to attempt to mislead the country by asserting that Gen. Smuts has forestalled the non-party deliberations on the bills. However ghastly the election prospects seem for the Nationalist—Labour combine, it is clear that a rod is lying in pickle for them to avenge their political ineptitude.

The wishes of a preponderately large section of the population have been consistently flouted for the last five years for the sake of placating a certain section and it is really time that retribution came. In the outspoken observations made by the Prime Minister at Pretoria a fortnight ago regarding the extent to which the Nationalist Party can tolerate coalition with Labour, it is evident that the latter's party principles come second to cabinet honours with Gen. Hertzog. It is unthinkable that any self-respecting party can tolerate such dictation.

The Native voters of the Cape, of whom the government are making the cinderella of party politics and the main election issue, are reservedly watching the direction the wind blows. They (Natives) are not disturbed by the unstatesmanlike oratory of men like Advocate van Hees, who advocate injustice to Natives as a government policy, the insult repeated by the leading man in the country of describing the aborigines' vote as the "S.A.P.-Unionist Kaffir vote." Natives take these ebullitions as the twitchings of a dying snake that must suffer the fate it deserved.

If the result of the Langlaagte by-election is a reflection of the political situation in the Transvaal, tbe Pact is likely to suffer a defeat in Natal and the Cape that will be remembered for many years to come.

TRI-LINGUALISM IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

WINDHOEK (S.W. Africa), February 11. According to the local "Allgemeine Zeitung," the German members of the Legislative Assembly are sending a deputation to the Union to request that the German language be now recognised as a third official language in South-West Africa, the others being English and Afrikaans.

This step is being taken now in view of the lapse of the period of three years during which the Government undertook not to allow any alterations in the Constitution.—Reuter.

Race Problem-1929

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Hanno's Periplus.

The earliest record of the exploration of West Africa which gives details by which the places visited can be, more or less vaguely identified is the Periplus of Hanno, the Carthaginian. The original text perished at the destruction of Carthage; the only transcript of it which has survived to the present day is a MS. in the Palatine Library of the University of Heidelberg, written in tenth-century Greek script, which is certainly much abbreviated. It is impossible to believe that the log of so important a voyage, a document solemnly deposited, with other votive offerings, in the greatest temple in Carthage, as an everlasting memorial of a great national undertaking, would run to no more than about 1,000 words. How many transcribers had copied and mutilated, the story during the 1,500 years which elapsed between the time of the deposit by Hanno (circa 515 B.C.) and the tenth century, when the existing version was written, it is impossible to conjecture, but study of it shows that it is rather a paraphrase than a copy. The beginning and the end are evidently much compressed; a single clause of the fifth sentence records the colonisation of five cities, the only details given being the names and the fact that they were on the sea coast. The story is brought to an abrupt end with the statement that "as our supplies were now running short we decided to go no further"; not a word is said about the return journey to Carthage. The field left to conjecture has been occupied by a number of writers, who have produced a considerable library of books dealing with the text, or endeavouring to identify the places named, and to reconstruct a full story of the voyage. The problems raised by the Periplus are many and curious; the investigation of them leads by quite unexpected by-paths to a connection between this obscure and almost forgotten adventure along the West Coast of Africa and general history.

The Object of the Voyage.

The first sentence of the MS. shows that the voyage was no wild adventure of daring spirits plunging into the unknown, but was a carefully premeditated national enterprise. "The Carthaginians *decreed* that Hanno should sail outside the Pillars of Hercules and found the cities of the Libyo-Phœnician people." The national character of the undertaking is shown by the scale on which it was organised. Hanno was provided with a fleet of "sixty ships manned by fifty rowers apiece, with a multitude of men and women, some 30,000 in number, and with provisions and all other necessary outfit." After making allowance for some exaggeration, it is evident that the ships were numerous, and that they conveyed a very large number of emigrants. Is it probable that those shrewd and careful traders would stake this vast sum of wealth and humanity on the hazard of fortune leading it to some country suitable for colonisation? There is no indication or suggestion that this was a swarm being thrown off to relieve congestion of population; it is sent out with the deliberate purpose of founding colonies, daughters of Carthage, whose commerce should increase the wealth of the mother city.

Pre-Carthaginian Colonies?

It has been generally assumed by commentators that this expedition set out, like Columbus, with a very vague idea as to the destination to which the voyage would lead. But there are good grounds for believing that Hanno was instructed to make for places already known through reliable information. Long before Hanno's time the legend had spread through the countries bordering on the Mediterranean of beautiful islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules, where dwelt the spirits of the blessed in perpetual happiness. The extension of knowledge of the northern coast of Africa since Homeric times had shown that the Gardens of the Hesperides were not to be found in the place assigned to them, but men do not abandon a sweet and long-cherished dream on account of such a trifle as a geographical error. Groaning under the pain of this world's travail, men have ever braced themselves "to bear the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" by the vision of a distant land where their sufferings shall be rewarded and their wrongs set right by eternal bliss. The more keenly they realised the seeming injustice of the affliction of the righteous, the more they clung to the idea of an earthly paradise, where the righteous man should reap the reward of his righteousness. It mattered not that the land of the blessed receded further into the still unknown as exploration extended knowledge; the faith was never abandoned that somewhere, beyond the veil, the Happy Land would yet be reached, and this faith has sent many a bold adventurer on the quest for it. Long before Hanno sailed from Carthage Egyptians had travelled into the desert seeking the Paradise told of by priests, and pictured in the Book of the Dead; and they believed that that paradise was there, cut off from intrusion by the sands which overwhelmed the impious mortal who dared to pry upon it. In his account of Cambyses' expedition against the temple of Zeus Ammon, Herodotus tells us that a detachment of the army, after a seven-days' journey from Thebes, reached a city called Oasis, and when they tried to go further were overwhelmed by sandstorms and perished. He adds that the city was called by the Greeks "the Island of the Blessed." Nor is this the only evidence of Egyptian knowledge of the desert. On the southern border of Algeria is the district named Tuat, which is the ancient Egyptian name for the "other world." Budge says, in his account of "the Egyptian Heaven and Hell," that the "Islands of the Blest" were either fertile eyots or oases which appeared to be green islands in a sea of sand. In his tract on "The Voyage of Hanno" (Woodbrooke Essays, No. 18: W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge), Dr. Rendel Harris, Curator of MSS. at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, contends that the expedition of Hanno was inspired by information from Egypt, and was not set out to search for a vague land of bliss, but to reoccupy Egyptian settlements established on the West Coast of Africa, but abandoned during the temporary wane of Egyptian power. In a previous essay, Dr. Harris had already demonstrated that the place-names occurring in the Periplus were, in meaning or sound, derived from designations given by the original Egyptian settlers, and still preserved by the people living there when Hanno arrived. The first city founded by him, named Thymiaterium—the Altar of Incense—is recognised by critics to have been situated at the mouth of the river now known as the Sebu, but which was called by Greek and Latin writers Subur, whence Dr. Harris has "conjectured the primitive name Seb-ur . . . . an obviously Egyptian word meaning Great Star . . . . so we have our first colony, the town of 'Incense Altar' on the Great Star River." Now, in Ptolemy's Astronomy the constellation now called Ara—the Altar—is named Thymiaterium, and on its boundary is the great star Antares, whose name has no connection with Mars (Gk. Ares), but is the Egyptian Anti-res—incense of the South. This method is used to fix other places, and the point at which the voyage ended. What were the two points which Hanno called the "Horn of the West" and the "Horn of the South"? Arguing from Egyptian analogies, Dr. Harris decides that they mean "as far west" or "as far south" as one can go, and that the former is Cape Verde, the most westerly point of the continent, and the latter Cape Palmas, the most southerly point before the great bend of the coast to the eastward. Dr. Harris believes that the Egyptians reached the west coast by sea as well as by land across the desert, and that some day explorations and excavations will reveal the relics and proofs of their occupation. At all events, it is certain that the discoveries of modern explorers have shown that the ancient Egyptians know much about African geography which was forgotten by Europeans during the Middle Ages.

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S "GREAT PROGRESS."

Possibilities that Threaten to Outrun the Imagination.

Northern Rhodesia, that vast territory with an area larger than that of the whole Cape Province, and such possibilities as threaten to outrun even the imagination, is at present in process of very rapid development as a direct result of the discovery and tapping of its tremendous mineral resources.

The opening up of its store of mineral wealth, the employment in this work of an increasingly large number of men, particularly of Europeans, and the expenditure by the mining corporations concerned of huge sums of money is bound, as Sir Drummond Chaplin emphasised in the course of a brief interview at the Cape, to create a proportionate demand therefor foodstuffs, to provide a ready market for the Rhodesian farmers, and at the same time to arouse a sustained demand for land, thus bringing about a fresh influx of settlers into that territory.

In the Right Direction

This, he said, was all tending in the right direction. More particularly, perhaps, with regard to the attracting of fresh settlers to Southern Africa, it was a very excellent symptom, since the Union itself was losing a number of people every year. The increasingly strong appeal made by Northern Rhodesia to the outside world would thus tend to redress the balance in this respect.

The first mines at present to be encountered on the way up northwards from the Southern Rhodesian frontier at the Victoria Falls, Sir Drummond explained, are those of Broken Hill, which is the headquarters of the Anglo-American Mining Corporation. Whereas in 1921 there was a European population of only 3,634 in the whole Northern Rhodesia, there are at the present time 2,000 Europeans at Broken Hill alone. Zinc and lead are extensively mined there, and there are also considerable deposits of vanadium.

The same organisation is also in charge of the prospecting arrangements over the very large area of the Loangwa Concession Company, which holds prospecting rights from the Chartered Company, and a considerable number of expert geologists are engaged in systematic prospecting throughout that vast tract of country under the direction of Dr. Bancroft.

Further north are the Bwana-Mkubwa Copper Mining Company's mines at the place of that name, and here alone 200 Europeans and over 2,000 natives are employed in the extraction of copper. The same company also own the Nkana copper mine, situated 43 miles from Ndola, the next station north of Bwana M'Kubwa, on the line to the Belgian Congo.

"Dr. Wellington."

At Queenstown this Native leader of the doctrine of Africa being redeemed from slavery by forces from America met with no success in attempting to capture followers. He met with opposition from men of his colour, and he was forced to beat an ignominious retreat into the favourite district of the Israelites—Bullhoek. We understand that last week he invaded King William's Town by car with his favourite suite consisting of young women and that his intentions were to visit the home of Nontetas the Native prophetess now in the Pretoria Mental Hospital. Obviously his favourite hunting—ground consists of those parts of the district that have at some time or another been successfully exploited by propagandists of pernicious doctrines. We however entertain no fears of a repetition of the disasters that befel the Transkei as a result of Wellington's activities. As we have always maintained, the Natives are the best judges of false doctrines, among their own kin, and the authorities will do well not to act prematurely in an attempt to prevent likely disaffection. What took place at Queenstown will certainly be followed in other parts of the Ciskei.

A Danger in South Africa.

The emergence of the native question "[illegible]" as a party issue in the South African [illegible] general election is disquieting. There [illegible] had been some hope that the compre-hensive native programme evolved by [illegible] the Hertzog Government might be dis-cussed, in the joint session of both [illegible] Houses of Parliament before which it [illegible] must come, with a patience which the [illegible] tremendous issues involved deserve. [illegible] That now seems less likely. [illegible] has opened with bitter exchanges on [illegible] the native question between General [illegible] Hertzog and General Smuts. [illegible] forget, [illegible] on his policy [illegible]

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Hanno's Periplus.

The earliest record of the exploration of West Africa which gives details by which the places visited can be, more or less vaguely identified, is the Periplus of Hanno, the Carthaginian. The original text perished at the destruction of Carthage; the only transcript of it which has survived to the present day is a MS. in the Public Library of the University of Heidelberg, written in tenth-century Greek script, which is certainly much abbreviated. It is impossible to believe that the log of so important a voyage, a document solemnly deposited, with other votive offerings, in the greatest temple in Carthage, as an everlasting memorial of a great national undertaking, would run to no more than about 1,000 words. How many transcribers had copied and mutilated, abandon the story during the 2,500 years elapsed between the time of the deposit by error. Groaning under the pain of this Hanno (circa 515 B.C.) and the tenth century, world's travail, men have ever braced themwhen the existing version was written, it selves "to bear the slings and arrows of outis impossible to conjecture, but study of it rageous fortune" by the vision of a distant shows that it is rather a paraphrase than land where their sufferings shall be rewarded a copy. The beginning and the end are and their wrongs set right by eternal bliss. evidently much compressed; a single clause The more keenly they realised the seeming of the fifth sentence records the colonisation injustice of the affliction of the righteous, of five cities, the only details given being the more they clung to the idea of an earthly names and the fact that they were on the paradise, where the righteous man should sea coast. The story is brought to an abrupt reap the reward of his righteousness. It end with the statement that "as our supplies mattered not that the land of the blessed were now running short we decided to go receded further into the still unknown no further"; not a word is said about the as exploration extended knowledge; the return journey to Carthage. The field left faith was never abandoned that somelibrary of books dealing with the text, or where, beyond the veil, the Happy Land endeavouring to identify the places named, would yet be reached, and this faith has and to reconstruct a full story of the voyage. sent many a bold adventurer on the quest The problems raised by the Periplus are for it. Long before Hanno sailed from many and curious; the investigation of them Carthage Egyptians had travelled into the leads by quite unexpected by-paths to a con- desert seeking the Paradise told of by nection between this obscure and almost priests, and pictured in the Book of the forgotten adventure along the West Coast of Dead; and they believed that that paradise Africa and general history. was there, cut off from intrusion by the

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The emergence of the native question as a party issue in the South African general election is disquieting. There had been some hope that the compromise in which the interests of the native has opened with bitter exchanges on the native question between General Smuts, Herzog and General Hertzog, to be discussed, in the joint session of both Houses of Parliament, before which it must come, with tremendous issues involved. That now seems less likely.

(p. 86)

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, January 26, 1929

ADMINISTRATOR'S COURT IN WEST AFRICA.

"Let Justice prevail, though the clouds be rent asunder."

WE republished in our issue of the 12th instant a very able article from the pen of W. H. STOKER, Esq., K.C., formerly Puisne Judge in Nigeria, and published in *West Africa* of the 22nd December 1928. The occasion for this article is the trial, conviction and sentence of Dr. KNOWLES, a European Doctor in Ashanti, for whom we have genuine sympathy since he is the victim of a system of oppressive judiciary. The learned writer reviewed in a very clear manner the history of the Commissioner's Court of Ashanti, and expressed the grave injustice likely to result from the system.

Several Africans have been sacrificed on this same altar, and it is their blood which has cried for remedy that perhaps has made possible the publicity now current.

The West African Press have been unanimous in condemning the policy of entrusting the lives and liberties of British subjects or Protected subjects to officers without judicial qualification as exists in some parts of Nigeria and in Ashanti, and denying the unfortunate persons the right to be represented by men properly trained to expose the flaws in the case against them. So long as Africans alone were concerned, sufficient importance did not seem to have been attached to the many complaints as to the almost systematic miscarriages of justice in these courts. But now that it has actually affected a European, it has certainly become serious and one worthy of attention. We do not mean by this, that there were not sympathisers among some members of the British Public at the fate of the many Africans who had suffered, but what we say is that their unjust punishments did not seem to merit the almost wholesale condemnation which has resulted since Dr KNOWLES' case. We can recollect that in the past, when reference was made to the miscarriages in these courts, there were some who were prepared to eulogise the system as virtuous. We have always held the views that men sing different songs when they are themselves directly affected, and the large number of the British Public who are shocked at what has recently happened, are all the more so when it is made clear that even a European official is not safe.

West Africa is advancing in the scale of civilisation, and in proportion to this advance, is there a necessity for the application of the principle that "justice should prevail even if the clouds are rent asunder." There is no greater disintegrating force as the sense of the prevalence of injustice, and the African community views with disappointment the continuance of a system which is making inroads into their lives and liberties. Mr. STOKER in his article realises that the public conscience in England has been struck, and advocates that whatever changes may result through the KNOWLES case should be of universal application. The following from his pen will receive wide-spread endorsement in West Africa, namely:—

> "It seems to follow, therefore, that the law must be the same for all, and if it is interently wrong for a Briton to be tried for capital, and even serious offences, by one Judge sitting alone and without a jury and without the right of being defended by counsel, it must be impolitic and also wrong for other subjects of His Majesty to be so tried."

This strikes at the root of the principles of government, and as it is one which has been broadcast throughout the world, that British justice knows no distinction of class, race, creed or colour, we anticipate it will receive universal approbation in Britain.

Mr. STOKER further examined the greatest argument for the continuance of the present system in Ashanti and in some parts of Nigeria. This argument is, that lawyers if allowed, would foment litigation. But what did Mr. STOKER say in answer? He wrote as follows:—

> "But surely it may safely be left to the Supreme Court to look after and control its practitioners, who are officers of the Court and amenable to its discipline? And is it the fact that the bulk of the profession in the Colony are prone to barratry? And is not the African himself litigious, as a substitute for the old fighting, and does he not largely resort on his own initiative to the Courts?"

This answer seems to us so satisfactory that we think any enlargement on it would be surplusage and unnecessary. It is however a very lame excuse for endangering the lives and liberties of so many millions of British subjects or Protected British subjects by denying them that which have been admitted as the best and safest guarantees of their lives and liberties. If in Britain, with all the safeguards, miscarriage of justice does occasionally occur, it is not difficult to picture the frequent occurrences in Courts where no adequate protection exists. The time has come, in our opinion, when the whole machinery of justice in British West Africa should be overhauled to make it harmonise with the principles of British Justice. It is farcical to allege, for instance that some of those systems are unsuited to West Africa. No one can deny that it is the duty of the British Government to afford to the most unsophisticated African under his protection the best opportunity of having his case properly represented in the interest of his life or liberty. It is impossible to expect a Judge, however learned in the law, and worse still, if he is without the pale, to be able to put forward the case of a poor native without adequate knowledge of the English language. Rather than denying him the right of being represented by counsel, we think there is an obligation to see that he does not suffer through his ignorance of the position, and a duty is cast on the British Government in every such case to make adequate and proper provision for his defence.

In the Protectorate of Sierra Leone we observe that although provision is made in the Estimates for Counsel to be assigned for the defence of poor prisoners when charged with capital offences, yet in no case has this been done. We say with emphasis that the Judge who refuses to exercise this power and believes he is quite able to take care of the prisoner, assumes a very great responsibility, as it is impossible for him, as it sometimes happen, to assist the prosecution and then assist the defence.

We urge upon our Governor to give this matter his personal attention, so that if an enquiry into the Judiciary of West Africa is held, his administration would be let off with little blame.

We cannot close this article without referring to the Assessors Ordinance as being also directly assailed by the able contribution of Mr. Stoker. The Englishman claims trial by jury as an heritage; he regards it as a bulwark against oppression. On account of the excellence of the system, other European nations and Japan have adopted it. When the Englishman travels to different countries and plants the Union Jack it is but reasonable to expect that he carries with him and teaches the natives the value of that system distinguished by its its impartiality. In many cases trial by Jury was introduced on the founding of some of the West African Colonies as one of the good things that the British protection confers on them. The subsequent withdrawal of this right and the vesting of sole power in the Judges, who are strange to the customs and idiosyncracies of the people, are a subversal of the principles of Justice, which seems to be the tendency of a misguided imperialistic outlook.

BY GBOAWAR J[illegible].

Christmas with all its jollification is over and we are now having that of the New Year. Tis a pity that most of us who profess Christianity have a conception of Christmas and make it a time of drunkenness and glutony. This example is being copied by the non-Christians. This day is indeed a day of rejoicing inasmuch as the gates of Heaven which had been shut by the fall of our ancestor Adam, was opened again to us by the Advent of Christ who becomes as such our Saviour. We should rejoice soberly with thankfulness and resolve to merit salvation. Tis a pity that this bad example is set by Sierra Leoneans who are amongst us.

We hope the Government will enforce the rules approved in Legislative Council for fees in the Chief's Court. We quite agree with the Government in restricting the Chief's Court fees which has been very high and has ruined many a chiefdom. We hope in no case the highest fee will exceed £3.

Tis rumoured that the Hon. Paramount Chief, Kenneh S. Coker, is touring this Province early in January obviously with the intention of promulgating these rules and consulting the chiefs. We hope the honour and hospitality due to his high position will be accorded him. As to these rules, the Chiefs have only to cut their gowne according to their cloth. Instead of having their courts packed with idlers who sit as Jurors and get part of Court fees, they should get two or three sensible men to sit with them to decide cases. Let all others go to work their farms or do other business.

Immorality has taken a strong grip on the Province. This was an unheard of thing in the old days. The present state of things, I am sorry to state, but tis a fact, is introduced by Sierra Leoneans and Natives who have been to Freetown and lived amongst the very low classes. These bring with them the shameful habit as part of civilization and the habit is copied by the natives who readily take anything that comes from there as good and proper.

On Monday the 17th the dead body of a woman was found in the bush in the vicinity of Luawa in the Jong Chiefdom Sumbuya District. This woman had been dead some days before discovery and could not be identified. Post mortem examination held by Dr. Taylor, resident at Sumbuya, gave the following result which would seem to show that murder for fetish purposes has started again. Cannibalism was once rife in these parts, but through the vigilance of the Government and the able co-operation and activity of present chiefs, it had become a thing of the past. We hope it is not being resorted to again.

We understand that the bigmen of Luawa have been called to Sumbuyah for investigation to be held by the District Commissianer.

The murder is at present a mystery, as the woman could not be identified and no woman has been reported missing from any of the town in this chiefdom. Was the corpse conveyed in the dead of night from another chiefdom, with the intention of giving a black record to this chiefdom. God alone knows.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

VERNACULAR IN SIERRA LEONE

A MISGUIDED POLICY.

I.

THE education of the African, whether in the Colony or Protectorate is of such vita concern to us that we can only disregard any new policy introduced at our peril.

It would be the height of folly to concern ourselves only with education in the Colony and to manifest indifference as to wha happens in the Protectorate.

With all the artificial barriers which have been, and are still being erected between the Colony-born and the natives of the Protectorate, it needs no foresight of a seer or philosophic insight of a sage, to recognise that both are almost indissolubly bound together, and that what happens in the Protectorate will sooner or later react in the Colony. It is therefore our duty when we observe misinformed or misguided policies whether they be administrative, educational, religious or otherwise, being introduced, to sound the tocsin and give warning to those responsible.

The whole object of education is to make a man useful in his environments. Those environments may be influenced by exotic circumstances; when they are, such influences should modify our outlook, and affect our system.

The prime consideration of any system of education in the Protectorate is that which should be directed towards preparing the natives to meet the many complications of the future. It must be recognised that the developments which are taking place with such rapidity, have compelled the natives of the Protectorote to realise the verity of the struggle for existence. The competition for livelihood has forced the natives to come out and take his stand or be engulfed. He must be prepared for the future. He must be made capable to take his place in the world of reality. Sentimentalism will not do. In fact it has no place in these days.

It is a false conception of the demands of this practical age to advocate as one reason for introducing vernacular education to the detriment of English, that every nation must be taught in its own language. That may be a requirement, in fact is a necessity where the nation is self-contained, where it is independent, and its language is the predominant one. But what misguided outlook it is, to make a people less competent to take their place in the modern world, when in the market, the field of exchange, the Government service, the church, in fact everywhere, the demand is more perfect and correct knowledge of the English language. National pride and aspirations may warrant knowledge of one's own language, but this has been satisfied so far as the Protectorate of Sierra Leone is concerned. The people know their own language from infancy, and as far as conversation is concerned, and the correct pronouncements of the words, many of the would-be teachers of the new vernacular regime should go to be taught by those whom they would profess to teach. The farce and reality of it all is too evident to need much bandying with words. The future demands too much seriousness than this hide-and-seek with the educational future of the natives of the Protectorate.

We are willing to acquit the Director of Education of any ulterior motive, but we are bound to say that one result of this policy is the lowering of the standard of education. Already, with English as the basic language for educational purposes, the standard in the Protectorate is no higher than the Seventh Standard; when three of these standards are taken for vernacular tuition, there will only be left four standards to be done in English.

The result will be that it is after a boy in the Protectorate has reached the Third Standard that he begins his first lessons in English. By the time this system is tested satisfactorily, the present Director of Education would have gone. We ask what would be the fate of those poor natives of the Protectorate who have been made the catspaw of this misguided policy?

KENYA CROP REPORTS.

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya.

The Kenya Department of Agriculture's crop report for the month of November, 1928 states that although considerable changes have taken place in the individual estimates of correspondents, there is little change in the aggregate totals of yields as compared with the previous month's report. The total maize crop is now estimated at 1,591,477 bags, a decrease of 5,066 bags as compared with the October estimate. The wheat estimate is increased by over 2,000 bags. A further decrease in the coffee figure is returned, the total crop now being given at 173,318 cwt., a reduction of 4,015 cwt. when compared with the October forecast.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

VERNACULAR IN SIERRA LEONE

A MISGUIDED POLICY.

I.

THE education of the African, whether in the Colony or Protectorate is of such vita concern to us that we can only disregard any new policy introduced at our peril.

It would be the height of folly to concern ourselves only with education in the Colony and to manifest indifference as to what happens in the Protectorate.

With all the artificial barriers which have been, and are still being erected between the Colony-born and the natives of the Protectorate, it needs foresight of a seer or philosophic insight of a sage, to recognise that both are almost indissolubly bound together, and that what happens in the Protectorate will sooner or later react in the Colony. It is therefore our duty when we observe misinformed or misguided policies whether they be administrative, educational, religious or otherwise, being introduced, to sound the tocsin and give warning to those responsible.

The whole object of education is to make a man useful in his environments. Those environments may be influenced by exotic circumstances; when they are, such influences should modify our outlook, and affect our system.

The prime consideration of any system of education in the Protectorate is that which should be directed towards preparing the natives to meet the many complications of the future. It must be recognised that the developments which are taking place with such rapidity, have compelled the natives of the Protectorote to réalise the verity of the struggle for existence. The competition for livelihood has forced the natives to come out and take his stand or be engulfed. He must be prepared for the future. He must be made capable to take his place in the world of reality. Sentimentalism will not do. In fact it has no place in these days.

It is a false conception of the demands of this practical age to advocate as one reason for introducing vernacular education to the detriment of English, that every nation must be taught in its own language. That may be a requirement, in fact is a necessity where the nation is self-contained, where it is independent, and its language is the predominant one. But what misguided outlook it is, to make a people less competent to take their place in the modern world, when in the market, the field of exchange, the Government service, the church, in fact everywhere, the demand is more perfect and correct knowledge of the English language. National pride and aspirations may warrant knowledge of one's own language, but this has been satisfied so far as the Protectorate of Sierra Leone is concerned. The people know their own language from infancy, and as far as conversation is concerned, and the correct pronouncements of the words, many of the would-be teachers of the new vernacular regime should go to be taught by those whom they would profess to teach. The farce and reality of it all is too evident to need much bandying with words. The future demands too much seriousness than this hide-and-seek with the educational future of the natives of the Protectorate.

We are willing to acquit the Director of Education of any ulterior motive, but we are bound to say that one result of this policy is the lowering of the standard of education. Already, with English as the basic language for educational purposes, the standard in the Protectorate is no higher than the Seventh Standard; when three of these standards are taken for vernacular tuition, there will only be left four standards to be done in English.

The result will be that it is after a boy in the Protectorate has reached the Third Standard that he begins his first lessons in English. By the time this system is tested satisfactorily, the present Director of Education would have gone. We ask what would be the fate of those poor natives of the Protectorate who have been made the catspaw of this misguided policy?

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GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Cape Coast Election.

The text of the ruling of Mr. Justice Woolhouse-Bannerman against the Omanhene of Cape Coast and his co-petitioners in their effort to set aside the unopposed election of Mr. Korsah to the Legislative Council shows clearly that although the case was, from a legal point of view, "frivolous and vexatious," it decides a question vital to the progress of Cape Coast, and without an acceptance of that decision there can be no peace in local politics. The Omanhene and his supporters have clearly been hoping against all reason to hear that their authority in Cape Coast the municipality was the same as their authority in Cape Coast the African State, though their experience of the working of a municipal council should have shown them otherwise. It is a case of a State having to accommodate itself to the growth of a cosmopolitan town within its borders, and most African rulers who have had a seaport within their domains know that their rule is confronted with a force beyond its power to handle, and, wisely, seek to take their place as one of the controlling authorities in a new regime. In Cape Coast an attempt has been made to ignore unwelcome changes, but the power of the most sacred of national oaths cannot protect conservatism in the face of modern progress, especially when education, as well as difference of nationality, removes any fear that the oath might have inspired. Admittedly, the position is an unpleasant one for any Native Authority, but it has not been improved by the refusal of the Omanhene and his followers to avail themselves of their newest weapon, the franchise.

A Constitution for Achimota.

The most important subject discussed at the third Achimota Conference just before Christmas was the proposed constitution for the College. Briefly, the suggestions made by the Rev A G Fraser are that the management be handed over to a council of 15 members, six Africans, four nominees of the Governor, four members of the senior staff of the institution, and the last the Principal. This will be met with the objection that it is still a Government body, but since it is expected that some £48,000 annually will still be contributed from Colonial funds, the ultimate control is hardly likely to be given up. Mr. Fraser's view is that as far as possible the college should be separated from Government control, as otherwise its policy will always draw political criticism. Up to the present it has been fairly free from this, thanks to Dr. Aggrey's influence, but there are signs that it will not remain so. A change made from this motive, however, needs careful thought, for while its freedom would be of inestimable benefit to Achimota, it is likely to prove difficult to liberate one institution from the deadening hand of Government without providing a reason for the separation of other schools from the direct official control exercised through the Education Ordinance. The love of freedom is infectious! The general opinion regarding the proposed constitution seems to be favourable, thanks to Mr. Fraser's plea to raise the matter out of the fog of local politics, but so much depends on the personality of those selected to form the first council that it would be unsafe to say yet that the innovation will be popular.

Europeans and Crime.

If European prestige in the Gold Coast depended on the absence of faults, and not on more positive virtues, it would have been low at the close of 1928, for Europeans figured in two serious crimes on the Sekondi Assize calendar. In one case a European was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for an offence against a girl, and although one would not seek to excuse him, it is open to question whether some blame may not be laid at the door of the climate. In the other case there can be no excuse. A Traffic Superintendent on the Railway, detailed to examine the prospects for a line to Sefwi, in the Western Province, had received money from Chiefs on representations that he would have the line built through their villages. Apart from its sordid dishonesty, such an offence shows almost childish ignorance of the intelligence of people in the Western Province. It might be easy to obtain money from them, but unless its equivalent were received in due course disclosure was certain, and so it proved, for Chiefs capable of appreciating the immense value to them of a railway through their lands soon took steps to see what had become of their money when the line did not materialise.

Liquor Control.

The Spirit Licences Amendment Ordinance, which came into force with the New Year, is, as might be expected, a measure which pleases few. The mercantile community were anxious to postpone it pending further discussion, but their member in the Legislative Council had not had time to formulate their views in detail. He regarded as impracticable the clause requiring wholesalers to sell only to the holders of certain classes of licences, and also suggested that the proposal to restrict retail sales to cash transactions would automatically convert the retailer into a moneylender. On the other hand, the African members favoured total prohibition of gin, and Mr. Caseley Hayford suggested that this might be attained in, say, six years by progressive restriction of imports of the spirit. It is to be noted that the prohibitionists are only concerned with spirits, and are in reality advocates of the French policy of replacing the strong liquors with relatively harmless wines and beers. This is a wise proceeding where it can be carried out, but there is the difficulty at present that the mass of the people do not agree with their spokesmen, and total prohibition of spirits would merely lead to greatly increased smuggling. Practically the only paper to express a middle view is the "Vox Populi," which says:

> "The question of the West African liquor traffic in so far as it extends to the Gold Coast has been ably answered by Sir Ransford Slater. We are glad that Nana Sir Ofori Atta seems to be no advocate of prohibition, but rather a demander of better drink. It is undoubtedly the duty of Government to control liquor traffic as it is bound to punish public outrages on morals, but when a Government requires in addition to decency, sanctity, it goes beyond the limits of its proper function. Such a step we are sure our Government does not contemplate."

THE LIBERIA RUBBER DISPUTE.

In a written reply to Sir Hamar Greenwood last week, Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that His Majesty's Government had devoted considerable consideration to the dispute in connection with the Liberian Rubber Corporation's claim on the Government of Liberia with regard to the settlement of the Mount Barclay Plantation created by them and now leased to the Firestone Corporation of U.S.A. The Foreign Secretary has invited the creditors of the company to let him know if they prefer going to arbitration to seeking a remedy in the Courts of the Negro Republic. The whole matter is a most unpleasant story, and could long ere this have been settled in every way to mutual satisfaction. Since President King paid his last visit to England, the Liberian Government has had more than ordinary patience and friendly consideration shown to it in this lamentable episode, and though frequently professing the desire to arrive at a solution equitable to all interests concerned, it has chosen to ignore the friendly advice given from the highest quarters at the time and indulged in a policy which cannot be viewed as being in agreement with the often oratorically expressed goodwill towards British interests. It is considered by those able to judge the case that the creditors and shareholders of the Liberian Rubber Corporation have undoubtedly a substantial and moral claim for some kind of tangible compensation, to attain which they can apparently only get a chance of success by the costly, dilatory, but in the end more dependable, process of arbitration. We happen to know that a scheme for the friendly and final settlement of the whole dispute was submitted less than two years ago to the Liberian Government—a scheme which had President King's personal approval when in Europe—and which was evidently thrown overboard by an intriguing section in his Legislature, still at work in Monrovia—to the detriment and, we fear, ultimately with highly unpleasant consequences to the country.

LIBERIAN RUBBER CORPORATION'S PROPERTIES.

Government Action Suggested.

In Parliament last week, Sir Hamar Greenwood (Const., Walthamstow, E.) asked the Foreign Secretary if the Government's attention had been drawn to the action of the Government of Liberia in expropriating the property and rights of the Liberian Rubber Corporation in Liberia without legal action in Liberia or elsewhere, thus depriving English creditors and shareholders of the corporation of the value of a rubber estate upon which £100,000 had been spent in development; and what action the Government proposed to take with a view to obtaining redress.

Sir Austen Chamberlain writes: Yes, sir. His Majesty's Government have devoted careful consideration to this matter. The Liberian Government maintain that the creditors of the corporation have a remedy open to them in the Liberian courts. Inquiries have been made of the creditors as to whether the latter desire to seek this remedy in the Courts, with His Majsty's Government watching the proceedings, or whether they would prefer that His Majesty's Government should invite the Liberian Government to submit the merits of the whole case to arbitration. The creditors have not yet communicated their decision in the matter.

ALLEGED TORTURE OF A NATIVE.

Sensational Case at Nairobi.

A sensational case has been heard in the Supreme Court during the past few days, states a Reuter message to Nairobi, in which a European settler, a European policeman and a native employé are charged with the torture of a native with the object of obtaining from him a confession in regard to a theft of poultry.

It is alleged that the policeman after his arrest and that the native suspect allowed him to be alone with the settler and the accused native for a while, during which the alleged torture took place.

The means used are stated to have been the well-known method of a bow-string round the finger, the bow being relaxed and tightened by means of the string.

All the accused were allowed bail during the hearing of the trial. To-day, however, the European settler failed to present himself in court, and his whereabouts is not known. The police are searching for him. It is stated that he was staying at a private house, but disappeared during the night.

The Transkei Pass.

Native Opinion

Letter to Editor "Imvo."

There was considerable complaint recently at the action of the Railway Administration in demanding travelling passes from natives travelling by rail in the Transkei before issue of tickets. Professor Jabavu was amongst those who discussed the matter with me. On my arrival here I raised the matter with the Minister of Railways and have received the assurance that the action of the officials was due to a misunderstanding and that the demand for passes will be discontinued

(Sgd) A. B. Payn,

The enclosed letter speaks for itself.

A. O. B. Payn, Esqr, M.L.A.,
House of Assemb'y,
Cape Town.

Dear Mr. Payn,

With reference to your enquiry of the Minister as to the reason why natives travelling in the Eastern Province have been asked to produce their passes, I beg to inform you that the Minister has had this matter looked into and he is informed that owing to a misunderstanding certain station officials irregularly re-opened the observation of the instructions which were issued in February of last year.

These officials have now been put right and the Minister trusts that there will be no more inconvenience of the description complained of.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) C. M. BOK,
Secretary.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Education Dept. Rep'y.

The Cape African Teachers' Association has received the following reply to their communication with the Department:—

1. The Department does not advise teachers to resign, unless the position has become such that continuance in their posts is likely to be profitable neither to the schools nor to the teachers themselves. Where the advice has not been acted upon, the result has usually been that the teacher's appointment had to be otherwise terminated, which naturally had a damaging effect on his prospects. 2-18-28

2. The provision of reading and text books is not undertaken by the Department, but is left to Missionary Societies and other bodies or persons interested. Chwana books are for the most part published by the London Missionary Society, and it is suggested that your Association might approach the Rev. A J Haile of Tigerkloof, who controls the South African Deport of the London Missionary Society, and make to him whatever suggestions it desires to offer.

3. It is noted that your Association does not consider the time ripe for the general introduction of compulsory education among the Natives In the present circumstances, it does not appear to the Department that education could be made compulsory even in urban areas, for the following reasons:—

a. With the present attendance urban schools are largely overcrowded, and it would be futile for the Education Department to compel children to go to school when accommodation cannot be found for them.

b. Similarly, urban schools are notoriously understaffed, nor has the Department funds to provide teachers for the additional pupils being brought into the schools.

For these reasons, compulsory education even in urban areas is outside all practical politics.

4. Since neither the Provincial Administration nor the Native Affairs Department would agree to making larger contributions to the pension fund, the proposal, that teachers leaving the service should have their contributions to the pension fund connected with the Good Service Allowance returned to them with interest, would involve one of two things, either: (a) The scale of pensions would have to be reduced; or (b) a large percentage reduction would have to be made from teachers' Good Service Allowances. Otherwise, the fund would become insolvent.

The Department takes it that neither of these alternatives would be acceptable to the Association.

5. No change in the Primary School Course is contemplated at present; but, when the time comes to revise the Course, the request of your Association will be borne in mind. Teachers may be assured that they will have an opportunity of expressing their views on any important changes that may be made. As in the case of European and Coloured teachers, so in the case of Native teachers, the Department is prepared to consider favourably the inclusion of Native representatives, when a committee is appointed for a revision of the Native Primary School Course.

6. The fact that in the past, teachers have at times found that on transference to another area their salaries were reduced, has been due to the fact that different scales were in use for teachers in Western, Eastern and Transkeian areas, to meet different circumstances, and varying costs of living. Under the Native Affairs Commission's scale, however, there will be only one scale for teachers in ordinary mission schools, varying costs of living being met by special allowances. This scale will be published in the *Education Gazette* at an early date.

7. The reference to "numbers stipulated by the Education Ordinance" is not understood, as, under the Ordinance, the number of teachers employed in the Native school is left in the hands of the Superintendent-General of Education Section 248). It may be stated, however, that the Department recognises the urgent need for additional teachers in a large number of schools, and has represented this need to the Native Affairs Department, with a view to securing funds for more teachers. So far, its representations have not been successful, but the need will again be brought to the notice of the Native Affairs Department at the earliest possible opportunity.

8. The law provides that, where a complaint against a teacher is to be investigated, the manager should hold an inquiry into the complaint. If the results of this inquiry are not such as to justify the Deparment's giving a decision, a second inquiry, conducted by an officer of the Department, is arranged for. It is considered that this arrangement is reasonable, and provides the teacher with adequate protection where it might be necessary. It would not be possible for the Department to send the Circuit Inspector to undertake every enquiry, that falls to be made, especially since a large number of the cases dealt with can be settled without his presence.

9. The Department notes that your Association considers that Bantu education should be financed on a *per capita* basis, as in the case of European and Coloured education. It is suggested, however, that this resolution would be more appropriately addressed to the Union Government; since it would involve an alternation of the Financial Regulations Act.

10. The Department notices that your Association prefers the word "African" to "Native" in the name of your Association.

(Sgd.) W. G. BENNIE,
For Superintendent General of Education.

CAPE NATIVE VOTERS.

At the Congress of Cape Native Voters which met at Queenstown on the 18th December Mr. S. M. Bennett Nowana moved and Mr. A. F. Pendla seconded "that this Convention of the Cape Native Voters views with alarm and anxiety the spreading of Communist propaganda amongst Natives and resolves to oppose with all its power any effort on the part of the Communist Party to form Communist communities in this country. South Africa

The motion was unanimously carried as was another, moved by Mr. Zwide and seconded by the Rev. Calata, "that this Convention sincerely expresses its sympathy with Dr. W. B. Rubusana in his long continued illness and hopes a speedy recovery will soon return him to the service of his people." 1-3-29

After some discussion regarding the internal affairs of the Convention, the most important matter of the session the election policy of the Convention for the coming general election the Chairman called upon Mr. Godlo to open the discussion Mr. Godlo, after making a number of introductory remarks, which he concluded by saying that a thing to be eaten by the big men was to be tasted by the young men, came directly to the point by saying that at present no Native knew what he was going to do Vote they must, but then there were two parties who both wanted their votes, the Pact and the S.A.P.

The Convention must not compromise itself. Its members must be united in protecting the Cape Native franchise. Unity in this was essential, for without unity they might as well cease to strive altogether and leave the whole matter in the hands of their rulers, and have no voice in it. "In your hands," he said, "lies the destiny of your people."

In paying a tribute to Proffessor Jabavu, he said, that if the Europeans ever had a means of judging the Natives' right to the franchise Professor Jabavu had supplied the means. Continuing, he said that all the Natives were aware of the expressions of opinion made about them by the political leaders of to-day. General Hertzog was all fire and brimstone and had always been the same. It had been said that the European's first duty was to study his own interests and that view still obtained widely. They all knew that General Hertzog daily reminded the country of his opinion that the Native

franchise was a menace to its white civilisation, and had urged its abolition. Then there was General Smuts. There were occasions when one had Hobson's choice and had to choose one of two evils. General Smuts had repeatedly postponed the Native question in the past and said to-day, "Let us leave the Cape Native franchise alone for the time being."

It was now for the delegates to make a choice and their clear considered opinions were wanted as it was their custom to decide at the Convention on a course of action and to abide by what was said there.

A delegate here expressed the opinion that the Native should vote S.A.P. as there were many reasons against voting for Hertzog's party. They all knew General Smuts' faults but he appeared to be the lesser evil.

Mr. A. M. Jabavu said he knew both Smuts and Hertzog wanted the Natives' votes but they all definitely knew that General Smuts was merely in favour of leaving the matter of the Native franchise in abeyance. He had not been definite as to whether it was to be abolished or not. At a recent S.A.P. Congress he had noted that the matter of white women's franchise was urged while the Native franchise hardly concerned the Congress. Hertzog, on the other hand, had recently in the O.F.S. said that the white women should wait for their vote until the Native question was settled. There was nothing to convince the Native, however, that the S.A.P. would fight for his franchise. The matter was left in abeyance as he considered, Smuts wanted to get into power. "Is it not better to kill a cow to-day," he asked, "than to let it know it must be killed and keep it until to-morrow before taking it to the slaughter?" (Laughter.")

Another reason why the Convention should not decide yet upon which party it was to vote for was the fact that the Native really had no power. The Natives working in the towns voted as their white masters did and so did those labouring on the farms. They were, in fact, led by the nose by the white people. "Whether we like it or not," he said, "it is the truth. We can't say we'll do a thing and then go and do it." If the employer told his Native employee to vote for the devil, he would.

Continning Mr. Jabavu gave a possible example in the imaginary case of a young Native in the country who owed say £30, to a Jew trader. The Jew would tell him how to vote and might threaten him with suing him for the money he owed if he didn't vote as he had been told. The young man would then vote that way, remembering only the summons and forgetting that the Jew would not know how he had voted as the ballot was secret. (Laughter).

"So I oppose the proposal to support any certain party," he said. "My conviction is that we should protect our franchise right without consideration for the election." There were Nationalists who supported the retention of the Native franchise as well as S.A.P. It was wrong for the Natives to choose political parties. Let them rather support those candidates who favoured and would support the retention of the Cape Native franchise.

The Editor of the "Bantu Nation" said it might pay them to put their heads in the sand like the proverbial ostrich but as the Bills in connection with the Native question had not yet been discussed the whole matter might be considered as "sub judice". They should not go to any party yet. The Native question should not be made a political party question. It appeared that certain parties had persuaded the Prime Minister to keep it out of the political arena, and they must remember this. In any case as Mr. A. M. Jabavu had pointed out the real fact of how a vote was cast was a secret in the ballot box, The Native need not differentiate much between Dutch and English—they were both his rulers and the Convention must find a via media so as to be able to go to both races. The best policy for the Native was a neutral one.

Mr. Mentoor remarked that if it was decided to give the Natives' votes to any certain political party it meant that they might have to vote for any unwise man who was labelled by that party. They wanted as members men of high moral character, men who would make no difference between the black and white races when legislating for the country. He went on to say that the system in New Zealand would suit this country very well. If they were treated like the Maoris the Natives of South Africa would lose nothing and could support the side that had their interests at heart.

Other delegates spoke in support of Mr A. M Jabava and one delegate asserted that General Smuts had definitely declared that he was in favour of the retention of the Native franchise and the Convention should therefore identify itself with General Smut's Party. He received no support, however, and after a little further discussion, it was moved and carried "that the Cape Native Voters Convention are not going to commit themselves to support any political party but will vote on the candidates' merits, and only for candidates who favour the Cape Native franchise".

Transkeian Pass Law.

We have referred previously in these columns to the existence in the Transkei of a pass law that compels all Native males to carry passes when travelling from outside the limits of the Transkeian Territories into the said Territories. This pass law we are informed is enforced by virtue of a proclamation issued under an Act of 1884 and as late as 1926 an amendment has been made that had the effect of making the law still more rigid and cumbersome. Since December last we learn that this pass law has also been enforced upon Transkeian Natives of all classes (civilised and uncivilised) who are travelling by rail from the Transkeian Territories with an intention to cross into the Ciskei and other provinces. The booking clerks at railway stations are under strict orders not to issue tickets to Natives for through bookings unless passes from magistrates were produced. Native teachers of the Transkei who had to attend their annual conference in King William's Town last December had the greatest difficulty in travelling, and Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare College was a victim of this mischievous pinprick at Munyu Station on the night of the 27th December. To say the least of it, it is a shame that the world famous Bunga or General Council of the Transkeian Territories can tolerate the inclusion in its statute book of an enactment that reeks with injustice and persecution against the most intelligent section of its ratepayers, and against respectable members of the Native race who have poured blessings on the Council itself. The General Council or the Chief Magistrate ought to be prevailed upon by all sections of the population to perceive the irritation caused and be apprised of the change of the friendly spirit towards the Bunga that will surely follow if the practice is continued. There may be pardonable excuse for the Dutch-speaking section insisting on the pass system in the North: but the General Council or the officer holding its executive powers cannot be pardoned for enforcing a pass system in the Native Territories, the very home of the Native. Perhaps our contemporary at the Transkeian capital will once again come to the assistance of the Natives and add another leaf to its laurels in defending native interests.

Ciskei Native Convention

MEETING AT CWARU.

At Paramount Chief Archie Sandile's great place, Cwaru, Middledrift, some 300 chiefs, headmen and commoners met on Wednesday last representing delegates of the well-known Cis-Kei Native Convention. East London, King William's Town, Peddie, Stutterheim, Victoria East, Middledrift and Keiskama Hoek were districts from which the large crowd hailed.

LOCAL COUNCILS.

A report of the progress of the Local Councils was given, with especial reference to the employment of Native secretaries and treasurers, and certain recommendations were tendered to the various councillors.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION ACT.

The Native Administration Act in all its phases was detailed by a special speaker on the subject for the benefit and tuition of the delegates, after which views were expressed on the numerous chapters of the Act and regulations which were calculated to relieve the hardship that is anticipated in certain of its aspects.

CROWN LOCATIONS.

The correspondence between the Convention's Committee and Government on the ama-Ntinde and other Crown location maladministration was reported on, and the committee authorised to continue the correspondence further on the strength of the several specific cases providing proof of the unsatisfactory management of Crown locations under a confusing number of authorities. The meeting was amazed at the reply of the Native Affairs Department, which it was considered displayed a lack of acquaintance with Native tribal custom.

THE WELLINGTON MOVEMENT.

Professor Jabavu described the loss and dupery suffered by some of the Natives in the Transkeian Territories, which he had just visited, due to the Wellington movement. He pointed out that imposters of the type of Wellington would cut no ice with Cis-Kei Natives, thanks to the Convention, where the educated men led their backward fellow citizens on lines of economic wisdom and loyality to authority.

Race Problem - 1939

Africa

THE NATIVE VOTERS.

This year's annual convention of the Cape Native voters assembled at Queenstown on the 17th instant when the Rev. Elijah Mdolomba presided over a gathering of over sixty delegates from the branch associations, while there were about ninety visitors and five hundred other interested listeners.

The proceedings were conducted with exemplary moderation of language and typical Bantu dignity.

The public was naturally interested in knowing what course the Convention would adopt in connection with the forthcoming general election. After a prolonged discussion in which full expression was ventilated on all the possibilities, the meeting adopted a unanimous resolution on the lines that the Native voters should not identify themselves with any particular political party in parliament but give their votes only to such members as would be pledged to the retention of the Cape Native franchise.

There is wisdom in this attitude. It is an indirect invitation to those who sympathise with the cause despite their belonging to the Opposition, in order to keep the parliamentary discussions outside party politics. It is a proof that the blacks intend to show equal respect to both British and Boer without discrimination, so long as justice is done. The South African Party may get the Native vote not as a matter of course but only in so far as they deal justice to all citizens without racial bias. and will lose it as soon as they join in injustice with those who are out to suppress the blacks.

Most of the other business of the conference was concerned with consolidating the organisation, immense difficulties being met in connection with the lack of funds for carrying on propaganda in the defence of the Cape Native vote.

One prominent resolution passed as an unopposed motion was that of sympathy with His Majesty the King in his sad illness. Much earnestness was shown in the discussion on the Glen Grey land system as practised in the Eastern Province, which was severely condemned; and on the Poll Tax and the Native Administration Act, the in justice of which was laid bare.

We wish the Convention every success in its stupendous work.

The Cape Native Franchise.

By Sol T. Plaatje, (in the "Umteteli.")

Native voters and prospective voters in the Cape are in the throes of the Nationalists political throttle. Apparently impatient over the delay in the passage of General Hertzog's Four Bills, (one of them providing for the disfranchisement of Natives in the Cape Province) the Nationalist Party has launched a big offensive against the Cape Native vote. In the recent supplementary registration they have objected to the enrolment of 130 Natives in the Kuruman area, 112 at Barkly West 51 at Douglas and so on. Their method of attack is to send round a prominent Nationalist who is also a sworn appraiser to undervalue the properties of all Native voters. Some of the poor fellows against whom the objections are lodged live from 50 to 70 miles away from the Magistracy; their post is so uncertain that some of them hardly ever receive the notice of objection until the Revision Court had already sat and disfranchised them.

This year, the Native voters Association in the Northern Districts undertook the formidable task of combatting the Nationalists onslaught but are experiencing this difficulty: In every area of every district we have to face a separate phalanx of prominent Nationalists and this week has disclosed the rude shock that we have undertaken something that Natives can hardly hope to accomplish singlehanded.

The position is that whereas a European in Transvaal and O.F.S. need only be white and 21 to automatically attain his Franchise, a Native must first of all possess certain qualification, and then he must engage an attorney to enforce his claim before the Revision Court. Nationalist opponents carrying the day before the Magistrate he must find further sums of money to brief counsel to appear before a judge and continue to pay attorneys to see that his name remains on the roll.

As most farmers know it costs from 10/ to 25/- a foot to sink a well; an impartial valuator appraiser values the same well, 60 feet deep, at £45 the Nationalist appraiser values the same well at £3 and the Magistrate with every appearance of sincerity accepts the latter's valuation. At this rate no Native, other than wageearners can acquire or retain the vote. In each instance we have appealed to a Judge in Chambers against this week's decision of the Revising Officers, and the cost, from the half a dozen areas involved, is already staggering. Personally I had put aside a certain sum as my contribution towards the legal expenses, but during the six days before the Revision Courts sat I found myself compelled to spend it on petrol travelling 1,008 miles to reach a number of disallowed claimants and to collect their evidence from a widely scattered population.

I should like to make it quite clear that I have not heard of similar attacks by any other political party; in industrial centres our worries from the Labour Party have been legitimate ones. This big offensive to strike Native voters off the rolls emanates exclusively from Nationalist quarters whose accredited head is General J. B. M. Hertzog, Member for Smithfield and Prime Minister of this Union. Some friends of the Natives have lately been writing, especially in the Lovedale "Outlook," urging us to hand over our Franchise to the Prme Minister, then dip our hands into his lucky bag on the off chance of extracting something better than our present Native vote. I should like to tell all those gullible friends that, with a Native's well valued at less than half the price on its windlas, we shall soon have hardly a hundred votes to offer General Hertzog by way of a compromise for a chance in his lucky bag.

Any sympathiser who is interested in our fight could send us a contribution either to the Headqurters of the Native Voters Association at Box 25 King William's Town, or to the Northern Division of the same association, P.O. Box 143, Kimberley.

I notice in Die Burger that the Prime Minister denies the report about the instant displacement, by the Cabinet at Pretoria of Native cleaners. The Premier says there has been an agitation to replace them by white men but the Cabinet has "not taken the step" Most of the opposition that form the subject of this article was lodged by some lawyer "on behalf of Bruckner De Villiers M.L.A." and the Premier would relieve us by telling his Nationalist minions to stop his crusade against innocent Native voters whose only crime is that they have always minded their own business and loyally paid taxation whether fair or unfair.

What Remains of the Native Bills.

When General Hertzog started with his huge reorganisation work of the Native policy of South Africa he laid on the table of the House of Assembly in 1926 four bills viz. (1) The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill (2) The Union Native Council Bill, (3) The Natives Land Act, 1913 Amendment Bill (4) The Coloured Persons Rights Bill. At the time, and for some time after, the Premier decreed that these Bills were inseparable. However, with the discussions that took place in parliament, select committees, the public press and the various European and Native political organisations, opinion was vastly divided,

and it became a matter of impossibility for the Premier to maintain peace and understanding among the sections he so eargerly tried to get to work together. With every change of opinion ventilated by an influential political party General Hertzog made an effort to adjust himself to, to save the non-party family from disruption. The disastrous results that befelwe the proverbial miller and his son soon landed him into hopeless chaos. He now re-sorts to an appeal to the country to save himself from crash from a giddy height of politicrl ambition to the nious failure hundreds of feet below. In his downward precipitation the Premeir has to grasp at any object to break his fall, and he finds that an appeal to the racial elements may carry the day in the heat of a keen election.

The Cape Native vote has come to be the only bone of contention, and we hear nothing now-a-days of the fundamental Land Bill measure. The other three bills have no place in the Prime Ministers' new programme for the next election. Are we to believe that these forsaken bills were in reality a price for the passage of the disfranchisement of Cape Natives?

Mr. Heaton Nicholls, M.L.A, in a recent speech at Howick did not mince his words when he characterised the Prime Minister's latest move as "a most hideous mockery of the people's perplexities," "the most disgraceful electioneering dodge that has ever distracted this poor country," and "the worst kind of party trickery. These strong qualifications are significant in that they emanate from a member of the Commission on the Native Bills, who is conversant with all the stages the bills underwent in committee.

In going to Parliament or to the country at the next election we hope the Prime Minister will give us a version of his present day intentions in regard to the Land Bill and Coloured Persons' Rights Bill to enable the country to reconcile his four Native bills in the form he originally laid them on the table of the House.

THE GREAT MOSHESH.

As history repeats itself, in our days we have found that much has been forgotten by the recent writers of the Basuto history. We assume that many scholars will be greatly indebted to "Bookworm" for his Gleanings from South African History, of which we are reproducing:—Ed. Star.

June 28, 1833, was a great day for Moshesh and his Basutos, for on that day the first band of French missionaries arrived at Thaba Bosigo. Moshesh and his people received them with great joy. It was then that the missionaries first learned that the tribe was called Basuto. When Moshesh heard that the missionaries had resolved to settle down amongst his people he was filled with great satisfaction and said: "Now I believe that there is a God, for a great blessing has been given to me I never, really, believed that you would be content to dwell among my people." These pioneer missionaries were Messrs Arbousset, Casalis and Gosselin A Griqua hunter, Adam Krotz, deserves mention It was he who first told Moshesh of the missionaries and it was through Adam Krotz that Moshesh invited missionaries to settle in his country. At this date Moshesh was 48 years of age when he had only a few thousand followers. He evidently had followed the advice of old Methoni to increase the number of his wives, for he now had about 40.

To his missionaries Moshesh declared that he longed for peace, but the actions of his people revealed a longing for the cattle of their neighbours, both European and Native. This brought Moshesh into conflict with both the Boer and British Government. He gradually, by cattle-stealing, built a ring of enemies around him. No doubt his undisciplined brothers did much to bring about this unhappy and most dangerous position, for he was at enmity with the South African Republic, the Orange Free State and the British Government. Not only had thousands of cattle been stolen but, many White men had been brutally murdered: His own nephew and son-in-law, Ramaneila, was guilty of the murder of five Europeans; even when called upon to hand over the murderer to the Government, Moshesh did nothing. His various misdeeds eventually brought a British army to Thaba Bosigo Moshesh had neglected to pay the fine of 10,000 cattle and 1,000 horses. Governor Cathcart humbled Moshesh and drove away the cattle. This is obvious from the famous letter of Moshesh to the Government.

"Thaba Bosigo,"
Midnight, 20 December, 1852.

Your Excellency,—This day you have fought against my people and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you—you have chastised—let it be enough, and let me no longer be considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

Your humble servant,
(Sgd.) MOSHESH.

General Cathcart accepted Moshesh's request for peace and wrote to him—"I have taken the fine by force and I am satisfied" (Basutoland Records) Reference has been made to the gruesome fact that Peete, the grandfather of Moshesh was eaten by the cannibals. This was in 1824, as the Basutos were removing from But e-Buthe to Thaba Bosigo. Later, say in 1828, these cannibals were summoned to appear before Moshesh Their Chief was Rakotsoane and the Basuto were very determined to put him and his men to death for the murder of Peete. But Moshesh was as determined to save them At this time, Letsie, eldest son and heir of Moshesh was at circumcision age. On the other hand it was an unheard of thing to circumcise a boy while his ancestor's remained defiled. Moshesh was too quick-witted to miss this opportunity of interfering here where these wretched cannibals were all expecting a speedy death; for even old Mokhachane the father of Moshesh, was determined that his father's murderers must die. Not so his son His famous decision was that to kill the men would be to desecrate his grandfather's grave; the better way would be to rub the purification offal over all the men, as to all intents they were the tomb of the departed Peete This was done and the case was settled. By this act of clemency and later by a gift of cattle, the wise Moshesh succeeded in turning Rakotsoane and people from cannibalism. It was an admirable quality in Moshesh that he preferred protecting the lives of men in danger to destroying them He was also abstemious; he avoided strong drink Moshesh it was stated thier two bulls had been fighting and infuriated injuries on each other Now Moshesh was very eager to reconciliate the bull-owners and with was unwilling to condemn either. His ingenuity did not sail him to see in his need This how he decided: 'Neither bulls were fighting about, or which was in the wrong. Therefore I can do nothing, and he dismised the case without favouring either side.' This had a of you can tell me what your difficult case Two chiefs had

and it became a matter of impossibility for the Premier to maintain peace and under-standing among the sections he so eargerly tried to get to work together. With every change of opinion ventilated by an influential political party General Hertzog made an effort to adjust himself to, to save the non-party family from disruption. The disastrous results that befelwe the proverbial miller and his son soon landed him into hopeless chaos. He now re-sorts to an appeal to the country to save himself from crash from a giddy height of politicrl ambition to the yawning depths of ignominious failure hundreds of feet below. In his downward precipitation the Premeir has to grasp at any object to break his fall, and he finds that an appeal to the racial elements may carry the day in the heat of a keen election.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

THE NATIVE ISSUE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

General Hertzog's Policy.

Reuter telegrams from Capetown say that General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, on Friday made a speech which was given great prominence, because it is universally regarded as making the native question the main issue of the election.

The crux of the issue is contained in General Hertzog's declaration: "The Nationalist party, far from being disheartened at its failure to secure co-operation with General Smuts (the leader of the South African party) will, with all determination, continue its efforts to save South Africa from the ruin which threatens her through native policy of the Cape 'saps.' This combined with a very emphatic declaration by Mr. Tielman Roos, the Minister of Justice, for "a white South Africa," clearly indicates the lines of the election cleavage.

Another Dominion.

From a point of view of British imperial politics, the recommendation of the Hilton-Young commission that the vast territory of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika be united into a single union in East Africa, is the most important that has been made since the war, for if carried out, it will mean the adding of another British overseas dominion of more than 700,000 square miles.

Under the commission's plan, the proposed union would be neither a dominion or crown colony, but would have a status between the two with general supervision exercised by the colonial office at London, but it is obvious that if such a union developed strong individual pride and identity, it would soon demand a status similar to that of other British overseas dominions.

If under such a plan East Africa could become another Australia or South Africa, the future would hold much of promise, for it would provide Britain with another outlet for surplus population; but there is a vast difference of opinion over the advisability of such a move, which would first have to be threshed out and Britain's right under the League of Nations mandate to establish such a union must yet be determined by that body.

Sir Donald Cameron, administrator for former German East Africa, contends that East Africa must inevitably become a black man's country. So convinced is he of this that, using tribal laws as a basis, he has worked out a scheme of government by which he aims to teach chieftains British ideas of law, order and commerce in order that eventually they may run their own affairs with a minimum of British supervision.

Sir Edward Grigg, governor of Kenya, holds, however, that nature has carved the territory, especially that which he administers, to be a white man's home. To support his contention he points to the great ranches that have been laid out by colonists and to the climate. His plan would be to provide reservations for the natives, similar to those laid out in this coountry for the Indians.

The Hilton-Young commission which was sent to East Africa to make a comprehensive study of all the questions declares that, regardless of the action taken toward establishment of the proposed union the British government must retain control in the territory, not only because of responsibilities to the natives, but because of British imperial interests throughout Africa.

Before the British government makes any further move in the project it would do well to learn how other member nations of the league regard it. It is hardly likely that they will calmly accept the naive dismissal which the Hilton-Young commission accorded the question, that the proposed union "does not involve any action which could be regarded as inconsistent with the terms of the mandate."

Mandates long before now have caused serious jealousies between otherwise friendly nations and one can expect to hear the commission's attitude challenged from several sources. Control of power given under a mandate is temporary and mandated territory heretofore has never been given in perpetuity.

Tanganyika is former German East Africa and there is active now in Germany a very influential group who are seeking restoration of all, or part, of the colonies of the old German empire, and having a particular eye on Tanganyika. If the union goes through, their hopes are vain. Great Britain would hardly dare go through with such a plan without appealing to the league, in which Germany now holds membership and where she may be expected to put up vigorous opposition to the Hilton-Young plan.

SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG AT WORK AGAIN.

A REMARKABLE TRIBUTE TO WEST AFRICANS.

[By a Special Correspondent.]

The opening of the Legislative Council of British Guiana under the new constitution reveals Sir Gordon Guggisberg in a new light, for whereas in West Africa he was called to the control of a country with well-developed agricultural and mineral resources, and important surplus balances, in his new charge he has a land of potentialities—great, it is true, but still merely potentialities—burdened with the accumulated deficits of earlier years, with unduly large administrative services, and—what is worse, because remediable only by the course of Nature—with a resultant large pensions list. Remembered by many in West Africa as a super-optimist, Sir Gordon has as his first task in Guiana to check expenditure based on what might well be called hopelessly optimistic estimates of revenue, and this he proposes to do by a thorough reorganisation of the administrative system, for although overhead charges must necessarily seem high in a country of small population, they are at present, he thinks, twice what they should be. These reforms, of course, will take time, for they cannot be initiated until Sir Gordon has himself investigated the needs of the country.

Savings on administration, however, are not in themselves likely to balance the budget and to meet the charges on the loan which is necessary before any real progress can be made, and taxation is already so high that the only way to increase revenue is to increase local production, a task in which Sir Gordon's constructive ability, and his West African experience, will be of the utmost value. While not ignoring the mineral possibilities of the Colony, which are attracting help from Imperial funds for the formation of a Geological Department, Sir Gordon realises that they are but wasting assets, and that the encouragement of agriculture, both directly by the introduction of better methods, and indirectly by facilitating immigration from Jamaica and elsewhere, is the basis of permanent prosperity.

There is at least one advantage in the shortage of population—in evolving a settlement policy the Government is free from problems of land tenure as we know them in West Africa, and will thus be able, if its preliminary experiments prove successful, to extend definite hopes of landownership to would-be immigrants. Sir Gordon kept the more detailed statement of his policy until the consideration of the estimates, and the remainder of the meeting was occupied with the formation of the necessary rules and standing orders for the conduct of the Council, the chief of interest to West Africa being, perhaps, the institution of a regular "Private Members' Day," when motions, etc., by councillors take precedence over other business.

The scheme of district administration drawn up for Guiana by Sir Harry Moorhouse brought West Africa into some prominence in the Council, for a doubt was expressed—quite naturally, since the members did not know "The Coast"—whether a system of District Commissioners suitable for an African stage of civilisation would be equally satisfactory across the Atlantic. This is the type of criticism that few who have the reputation of West Africa at heart would allow to pass unanswered, and Sir Gordon's reply is worth quoting in full. He said:—

"Well, honourable members, it is a question of what civilisation is. To my mind—of course, I speak only after three or four weeks' experience here—the civilisation in the country I know best, the Gold Coast, is amongst the Africans just as good as the civilisation amongst those who descended from the Africans in this country. They may not all wear collars, but I have not in any part of the world Europe included, met on the whole a finer body of men and women, a finer number of citizens, than exist in the Gold Coast of Africa at the present day. I did not intend to mention this, although it had been at the back of my mind for some time, but I do feel that, considering the ancestors of certainly 50 per cent. of the people of this country came from Africa, it would be a very good thing if they knew a little more about West Africa and what an extraordinarily fine race the West Africans are. I have noticed here that those East Indians who live here look back on India with reverence and affection. I regret to say that I have not noticed the same feeling amongst those who descended from Africa. Of course, there are certain reasons for that, I quite understand, but after all those reasons are 200 or 300 years' old, and they do not affect the character of the present race."

That message is one that carries wise counsel for many in West Africa, as well as Guiana, and although the proposed reforms were finally postponed, it was not on a question of relative civilisations, but on the simple assurance of the elected members of the Council that they would be prepared to support some such measure brought after Sir Gordon had himself been over the districts and become acquainted with the difficulties of the plan. To West Africans, accustomed to a system in which a local administrative officer is "father and mother" to his district, there would seem to be little difficulty in the scheme, for the density of the population in some parts, mentioned as a great obstacle, seems relatively small in a Colony where the total number of inhabitants does not exceed that of the largest three towns of Nigeria.

THE WESTERNISATION OF MOSLEM PEOPLES.

[From a Correspondent.]

"Our strength is Muhamaddanism," said Lord Fisher in one of those momentary flashes of wisdom on Imperial affairs for which he was distinguished. In an Empire where every fifth man, or thereabouts, professes the creed of Islam every move in the Islamic world has its significance. It is, therefore, not untimely to give consideration as to the manner in which present tendencies towards Westernisation in Turkey, and in a lesser degree in Afghanistan, may or may not affect Moslem peoples under the dominion of the Crown. When Turkey substitutes for an easy method of writing down her language a European alphabet more difficult as far as confusion of meaning is concerned, or tosses away the fez for a form of European headgear, it may seem at first sight a trivial basis upon which to build assumptions of any value. But it raises again the main question affecting Oriental peoples, whether Westernisation in all matters, especially in forms of government, is the way to progress? This may be stoutly argued.

In Nigeria there are some seven millions of Moslems,

extremely susceptible to influences from outside. To them the benefits of Western science and Western learning are being introduced. But this introduction is being made under the conviction of British administrators that Western learning and Western methods of administration are the fount of instability when they are divorced from Native tradition and principles. Northern Nigeria first showed the world at large the saneness of this idea by putting it into practice. There are, besides, eloquent examples in the Oriental world—and, indeed, in the narrower sphere of West Africa itself—which go to show that the contrary practice has been, to put it mildly, unsound in principle.

The gulf between West and East will not, however, be bridged by flinging a discarded fez into the waters of the Bosphorus. In oriental politics "Whate'er is best administered is best" with as much authority and as little law as is necessary. For, psychologically, the West will still remain West and the East East though the tides be stemmed with fezzes and the Turks blunder over their imported Arabic and Persian words inadequately expressed in Roman characters. Just as politics and ideas in Africa must be African in character and expressed in African words, so Turkey, if she is to benefit by Western learning, must give it a Turkish expression. The bane of Africa within the tropics has been the assumption that in every side of life—educational, political and ethical—the standards of Europe are absolute. The superior person with the bureaucratic manner is so lacking in the human touch that he is the last person to change the processes of thought of people who profess "the immutable religion founded upon the immutable Quran." The guide in these processes must be the man in whom people find their unspoken words and aspirations uttered when he speaks. Pride of race is neither maintained nor fostered by terror, insult or ignorance.

Similar disintegrating forces are at work in a greater or ess degree amongst Moslem peoples as are at work in West Africa. The restless economic development which has used such rapid changes in the outlook of the African is going on elsewhere and it is being realised, as it is now realised in West Africa, that a new equipment in brain, hand and spirit must be provided to bring harmony to minds in chaos. In West Africa we are adapting our educational methods to the equipment intellectually and in craftmanship of a citizen of the British Empire who shall be free economically and politically to co-operate for, and not conflict with, the common good. It is realised that material welfare by itself will not satisfy the new ambitions, renew the old tribal loyalties, or strengthen the means by which spirituality finds its expression. And it is in the category of religion that reformers of Moslem peoples will not meet with what the educational authorities of North Nigeria have described as "an uncomfortable dilemma" in satisfying the Pagan African's deep religious instinct. They allow that no system of education unbased on religious sanction can be expected to succeed and yet they are faced with these three obstacles—that the direct teaching of Christianity would destroy public confidence in education *per se*, that Government stands above all religious differences; and that Islam pursues a persistent unobtrusive proselytisation. A better argument for the provisional adoption of the maxim *Quieta non movere* could hardly be conceived.

All these tendencies towards the introduction of Western science and Western thought to peoples of Oriental mentality have an immense interest for administrators and others concerned with the progress of the African. They are referred to in these columns to combat the persistent delusion that mischief once done can be undone; that legislation to-day can fully rectify the injustice of yesterday.

AFRICAN QUESTIONS AT LIVERPOOL.

QUADRENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT.—THE GREAT NEED FOR DOCTORS.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR "WEST AFRICA."]

"When we Africans at home see boats from Liverpool and think of the money they are piling up, we sometimes wonder how that money is spent. Now we know, for we have experienced Liverpool's hospitality."

This graceful tribute by an African student expressed the appreciation of the 300 overseas student delegates at the eighth quadrennial conference of the Student Christian Movement, held at Liverpool from January 2 to 8, all of whom were entertained to lunch and tea daily by some prominent Liverpool resident. The host on the occasion when this remark was made was Sir Frederick Bowring, a former Lord Mayor. Other hosts included Sir Max Muspratt, Mr. R. D. Holt, Miss Holt, and the Senate of the University.

The Gold Coast, Nigeria, and the Congo were three of the 39 countries represented at this gathering of 2,000 men and women, most of whom were students under 21, or missionaries, who were former members of the Movement. The West Indies also sent their quota, one of these delegates, of African descent, being a Quaker.

The full sessions were occupied by addresses, a few of which were conventional and all thought-provoking, directed to helping this important gathering of young men and women to discover for themselves "God's Purpose in the World."

The speakers included men like the Archbishop of York, himself an old "Student Mover," the Bishop of Liverpool, Mr. John MacMurray, Professor of Philosophy at London University; the Rev. F. R. Barry, of Oxford, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Dr. T. Z. Koo, of China, Mr. Ben Turner, president of the National Union of Textile Workers; Canon Spanton, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and Mr. J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council. The last named, in dealing with the "call to missionary service," said that the difficulty of the conquest of the world by Christianity is to-day increased with the growing nationalism of Africa and the East. The recent international missionary meeting at Jerusalem, however, marks a new era in missionary work. Missionaries now go out to Africa and elsewhere to help in the building of indigenous Churches, from whom, in turn, they are looking for help to lift the Churches of the West out of their complacency, parochialism and traditionalism. "How we need more Aggreys, Koos and Dattas in this great struggle for mankind!" he said.

The Mentality of Africans.

It was at the sectional meetings that African subjects were more particularly dealt with. Dr. T. B. Adam, late of the Nigerian Medical Service, and Dr. H. C. Victor Joy, of the Bolobo Mission of the B.M.S. in the Belgian Congo, spoke on the doctor in Africa. Dr. Adam dealt with the work in Nigeria and with the great need for help of the highest order. He pointed out that the general opinion that the African was lacking in intelligence and initiative was incorrect. They had to contend with afflictions of which outsiders had a vague conception. In three months during 1925 there were 200,000 deaths from relapsing fever, all preventable, and it is estimated that there are one million Africans actually lost in a year from preventable diseases. The prospects are now, however, much better.

Dr. Adam stated that while the British Government is giving a great deal of financial aid the number of doctors, approximately 100, is wholly inadequate to deal with an area three and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and as a result there were vast territories still untouched. He appealed for men and women of the highest attainments in all departments—education and science as well as medicine—in order that the Kingdom of God might be established.

Dr. Joy supplemented the remarks of Dr. Adam by his experience in the Belgian Congo, and pointed out that although excellent work was being done in the hospitals, there were so few that greater and better work could be done in the bush where, owing to their isolation, thousands of Africans never got the treatment they required, and thus perished.

Materialism and the Bible.

Mr. Clifton Robbins, of the International Labour Office, presided at the sectional meeting at which one of his colleagues at the I.L.O., Mr. W. Benson, dealt with "Problems of Industrially Backward Areas." Mr. Benson said that the West had taken materialism as well as Bibles to Africa, and in some parts the pressure upon hitherto undeveloped peoples since the War had been so great that there had been a reduction of 50 per cent. in the population. He pleaded that missionaries should study economic facts, and referred appreciatively to the pronouncements on industrial questions at the recent Jerusalem Meeting

At a second meeting on the same subject, Mr. Benson said that forced labour breeds slave mentality, and he commented on the 45 per cent. mortality among some groups of conscript labourers. Such labour is not economic. Even contract labour is too often merely a survival of the slave system.

At another meeting the Rev. H. D. Hooper, African secretary of the Church Missionary Society, referred appreciatively to the African groups that were springing up in this country among students going out to Africa in various capacities, where they studied beforehand some of the questions with which they would be faced. Some of these groups, he said, were continuing in Africa and were doing excellent work.

African Farmers and the Gospel.

The Rev T. L. Beveridge, of the United Free Church Missions in West Africa, who, together with Dr. Donald and Mrs. Fraser, late of Livingstonia, were introduced to the Conference as having been present at its first big meeting in 1896, spoke on "The Gospel and the African Farmer."

"Bad as are conditions in some parts of East Africa, they have never been so bad as those in the Belgian Congo when that territory was the private property of the former King of the Belgians," said Mr. MacGregor Ross, late Director of Public Works, Kenya. "A clerk in a Liverpool office, the late E. D. Morel, changed the face of the Congo, and there are men who are doing similar work for other parts of Africa."

Mr. Ross gave useful hints, in speaking on the civilian in tropical Africa. "Go out to Africa with every equipment and every qualification possible," he said, "but above all, go out armed with the quality of composure. East Africa is in advance of West Africa in the matter of the prohibition of strong drink among Natives, but I would advise every White man to be a teetotaller. If you are an official or business man, get to know the missionaries and ministers. Be slow to give an opinion and to act, but you will soon have to decide whether to go with the stream or not. Keep your sense of humour and be useful before you find you may have to become objectionable."

The background of the conference was the insistence that friendship, not friendliness, was at the core of the Gospel message. As one speaker amusingly said, "I am not a friend of Mr. Bernard Shaw. I like him, but he does not know me, and there can be no friendship without knowledge and trust."

The same point was taken up in other words by the Archbishop of York, who said, "Christian faith and life are all of one piece. Try loving your neighbour as yourself without lving God; try loving the folk who live near you with their snobbish views and irritating manners; your employers who despise you or oppress you; your employees who cheat you or shirk their work; the people who get into your railway carriage when you have got it to yourself. Try to love them as yourself without loving God. It can't be done. Then try to love God without any doctrine about Christ; without any co-operation in worship with your fellow-disciples—not just a God of your own conceiving, the Good, the Beautiful, the True,—but the Father of all men, Who loves your disagreeable neighbour as much as He does you, and does not want you in His company unless you can be glad that they should be there, too. It can't be done."

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

A Cry to the Native South African Tribes.

BY THEODORE M. KAKAZA,

(A South African In America.)

We have for some time been contemplating addressing ourselves to our countrymen scattered throughout the South African Provinces, on important matters, matters that may have a great bearing and influence on the future development of our country, so far as it affects the black race. We have been compelled to hasten and bring to immediate accomplishment that which we at first had planned to be carried out sometime in the future. The causative factor of this sudden change, was the appearance in the Negro World, the organ of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, of an article quoted from the Johannesburg "Daily Star" of Nov. 23rd. 1928, announcing that the Pretoria branch or division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association had elected its delegates to the convention of the organisation to be held in Jamaica, B.W.I. in August of this year and further that the officers had expressed a determination to increase the membership of the organization not only in Pretoria but throughout South Africa.

All hail to the officers of the Pretoria division. This press dispatch has been the immediate cause of our accelerating the presentation of those matters, which we had planned, that some day we would present for the serious consideration of our peoples; having been thus forced as it were to come out before our prearranged time, we beg, at the very outset that the readers of this article be very considerate, bearing in mind, that through haste we may not be able to present these matters in as lucid a manner as we would want or would have done; but for fear that the psychological moment pass, we have decided to strike now.

Native Africans in America

In the years 1895 to 1902 there was a large influx of Native African students into these United States of America. These young men and young women coming mostly from South and West Africa and in lesser numbers from the East, left the motherland in search of higher education which was denied them in the country of their birth. They were to be found scattered throughout the United States, entering Universities and Colleges in different parts of the country. We find them in such Negro Universities and Colleges as Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania; Howard University Washington, District of Columbia, Wilberforce University, Greene County, Ohio; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia and several other negro schools; a few entered such white universities and colleges as the University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia; the University of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio; Chicago University, Chicago, Illinois; Taylor University, Upland Indiana; Oberlin College, Ohio and other white colleges and universities.

It is a question whether this sudden influx of African negro students into American college life was given much attention at the time but by a very few American Negroes, yet we know that in South Africa in particular it was commented on largely and became a matter of serious consideration by the colonial government and was the indirect if not the prima causa of the opening of a college for higher education for Natives in Lovedale.

The American Negro did not seem to grasp the significance of this migration. They looked upon the first arrivals as curios from the dark continent. We can remember vividly the impressions made by a group that entered Wilberforce University in 1894—96—the writer of this article being in that group. The negro students looked upon us as foreign intruders into their university life. We were objects of pity, sympathy and at times ridicule and criticism, and they seemed not to realize that there was any racial connection between us and them. It did not occur to them then, that we were products of a country from which their forefathers came. We were to them strangers and foreigners and with no blood connection with them. Yet the fact is, we were children of the same mother It was a puzzle to them how some of us came with civilisation and speaking the English language just as good and even better in some cases than they when we were supposed to have come from the jungles of Africa. They expected to see savages, with rings in their ears and noses, clothed with skins of lions and leopards, for this was the proverbial description of the African as they had been taught in the grade schools. Some had the nerve to examine our anatomy, to see if they could find the remnants of our forest ancestors as they had been thus informed, having been taught that we were not far removed from the African baboons and gorillas.

And we do not think these instances were isolated to the few that entered Wilberforce, but we believe that the students who entered other Negro schools met with the same curious investigations and personal examinations; for when we went into the cities, we found greater curiosity and anxiety to study us closely.

PREHISTORIC PAINTING FOUND IN RHODESIA

Italian Professor Discovers Early Art, One Picture Made Over Another.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, June 20.—A remarkable rock painting, believed to be the first of its kind ever found, has been discovered in the Marandellas district of Rhodesia by Signor Lidio Cipriana, Professor of Ethnology at the University of Florence, who is at the head of the Italian scientific expedition there.

The outstanding feature of the discovery is that there are two paintings, the one superimposed upon the other. The first distinctly shows the figure of an Arab in typical native dress. Painted on top of this is a Bushman fighting Bantus. Although several hundred "Bushman paintings" have been found in various parts of Rhodesia, there is no previous instance of one having been superimposed on another.

Professor Cipriani is also examining the famous Zimababwe ruins and has come to the conclusion that they are purely the work of the African people. At Victoria Falls he found flint instruments of prehistoric type and near Mazabuka he found an engraved rock of a type discovered in no other part of Africa. The rock showed distinct indication of being the work of prehistoric man. The professor's discoveries are regarded as confirming the evidence, shown by the skull found in a cave at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, several years ago, that Rhodesia was inhabited in prehistoric times.

CAPE NATIVE VOTERS

Convention Resolutions.

A special meeting of the Cape Native Voters' Convention was held in King Williams Town on the 31st May when the President, Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, took the chair. Delegates were present from East London, Port Elizabeth, Dordrecht, Peddie, Peelton, and there were also other interested Native voters.

It was unanimously resolved that all the Native voters should protect their existing franchise by supporting the candidates of the South African Party in all constituencies, especially those who openly identified themselves with the Rose Innes manifesto. It was further resolved:

That this Convention deplores the Prime Minister's action in precipitating the so called Native problem into the arena of party politics.

That the Premier's utterances on political platforms with reference to the Bantu are unworthy of a Prime Minister by reason of his studied vituperation levelled against us, in which he constantly represents us as a menace to civilisation, showing his party to be determined to carry out open oppression of the Bantu on account of their colour.

That the expressions employed by the Premier are calculated to stir up ill-will between white and black and constitute a breach of the sedition clause of his own creation in the Native Administration Act.

That as a community contributing heavily, directly and indirectly, to the Union Treasury, we demand that justice shall be done to us in matters relating to: The poll tax, old age Pensions, Education, land for the landless, and the Liquor Act, on the following lines:

(1) That the basic principle of the poll tax being entirely bad and objectionable in conception, the tax be put on a different basis.

2) The benefits of the Old Age Pensions Act should be extended to include the Bantu. (3) That the Government should adjust the finances of the Union so as to allow for provision for the natural growth of Bantu education by adopting the "per capita" system.

(4) That land provision be made for the drifting population evicted from farms, as these people, after

wandering hopelessly about the country, finally gravitate to the urban areas and thus add to the congestion already existing there.

(5 That all the Liquor Act clauses discriminating against the black man and restricting the privileges of the Bantu voters be expunged and employment in the liquor trade be open to all citizens alike

So far as the Eastern Province was concerned the following choice was made.

East London City, Jas. Bowie.
East London North, General Byron D.S.O
Cathcart, I. H. Venter.
Fort Beaufort, R. A. Hockly.
Tembuland, G. K. Hemming.
Aliwal North, C. A. Sephton.
Griqualand East, L. D. Gilson.
Queenstown, W. F. de Wet.

In the case of King William's Town itself, the convention failed to reach any definite conclusion on account of the lack of a local branch organisation qualified to decide as to the merits of the controversy that is being waged there by white electors, all claiming to be adherents of the South African Party.

There was absolute unanimity in the recommendation of the following candidates of the South African Party to the black electors concerned Aliwal, C. A. Sephton; Albert, P. E Scholtz; Beaconsfield W. B. Humphreys; Bechuanaland, P. A. Fraenkel; Graaff-Reinet, H. Urquhart; Griqualand, J. D. Gilson; Hopetown, C. P. Mathewson; Humansdorp, J. P. du Plessis; Kimberley, Sir E. Oppenheimer; G. H. Barrett; Oudtshoorn, P. Melville; Paarl, F. G. Joubert; Port Elizabeth (Central), Lt. Col. A. P. J. Wares; Port Elizabeth (South), Sir W. Macintosh; Queenstown, W F. de Wet; Uitenhage, F. Bates; Willowmore, J. A de Waal; Wodehouse J. A. Venter; Worcester, C. B. Heatlie Somerset East, A. B. Hobson; Cradock, P. J. J. Coetzee; Beaufort West, K. D. Haak; Colesberg, G A. Louw; Cape Town (Central) R. W. Brown; Cape Town (Castle), A. J. Mac-Callum; Cape Flats, A. J. Chiappini; Hottentots Holland, P. A. B. Faure; Mowbray, Adv, R. W. Close; Salt River, H. G. Lawrence; South Peninsula, F. S. Waterston; Woodstock, E. Buirski; Wynberg E. R Roper.

That this convention registers its strongest protest against the proposed changes in land tenure under the well known Sir George Grey System.

That this convention requests the Government to take steps to compel those local authorities who are dilatory to grant licences to the Bantu to trade among their own people in urban areas.

News supplied by A M. Jabavu, [mvo Buildings, Market Square King Williams Town]

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE BUREAU FOR AFRICA.

An important step was taken at the annual meeting of the recent conference of British Missionary Societies at Swanwick. It has long been felt that there was need for a bureau which should promote the production and publication of literature in connection with missionary work in Africa. The bureau will be working in three sections, British, American and Continental, but its central office will be in London. Miss Margaret Wrong, of the Student Christian movement, has been appointed secretary.

The amount of literature in the African languages is extremely meagre. In some of the dialects there are scarcely any books at all. It is hoped under the direction of this bureau that a great advance will be made in this most necessary provision.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, May 28.

The Belgian Colonial Policy.

In the Brussels "Revue Belge" Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and Colonial Minister, writes:—"Policy of assimilation, of association, or of protectorate, direct or indirect rule, are only formulæ which one must not systematise, and which one ought to adopt according to the circumstances and realities."

The Native Labour.

To know better where we stand in connection with the native labour difficulties, Mr. Jaspar has sent a questionnaire to all the employers. From the replies coming in it seems that the problem may be viewed more favourably than was expected. These replies allow of the conclusion, however, that some employers waste native labour which they could spare by industrialising their workings.

Congo Trade Represented in Parliament.

At its general quarterly meeting, held here on the 17th inst., the Association des Interets Coloniaux Belges, on the suggestion of its chairman, Mr. Gaston Périer, unanimously elected as a member of its board Mr. Jules Mathieu, who on Sunday was re-elected as Socialist M.P. for Ixelles. In doing this the association wanted to be represented in Parliament as well as to have Parliament represented in the association.

The unanimous choice of the association, which in no way can be considered as a Socialist body, being formed by 143 Congo companies and forty-four Belgian companies interested in Congo trade, results from the fact that when the last Colonial Budget was debated in Parliament Mr. Mathieu, placing himself above party politics, defended the colonial interests in a quite remarkable way. His attitude then and in other circumstances has made him quite popular amongst our colonials. Hence their vote.

Congo Chambers of Commerce.

Apropos the Brussels Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges, it is interesting to note that in the Congo itself chambers of commerce have been founded at Aketi, Bumba, Coquilhatville, Elisabethville, Kindu, Léopoldville, Lusambo, Matadi, and Stanleyville

The Commercial Crisis.

According to "Mundele" (Mr. Jules Tilmant), the able colonial news editor of the Antwerp "Neptune," the commercial crisis is becoming accentuated in the Congo Colony. No wonder that an important trading company has written to the Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges to suggest a lowering of the transport charges. In publishing the letter in its current weekly bulletin, the association asks the views of its members on this subject.

C.B.M.C. May Call at Lisbon.

As you know, the Portuguese are the most numerous foreigners in the Congo.

To meet their wish and that of the Belgian colonial world, the Coquilhatville Chamber of Commerce has expressed the desire that steamers of the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo should call at Lisbon in future.

Our Colonial Office has communicated this wish to the C.B.M.C., which is ready to call at Cascaes, near Lisbon, provided there be at least twelve passengers to and from on each trip.

As the passenger mail liners would not have time to load or unload freight, the C.B.M.C. is prepared to send its cargo steamers at Cascaes, provided there is sufficient inducement.

This reply has been communicated to the Coquilhatville Chamber of Commerce, which has referred it to the Léopoldville Chamber of Commerce.

FRENCH CAMEROON POPULATION.

In the course of the anti-sleeping-sickness campaign in the French Cameroon the country has been divided into seven sections, and an examination of the inhabitants has shown the following results: Ayos section, 90,000 inhabitants, 27,844 infected; Yaunde, 320,000 and 38,766; Abong Mbang, 60,000 and 26,825; Bertua, 80,000 and 18,172; Bafia, 100,000 and 7,72[illegible]; Sangmelima, [illegible] and 3,644; Logone Berni, 30,000 and 2,000. In two years the mission has examined a million persons and has [illegible] infected with the disease.

NATIVE TEACHERS' SALARIES.

Under the heading "A Plea for Teachers" the Basuto paper Mochochonono publishes an article in its issue of May 8th which is nothing more nor less than a cry to the Basutoland authorities to review the economic position of the Native teachers of the territory, and unlike many pleas of this nature it is couched in moderate language, at the same time stating facts that should appeal to those to whom it obviously addressed, says the Basutoland News.

We do not propose to criticise the scale of payment of Native teachers of Basutoland, for the simple reason that we have not sufficient information at hand to do so, but there is only one point at the end of the article which we certainly think might receive the attention of the authorities concerned, and that is the question of the quarterly payment of salaries, which the writer of the article states is in inconvenient. To use his own expression, he says is "sickening," and we are quite ready to believe it is.

The credit system in Basutoland is not whit worse, if as bad, as it is in the Union, and the European residents of Basutoland and of the Union have no reason to criticise the abuse of the credit system by the Natives, for generally speaking they are quite as great offenders—in fact they are comparatively worse, for they have the inheritance of 2,000 years of civilisation behind them, and consequently a naturally

[illegible] keeper to restrict the credit he gives, and in many instances to insist on cash with order. The customer not receiving or expecting any credit favours will be in a position to demand the full benefit of competitive cash prices.

If this system is advocated for Europeans in civiled centres, who are earning a supposedly reasonable

living wage, it is much more applicable in the Native Basotoland where markets are restricted in many cases to one or two traders

wandering hopelessly about the country, finally gravitate to the urban areas and thus add to the congestion already existing there.

(5 That all the Liquor Act causes discriminating against the black man and restricting the privileges of the Bantu voters be expunged and employment in the liquor trade be open to all citizens alike

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Griqualand East, L. D. Gilson.
Queenstown, W. F. de Wet.

In the case of King William's Town itself, the convention failed to reach any definite conclusion on account of the lack of a local branch organised on qualified to decide as to the merits of the controversy that is being waged there by white electors, all claiming to be adherents of the South African Party.

There was absolute unanimity in the recommendation of the following candidates of the South African Party to the black electors concerned

Aliwal, C. A. Sephton; Albert, P. E Scholtz; Beaconsfield W. B. Humphreys; Bechuanaland, P. A. Fraenkel; Graaff-Reinet, H. Urquhart; Griqualand, J. D. Gilson; Hopetown, C. P. Mathewson; Humansdorp, J. P. du Plessis; Kimberley, Sir E. Oppenheimer; G. H. Barrett; Oudtshoorn, P. Melville; Paarl, F. G. Joubert; Port Elizabeth (Central), Lt. Col. A. P. J. Wares; Port Elizabeth (South), Sir W. Macintosh; Queenstown, W F. de Wet; Uitenhage, F. Bates; Willowmore, J. A de Waal; Wodehouse J. A. Venter; Worcester, C. B. Heatlie Somerset East, A. B. Hobson; Cradock, P. J. J. Coetzee; Beaufort West, K. D. Haak; Colesberg, G A. Louw; Cape Town (Central) R. W. Brown; Cape Town (Castle), A. J. Mac-Callum; Cape Flats, A. J. Chiappini; Hottentots Holland, P. A. B. Faure; Mowbray, Adv, R. W. Close; Salt River, H. G. Lawrence; South Peninsula, F. S. Waterston; Woodstock, E. Buirski; Wynberg E. R Roper.

That this convention registers its strongest protest against the proposed changes in land tenure under the well known Sir George Grey System.

That this convention requests the Government to take steps to compel those local authorities who are dilatory to grant licences to the Bantu to trade among their own people in urban areas.

News supplied by A. M. Jabavu, [Two Buildings, Market Square King Williams Town]

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE BUREAU FOR AFRICA.

An important step was taken at the annual meeting of the recent conference of British Missionary Societies at Swanwick. It has long been felt that there was need for a bureau which should promote the production and publication of literature in connection with missionary work in Africa. The bureau will be working in three sections—British, American and Continental, but its central office will be in London. Miss Margaret Wrong, of the Student Christian movement, has been appointed secretary.

The amount of literature in the African languages is extremely meagre. In some of the dialects there are scarcely any books at all. It is hoped under the direction of this bureau that a great advance will be made in this most necessary provision.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, May 28.

The Belgian Colonial Policy.

In the Brussels "Revue Belge" Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and Colonial Minister, writes:—"Policy of assimilation, of association, or of protectorate, direct or indirect rule, are only formulæ which one must not systematise, and which one ought to adopt according to the circumstances and realities."

The Native Labour.

To know better where we stand in connection with the native labour difficulties, Mr. Jaspar has sent a questionnaire to all the employers. From the replies coming in it seems that the problem may be viewed more favourably than was expected. These replies allow of the conclusion, however, that some employers waste native labour which they could spare by industrialising their workings.

Congo Trade Represented in Parliament.

At its general quarterly meeting, held here on the 17th inst., the Association des Interets Coloniaux Belges, on the suggestion of its chairman, Mr. Gaston Périer, unanimously elected as a member of its board Mr. Jules Mathieu, who on Sunday was elected as Socialist M.P. for Nivelles.

In doing this the association wanted to be represented in Parliament as well as to have Parliament represented in the association.

The unanimous choice of the association, which in no way can be considered as a Socialist body, being formed by 143 Congo companies and forty-four Belgian companies interested in Congo trade, results from the fact that when the last Colonial Budget was debated in Parliament Mr. Mathieu, placing himself above party politics, defended the colonial interests in a quite remarkable way. His attitude then and in other circumstances has made him quite popular amongst our colonials. Hence their vote.

Congo Chambers of Commerce.

Apropos the Brussels Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges, it is interesting to note that in the Congo itself chambers of commerce have been founded at Aketi, Bumba, Coquilhatville, Elisabethville, Kindu, Léopoldville, Lusambo, Matadi, and Stanleyville

The Commercial Crisis.

According to "Mundele" (Mr. Jules Tilmant), the able colonial news editor of the Antwerp "Neptune," the commercial crisis is becoming accentuated in the Congo Colony. No wonder that an important trading company has written to the Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges to suggest a lowering of the transport charges. In publishing the letter in its current weekly bulletin, the association asks the views of its members on this subject.

C.B.M.C. May Call at Lisbon.

As you know, the Portuguese are the most numerous foreigners in the Congo.

To meet their wish and that of the Belgian colonial world, the Coquilhatville Chamber of Commerce has expressed the desire that steamers of the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo should call at Lisbon in future.

Our Colonial Office has communicated this wish to the C.B.M.C., which is ready to call at Cascaes, near Lisbon, provided there be at least twelve passengers to and from on each trip.

As the passenger mail liners would not have time to load or unload freight, the C.B.M.C. is prepared to send its cargo steamers at Cascaes, provided there is sufficient inducement.

This reply has been communicated to the Coquilhatville Chamber of Commerce, which has referred it to the Léopoldville Chamber of Commerce.

FRENCH CAMEROON POPULATION.

In the course of the anti-sleeping-sickness campaign in the French Cameroon the country has been divided into seven sections, and an examination of the inhabitants has shown the following results: Ayos section, 90,000 inhabitants, 27,844 infected; Yaounde, 320,000 and 28,825; Abong Mbang, 60,000 and 26,825; Bertua, 80,000 and 18,172; Bafia, 100,000 and 7,725; Sangmelima, 30,000 and 3,644; Logone Berni, 30,000 and 2,000. In two years the mission has examined a million persons and has treated 214 with the disease.

NATIVE TEACHERS' SALARIES.

Under the heading "A Plea for Teachers" the Basuto paper Mochochonono publishes an article in its issue of May 8th which is no thing more nor less than a call to the Basutoland authorities to review the economic position of the Native teachers of the territory, and unlike many pleas of this nature it reaches ih moderate language, at the same time stating facts that should appeal to those to whom it is obviously addressed, says the Basutoland News.

We do not propose to criticise the scale of payment of Native teachers of Basutoland for the simple reason that we have not sufficient information at hand to do so, but there is only one point at the end of the article which we certainly think might receive the attention of the authorities concerned, and that is the question of the quarterly payment of salaries, which the writer of the article states is in inconvenient. To use his own expression, he says is "sickening," and we are quite ready to believe it is.

The credit system in Basutoland is not whit worse, if as bad, as it is in the Union, and the European residents of Basutoland and of the Union have no reason to criticise the abuse of the credit system by the Natives, for generally speaking they are quite as great offenders—in fact they are comparatively worse, for they have the inheritance of 2,000 years of civilisation behind them, and consequently a naturally clearer and wiser economic outlook than the Natives, who have practically only just emerged from barbarism.

But to keep to the point, it is not written to be expected that any Native should be expected to budget successfully, whatever his pay, on the basis of a quarterly salary, for even Europeans find it difficult, and in this connection it is interesting to note what Mr Karl Cundelfinger, one of Durban's most successful business men, a former President of the Chamber of Commerce, has written to the Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges to suggest a lowering of the transport charges. In publishing the letter in its current weekly bulletin, the association asks the views of its members on this subject.

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living wage. How much more applicable is it to the Native teachers of a place like Basutoland where marketing is restricted in many cases to one or two traders?

Race Problem – 1929

Africa.

Gen. Hertzog In POWER

Man proposes and God disposes and no matter what our hopes consisted of, and what party inclinations we had, the Nationalists have come into power with a good purely Nationalist majority. What methods were adopted by General Hertzog and his lieutenants to stampede the white electorate in the town and rural areas to return him to power we are all aware of; and it will take us no further to labour these tactics. The country will resume quietude after the election storm, and look to those in office to give of their best talent to further the interests of South Africa in the general advance that is taking place with all the civilised nations of the world in internal and international development. We are all agreed, let us hope, that our beautiful land of sunshine cannot be fed and developed on politics only. Something more concrete and statesmanlike will be demanded of our rulers if the Union is to command the respect, and be in keeping with the nations of the world. Lately our politicians have sacrificed status and political rectitude by delving into cheap backveld politics of "the Kafir states in the North," the swamping of whites by the blanket vote, equality of Natives with Europeans and a legion of distasteful and unwarranted comparisons between black and white that are really of no momentous consequence. Meanwhile the country's economic and industrial questions have been sadly ignored. The Natives themselves admit that they are not deserving of being made the red herrings, with all the grievances they have; and with all the short-comings in their national ambitions. Our people are aware that the interests of South Africa as a whole come first, and it passeth understanding that it be the Premier himself who fails to visualise the national objectives by descending to the stratum of making the South African Natives his arch enemies, and forsaking the duties of his lofty office.

Our earnest desire is that General Hertzog will strain every nerve to get his government to make up for wasted time by settling down to deal with the real requirements of the country, and leave the Native question more to the effluxion of time than try his feverish energies to settle it. It is many centuries since his ancestors came in contact with the blacks, and that contact has had the influence of disintegrating the dusky aborigines of Africa and co-ordinating the white races. There is therefore no reason why the Premier should passionately believe that the century he lives in is destined by God to suddenly work in the reverse.

Conservation Of Water.

It would seem that when the Prophet Isaiah spoke of the "desert blossom as a rose" and "the dry and arid places being turned into streams of water" he had in view with his prophetic eye the time when man would have so advanced in knowledge and science that they would build large conservation dams for the storage of water and build weirs across rivers that the once thirsty land may be irrigated and ploughed and made fit to produce plenty of food for mankind. The question of conservation of water, or to be more correct, usage of water from the rivers for irrigation purposes is an old one. We read in the Bible of the waters of the Nile being used in Egypt for irrigation purposes, and at the present time the once dry and arid Sudan is being made fertile by the vast dams constructed on the Nile. In the Union the question has been brought to the forefront by the erratic rainfalls and these ever recurring droughts which for years now have been the bane of this country. No wonder the late Professor Schwarz was of opinion that South Africa was drying up. Governments and private individuals are concentrating on preservation of water, and in many cases several are being rewarded for their endeavours. At present, nothing has as yet been done by Natives towards this laudable work, perhaps through no fault of theirs but by having no medium for carrying on the work. But now that the Bunga system has come it would be well that they should seriously consider ways and means for starting irrigation works. The initial cost of getting a Government Engineer to survey any proposed scheme is not beyond the reach of the Ciskei Bungas. It would be money well spent. As we write we have in view the Tyume and the Keiskama rivers. These rivers run through thickly populated Native areas whose low lying velds are suitable for irrigation purposes. Members of the Keiskama Hoek and Middle Drift Bungas would do well to visit the Kat River Valley and there study what has been accomplished by irrigation. Groves of oranges, tobacco plants, lucerne, as a matter of fact everything grown there thrives and is an object lesson to any keen observer. This matter is so urgent that it brooks of no delay. Perhaps the Councils concerned will consult with the head officer of Native Agriculture and act.

Haitian Charges Whitewashing 3000 Natives Killed By Marines

New York City—Truth about Haiti will never be known if people base their information upon false reports, Henry C. Rosemond, first advisor of the Haitian Patriotic Union of the U. S. declared in a signed statement to the press.

Information presented to President Hoover recently by the United States High Commissioner John H. Russell who landed in Haiti in 1915 as head of the marines that marines came to keep order and prevent Haitians from killing themselves, was branded false.

Mr. Rosemond charges that 3,000 Haitians have been killed by the marines and $500,000 in gold was taken from the National Bank of Haiti to the the warboat Manchion and sent to the National City Bank of this city for "safe keeping" against protests of Haitians.

Official Murdered

Under Mr. Russell's regime, he further states, Charlemange Perald, exsecretary of the State of War, was tied to a tree by the marines and cut to pieces. American officials, he claims, knew of the atrocity but raised no protest. Whitewashing of conditions by Commissioner Russell is common, says Mr. Rosemond.

Rather than good conditions prevailing, "the best in the last 100 years," Mr. Rosemond points out, "23,000 Haitians workers and peasants have left the country, agricultural output has dropped, and poverty reigns."

President Louis Borno is characterized as a "betrayer and traitor of his own people," who supports marine occupation in the Island republic. Mr. Borno recently received $6,200 to undertake a trip to the United States "to bring about his continuance in office."

Press Muzzled

All activities tending to make the citizens of the Negro republic conscious of the condition are forbidden, the statement declared. Mass meetings are stopped and the press is muzzled, women and children beaten, editors jailed, and thousands of dollars taken from the Haitian treasury by Borno, Mr. Rosemond contended in concluding his statement.

AND NOW A "WHITE" SOUTH AFRICA

THE CENTURIES-OLD STRUGGLE of the white race for supremacy; the desire of the Dutch element to aline South Africa with German trade interests; and the determination of British citizens of the Union of South Africa to remain with the Empire—all of these were brought to the surface during the recent election. For the first time in the history of South Africa, it seems, "the native question" was placed before the electorate, and the victory of General Hertzog, Nationalist candidate, is interpreted by Cape Town correspondents as a clear notice to the Kafirs and other colored races that they can not, for the present, anticipate a share in South African citizenship in any form.

The two issues on which the contest was fought, we read in the London *Times*, were the question of the native vote and the German trade treaty:

"General Hertzog, the Nationalist leader, proposes to give natives in the Union a limited and indirect form of representation, and to take away from natives of the Cape Province the right they now possess of equal franchise with whites.

"The South African party holds the view that this is not a party matter, but one for a national convention, and that a single native policy for the whole of British Africa should be the ultimate aim."

According to a Canadian daily the London (Ont.) *Advertiser:*

"The issue of second importance was the German trade treaty signed last year. The treaty, while it does not interfere with existing tariff preferences on British imports, gives Germany for two years most-favored-nation treatment. South Africa is thereby bound to give to Germany the advantage of any further preferences she gives to Great Britain.

"The opposition contended that the agreement cut across the policy of Empire preferences and would alienate Great Britain, the Union's best customer, Southern Rhodesia, and the British territories farther north."

The Hertzog followers, explains the Dallas *News*, wish to cut loose from the British Empire, and form an independent sovereign republic, with German commercial affiliations rather than British. The South African party, headed by Gen. Jan C. Smuts, favors allegiance to—and commercial relations with—the Empire, and also fair treatment for the natives and the right to vote as they acquire education and the standards of civilization. In the election early last month, notes the New York *Times*, "General Hertzog scored a success, but not a triumph." He has a slight majority over all the other parties, says a Cape Town dispatch to the New York daily. What chiefly concerns the Montreal *Star* is the handling of the "native question" by the Hertzog Ministry: "If South Africa's present standards of living are not to be submerged by the black population; if it is to remain a white man's country, the native question will have to be handled with great delicacy and tact." To the London *Daily Mail*, "it looks as tho in South Africa the very situation which occurred seventy years ago in the Southern Confederacy of the United States were recurring." However, it adds, "South African statesmen of larger experience and wider outlook, such as General Smuts, leader of the opposition party, realize that the Boer extremists are seeking the impossible, and that the native population, which is growing much faster than the whites, can not be held down indefinitely."

FUTURE OF THE NATIVE.

Mr. Danziger's Argument for Territorial Segregation.

The proposal under the Land Apportionment Bill to devote certain areas for the sole use of the native population were strongly attacked in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Max Danziger, who expressed the view that the only solution of this problem was territorial segregation, which would become impossible if the Bill was passed.

Mr. Danziger described as a fallacy the statement that the natives were a pastoral race. They were only as pastoral as uncivilised people, who had to get food and go to the land for it. He suggested that they should regard what was known as the native problem as the European problem and an economic one. They would be doing an injustice to those that came after them if they did not face that fact honestly. In this very colony an artificial barrier had been set up on the railways, for instance, and work was done by white men that in Kenya was done by natives. As further proof that this was purely an economic problem, Mr. Danziger instanced the ban on native labour in regard to the erection of native dwellings at the location that had been set up by the Salisbury Town Council, reminding the House that the same work had been done in Bulawayo by native labour, proving that natives could do the work. The solution of the problem did not, of course, lie in the keeping of the native as a hewer of wood.

Menace of Native Competition.

That would be impossible in any case, but it was absolutely necessary for the existence of the European that he should be protected against the indiscriminate competition of the native. If they passed this Bill they would in fifty years' time be looking for a solution of the native problem in the same way as the Union was looking for it to-day, and with as much hope of success. The argument that whites and natives could live side by side was quite untenable. They could not prevent overlapping, and everyone, irrespective of colour, would be out to get the best job he could and the best for which he was suited. This Bill could not eliminate or reduce that competition between black and white.

Professor Walker, in his book, had shown that the Bantu was as much an interloper in Southern Rhodesia as the European. The white race had a duty to the native, but they had also a duty to the unborn generations of Rhodesians. Territorial segregation would at least allow the native to develop as a nation and as individuals, without clashing with his white neighbours, and it would remove the menace of the natives' competition and allow the white people to treat him with more consideration. These reserves were part of the Colony and they could not set up immigration laws within their own boundaries. He admitted that while the native was docile they passed all sorts of laws, but as soon as the native was organised, and the evidence was that he was organising rapidly, they would not be able to do that.

When Natives Organise.

Mr. Danziger added that no law could be passed under which they could prevent the free movement of natives in and out of their reserves when they were organised. It was impossible suddenly to set up immigration barriers within their own boundaries. When the natives got leaders each reserve would become the centre of constitutional agitation and they would not be able to do anything to stop it. The first step would be to remove the restriction of movement from one reserve to another and then into European areas. Once the Bill was passed and land sold in any quantity, the problem would become too big to tackle to expropriate areas and commence territorial segregation. It was a mistake to deny the intelligence of the natives. It was not the bulk of natives who mattered, but the few who thought and who could organise. When natives had acquired a large part the purchase area, the remainder had not been so successful financially and clamour for more land and the right to purchase white men's farms, if they wished to sell. He could not see how they could prevent such a position or give the native parliamentary representation in time. Native councils would not satisfy the natives.

Mr. Danziger suggested that it might be possible to devote large tracts of land in the north-west of the colony and to combine with them a portion of Bechuanaland which they adjoined for the native part of the territory. If they could show the Imperial Government that they were endeavouring to settle the problem for all time, the problem of white and black, it did not seem improbable that the Imperial Government would assign some part of the adjoining territory for the purpose.

What they were doing to-day might mean eventually the end of this colony as a white colony. They could delay two or three years and it would not matter very much. They were undertaking a responsibility to-day as great as any ever undertaken by any parliament and he asked the Government not to act until every avenue had been explored. He suggested investigation to see if territorial segregation were possible and to see if the land would be available for such a matter.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

NEW EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE COLONY

School Population Doubled in Ten Years.

The presence at Cape Town of members of the Rhodesian Education Commission drew attention to the fact that for some time past it has been felt by the people and Government of Southern Rhodesia that the new needs of this colony, consequent upon its rapid development, which has included the doubling of its school population during the past ten years, now called for a complete survey of the whole educational system.

A decision, our Cape Town correspondent points out, was accordingly arrived at in May, 1928, by the Legislative Assembly to appoint a Special Commission to go thoroughly into the whole matter.

Mr. Frank Tate's Mission.

Mr. Frank Tate, the chairman of the Commission, who, until his retirement last year, was the Director of Education for the State of Victoria, Australia, was invited by the Rhodesian Government to come over from Australia and to assume the chairmanship of the Commission, of which the other members were: Professor Fred Clarke, of the University of Cape Town, from the Union of South Africa, and Mr. E. C. Baxter as the Rhodesian representative. The latter was more especially concerned with the financial aspects of the whole Rhodesian educational problem.

The Commission spent three months over their investigations, which began on February 12. These are now completed, and the members of the Commission are now completing their report.

The reason for the presence of the members of the Commission in Cape Town is simply that it was necessary for Professor Clarke, who is due to leave the Union in August for Canada, where he is taking up an appointment at the McGill University, Montreal, to resume his duties here at the University of Cape Town.

He can now, while attending to these, also help to draw up the Rhodesian Education Commission's report with his colleagues, Messrs. Tate and Baxter.

THIRD JUDGE WANTED.

Work in the Courts of Rhodesia has been increasing of late, and the need for the services of a third judge is becoming more and more pronounced. This matter was brought up in the House of Assembly, writes a Salisbury correspondent, when both Mr. G. M. Huggins and Capt. Bertin spoke on it.

In his reply the Attorney-General said the question of a third judge would come up for decision in the near future. He agreed with Capt. Bertin that it was almost imperative that a third judge should be appointed. He would also agree that to hear more important matters there should be more than one judge. It was interesting to note, however, that civil legislation was rather rather less to-day than it was twenty-five years ago.

A USURY BILL.

New legislation in the form of a Usury Bill for Rhodesia is promised. The matter was brought up recently in the House of Assembly, when comparisons between the law in the Union and Southern Rhodesia were referred to. Replying to Mr. A. R. Welsh, who opined that the need grew greater every day, the Attorney-General intimated that he had already given instruction for the drafting of a Usury Bill. He had also given instructions for the commencement of the drafting of a revised and consolidated Company Law.

Bantu Studies.

The Department of Bantu Studies of the University of the Witwaters. rand, Johannesburg, invites applications for grants-in-aid from persons who are carrying on, or who wish to engage upon original research investigations into specific aspects of Native life in Southern Africa, e.g.:— Social Customs, Linguistics, Music, Economic Organisation. Application forms and further details may be obtained from the Registrar, P.O. Box 1176, Johannesburg.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

TAKORADI, ACCRA AND APAPA.

MR. J. H. SHARROCK ON COAST PORT AND HARBOUR QUESTIONS AND VARIOUS TRADE MATTERS.

Mr. J. H. Sharrock, chairman of the Liverpool board of managing directors of Elder Dempster and Co., Limited, presided at the annual meeting of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on Monday. Mr. Sharrock, who is chairman of the Trade Section, addressed the members as follows :—

This is the 46th annual meeting of the African Trade Section of this Chamber and the report has already been circulated among members. I think you will agree that it forms a sufficiently explanatory statement of the year's work to make it unnecessary for me to amplify it. During the year several matters of importance have come before us for consideration, some of which have been satisfactorily decided, whilst others are in course of negotiation.

West African 3-30-29

Before proposing that the report be adopted there are one or two factors which, perhaps, claim our particular attention.

During the year under review Takoradi harbour has experienced both a ceremonial and also a practical opening—the latter in December last. There can be little doubt that Takoradi harbour will in the years that lie ahead prove a great acquisition to the trade of the Gold Coast, but it is necessary, of course, that we should temper opinions by facts of practical experience. We have to realise that situated as it is at one of the extreme ends of the Colony, Takoradi's beneficial effects on the trade of the Gold Coast will be more pronounced in that part which Takoradi is most conveniently placed to serve. If this proves the case, we may confidently anticipate considerable developments in the Western Province, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, as Takoradi forms a natural outlet for all these areas.

Admitting, therefore, the undoubted benefits which the opening of Takoradi will bring to a large part of the Gold Coast, we have to remember the obligations of increasing the trade with those other parts of the Colony which Takoradi is not so favourably situated to serve. On the other side of the Colony we have the port of Accra, and this port is, at the present time, with all the facilities that are available there, working at its full, if indeed not beyond its full, economic pressure. No praise can be too high for all those men, both Government and commercial, who, despite the difficulties with which they have to contend, are now doing such excellent work at the port of Accra.

However, there seems little doubt that in the near future it will be necessary in the interests of the Gold Coast to consider a comprehensive programme for improving the port of Accra in order to bring it in as close a consonance with Takoradi as circumstances will permit. If and when the Gold Coast Government decide to consider the question of improving facilities at Accra, I trust that the members of this Section will have an opportunity of expressing their point of view, and we need hardly assure the authorities concerned of our desire to co-operate with them in this and any other matters which will make for the good of the Gold Coast and its people.

Coming to the smaller ports of the Gold Coast, it may again be permissible to express the view that, so far as West African shipping is concerned, it would be satisfactory if, as has been suggested, Cape Coast and Saltpond were closed in the next few years. It will, of course, be necessary to consider what adverse effect, if any, the closing of these ports would have upon the surrounding localities and if eventually the Government of the Gold Coast decide to give these ports a new lease of life, West African shipowners will be content to serve these ports as in the past.

It is, however, to be hoped that the port of Sekondi will be finally closed, and that arrangements for handling coal and manganese ore within Takoradi harbour will be completed during the present year.

It would be unreasonable to suggest that working conditions at Takoradi should find a completely satisfactory level all in a few short months. Adjustments will be necessary, and the Government of the Gold Coast are deserving of credit for the way in which improvements are being effected, as experience dictates. Given goodwill among all who use the port, Takoradi will fulfil all the hopes which Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Sir Ransford Slater repose in it.

And whilst speaking on West African ports, I would like to place on record the gradual improvement noticeable during more recent months in the facilities for working cargo at Apapa, and the Government of Nigeria are to be congratulated on the efforts which they are making at that port. Some of the members of this Section gave evidence before the Imperial Shipping Committee who were invited to investigate and report on the facilities and conditions at the ports in Nigeria. With the detailed facts which the report of that committee placed before them, the Government of Nigeria are now fully acquainted with the wishes of the members of the West African trade on this important matter. The report expressed the opinion of those associated with the West African trade that it was desirable that some of the smaller creek and river ports should be kept open, in order to permit direct calls of ships operating between this country, the Continent, North America and West African ports. The members of the West African trade sought to make it clear that the creek ports in Nigeria could not at the present time be satisfactorily worked by a system of transhipment.

It was also pointed out that it was necessary, so far as conditions permit, to increase, by dredging or other aids the amount of water on the flats in the Calabar River and on the bars at the mouths of the Forcados and Bonny Rivers. It would be unfortunate if commercial undertakings in Nigeria were precluded by the limitations imposed by the bars at the mouths of some of the Nigerian rivers from making the fullest use of those important waterways. This is particularly so in the case of the Bonny River, having in mind the great improvements carried out by the Nigerian Government at Port Harcourt.

During the past year it may be said that the volume of traffic to and from West Africa has been maintained at an encouraging level. It is, however, to be observed that, with the noticeable exception of palm-oil, produce prices are now below the level of this time last year.

It is unfortunate that the import of palm-kernels into this country during 1928 shows a further decline, although the demand for kernels for North European ports continues reasonably strong. With a view to encouraging the feeding of palm-kernel cake to cattle in this country, which would react favourably on our imports of palm-kernels, the Seed Oil and Cake Trade Association of Liverpool have drawn attention to the possibility of inaugurating an advertising campaign.

One notable feature of more or less recent origin in the West African trade is the increasing tendency to ship palm-oil in bulk, and many of the liner ships operating in the trade have already been fitted with tanks to meet this new development. In this connection it will interest you to know that the cargo ships at present under construction for Elder Dempster and Company are all being fitted for the transport of palm-oil in bulk. The United Kingdom is taking a share in this trade, but America has up to the present played a leading part. During the year under review no shipments of palm-oil in bulk were made to the Continent, despite the tank accommodation available in some of the ships operating in the Continental-West African service.

The leading part which is being taken by America in the bulk palm-oil traffic can be traced in no small measure to the increasing quantities of palm-oil which America is importing from Sumatra, and it is worthy of the notice of those concerned in West Africa that Sumatra oil commands a higher price in America than does West African palm-oil. The reason is that Sumatra oil is a cleaner product than its rival from West Africa.

It is probable that the plantation method of cultivating the oil-palm is to some extent complementary to the transport of palm-oil in bulk, and it would appear that bulk transport of palm-oil from West Africa may assume even larger proportions if it is possible for the trading organisations and the Government of Nigeria to come to mutually satisfactory terms on the question of erecting pressing mills in the oil-palm belt in Nigeria.

Mr. Thomas Welsh, deputy-chairman, seconded the report, which was adopted with slight amendment.

The following members were re-elected to serve on the Committee for a further period of three years :—Messrs. N. V. Deane, A. Herschell, T. Jaynes, Picton H. Jones, Lt. Col. W. Nicholl, J. H. Sharrock, C. B. Shepherd, Mazzini Stuart.

RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICA.

THE recent debate in the House of Lords on the report of the Hilton Young Commission was not as productive as might have been desired of result in ascertaining the official attitude toward further procedure, for the approaching dissolution of Parliament provided a reasonable excuse for postponing consideration of a difficult problem. None the less, it was of value, if only for the exposition of the matter by Lord Lugard, whose motion for papers inaugurated the discussion. It would be difficult to find anyone more qualified than he, with his varied experience of Tropical Africa and his close touch with the largest issues affecting that continent, to open the debate on a report that virtually proposed the reform of Crown Colony government in Africa, a form of government that, as he said, was originally intended for "small islands or training depots on the mainlands of Asia, West Africa, and America, when the chief concern of the British Parliament was to provide for the control of British adventurers and the promotion of trade, with little thought for the so-called aborigines," but is now applied, in Africa alone, to lands about equal in total area to the United States.

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But the problem is only to a slight extent that of the administration of larger areas than was originally contemplated, for there has arisen the more vital one of avoiding a clash of humanity, and Lord Lugard's words contained a warning that is the more grave for its moderation.

"The problem of the relations of comparatively small White communities in the Tropics to greatly preponderant Black populations rapidly acquiring self-consciousness is one which is concerned with the future perhaps more than the immediate present, and no policy would be worthy of

the name which did not take into account the probable development of present day tendencies and forecast the conditions which are likely to arise in the future . . . If there is no settled policy in regard to them, if they are allowed to drift, as they have been allowed to drift elsewhere, they will assuredly lead to grave consequences and possible disorder."

A new opportunity of dealing with these great issues has arisen, and Lord Lugard proposed that it should be examined by a joint committee of both Houses, in conference with a delegation representative of all shades of opinion in East Africa, a direct method which would surpass in value any co-operation, however close, between parties meeting in Great Britain and Africa, or the despatch of any third party to glean further information.

It might not have been in order, perhaps, for Lord Lugard to extend the scope of the discussion beyond the already broad boundaries that he had set, but since the matter is one that admittedly is vital to the future of Africa, it would not be out of place to propose a conference for the whole of the British possessions in Tropical Africa, much as we have had conferences on education for the whole area, but with direct representation upon it of every phase of local opinion. At bottom, the question is whether Great Britain is to modify or abandon for the benefit of one area the broad principles by which her administrators have everywhere gained and held their power. An independent observer, Professor Buell, has already shown that, as compared with those of France, the future relations of Great Britain in Africa are "hampered" by the contradictions of her policy in the South, separated from Imperial control though it be, and any departure from the only just policy in lands that are definitely not "White man's country" would be fatal.

Even limited to what Lord Lugard described as the chief issue, the suitability or otherwise to African Dependencies of the accepted form of Crown Colony government, the matter is far more than a problem of East Africa. In a "mixed" Colony, the Legislative Council system, progressing gradually to an elected majority, must inevitably place political power first in the hands of a small European community, and then in that of a slightly larger party of educated Africans, neither one of whom would be "the people," and there is the added difficulty that in one instance at least the European majority is definitely non-British. Thus, Lord Lugard reasoned,

> "If Parliamentary institutions are unsuited to a mixed state with an overwhelming Native majority, they are no less unsuited to African tradition and mentality elsewhere. They have never been evolved by any Coloured race, and it is a question whether they can ever become adapted to them in the form in which they are familiar to us."

In his view, the best solution would be the formation of separate autonomous States, but that question was not under discussion. In the adoption of parallel forms of government for each race, he saw little danger of the natural leaders being ousted, as in India, by professional politicians, since the representatives of the people would always be the traditional leaders. This is a point which would seem to demand further discussion, for in a world of change there can be no absolute value assigned even to traditional right, and the man of determination and ability to-day is as likely to establish a new tradition as was the old-time moulder of African destiny. And this is not confined to the African, for has not Lord Lugard's own most capable leadership helped to establish a new tradition in Africa—that of our place as the temporary trustee and representative of the people?

An indication of the problems that must be solved in the enunciation of the general principles given above was expressed by Lord Olivier. The tenure of land, and the provision of labour, whether by direct compulsion or by a more subtle method of onerous taxation, were the principal points, together with a more definite statement of economic policy, for the development to their utmost of the productive powers of the people was not the primary duty of the Administration. Lord Olivier went on to show that in the unhurried methods of peasant proprietorship lies the only satisfactory method of developing the resources of Tropical Africa, and that in the light of experience in Jamaica and upon the West Coast the "education" gained by the people in more or less compulsory labour for the European is illusory. These are views that are familiar to the West Coast, where the outlook has not been complicated by the presence of any large body of settlers, but they are unwelcome to the community that, by courageous and strenuous labour has carved out for itself a place in East Africa, and it seems reasonable, if only to retain a due sense of proportion, that the full inquiry which the Earl of Plymouth said would be undertaken should take the form of a conference including representatives of all the peoples whose cases, as Lord Lugard has shown, may be decided by the precedent of East Africa. The task is a great one, but the Great Britain that declared against slavery in the past is hardly likely to fail in making a definite stand against a policy that envisages a form of possible economic slavery in the future.

OPPORTUNITY AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA.

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In limiting the dedication of his recent booklet to the educated men of Akim Abuakwa, Dr. Danquah is not to be taken as implying that he has no message for the other States of the Gold Coast, but merely that much of the simplicity of his style would have had to be sacrificed in a more general work, and it must be admitted that he has acted wisely, for his counsel is thereby raised from the somewhat pedantic style of those who seek publicity for mere platitudes to a more intimate discussion of problems that he knows are within the everyday experience of his readers. Since the questions dealt with are typical of those of other Gold Coast States, however, there is little in the "Epistle" that is not applicable to conditions generally, and Dr. Danquah's creed is an eminently rational one. "We are prepared," he says, "to accept the conditions of advance imposed upon us by enlightened culture, but we are not prepared for a wholesale sacrifice or disregard of the basic principles of our traditional form of rule," which is exactly the spirit in which co-operation with the Government is likely to bring about the best results.

In proceeding to a discussion of the first conditions of progress, Dr. Danquah does not fall into the common West African mistake of starting with a reform of the Constitution, as that is generally understood in local politics to-day. He begins by discussing the belief in fetish. As an enlightened Christian, he naturally holds that worship through the medium of any sort of emblem of human manufacture cannot be the highest form of religious expression, but he distinguishes between national and personal fetish, the former being perhaps necessary in the present state of local ignorance, so long as there is nothing that is definitely evil in it. The personal fetish, the charm that is supposed to bring success in human endeavour, he regards as a destroyer of will-power, the only force that, either in its Divine or human manifestations, governs the world. The believer in charms never takes the initiative, he is always on the defensive towards life, and even where he becomes successful, he seldom makes full use of his opportunity because in ascribing his success to his fetish he gains none of the self-confidence that success should generate. It is true, he says, that in Europe one still hears of the recrudescence of witchcraft, but one never hears leaders—Mr. Baldwin, Lord Leverhulme, Mr. Bernard Shaw, or Mr. H. G. Wells, for instance—suggest that they attained distinction through the medium of a few words written upon a piece of parchment. It is an insult to one's own dignity to make use of charms, even as he shows it is to imbibe trade gin. The condemnation of charms and gin as "not respectable" seems curiously slight to European ears, but to those who know how much this phrase means to the African it will be recognised as potent.

From such factors in personal development, Dr. Danquah passes to municipal organisation, and after a description of the methods followed in England proceeds to show how they might be applied in the Gold Coast, which already possessed the germs of progress in its Odikros and village councils. When it comes to a discussion of housing and sanitation the ordinary contributor to the local press is apt to begin to abuse the Government for its parsimony, but Dr. Danquah has the courage to explain that while it is the duty of the Government to advise, it is the business of the State of Akim Abuakwa to devise ways and means, and there was much work before the educated members of the community in tactfully instructing the Chiefs in the value of reform, and in *volunteering to work under their orders*. Pending the production of a definite scheme for the State, he was not prepared to go into the matter in detail, but further powers would need to be given to the village councils to punish sanitary offences and the like, and to extend their membership to include those assets to the community, the educated inhabitants.

This brings him to consider the Native Administration Ordinance, of which he is generally in favour, and he answers the two cries of the adverse critics, that it gives too much power to the Chiefs and that it turns the rulers into legislators. Within the limitations of English law, he maintains, it is impossible to give too much power to the Natural Rulers, while, looked at from the African standpoint, the Chiefs already have the fullest authority, limited by the people's power of deposition if it be exceeded or abused. As regards the law-making powers of the Chiefs, he follows a perfectly logical argument, which is broken only by the fact that there does not exist at present a "Colonial Legislative Assembly" of rulers. He shows that in the family, the members assemble under the family head and make laws; in the village councils, the family heads make laws under the Odikro; in the State Councils, the village heads make laws under the Omanhene; and had it been found possible, as he hoped it would later be found possible, to establish a "Colonial Assembly,"—the "House of Nanamu" of Mr. de Graft Johnson,—the Amanhinfu and other Paramount Chiefs would undoubtedly have made laws that would ultimately have been ratified by presentation to the Legislative Council.

On the subject of land Dr. Danquah comes out strongly in opposition to the sale to outsiders, not merely on account of the folly that has lost, for instance, New Juaben and Koforidua to Akim Abuakwa, but because the present generation is not the absolute owner of the land, and can not therefore morally give an absolute title. To lease it is another matter, however, although even then he is doubtful if the present practice of collecting a high tax from strangers is sound, especially as "Natives" go free. In regard to mining leases, he considers, and rightly, that all revenue derived from a wasting asset like minerals should be spent on works of permanent value to the community, and he is also disposed to consider that the mineral deposits should be regarded much as the Colony regards its surplus balances, as a source of wealth that should be husbanded, and not used up merely because it happens to be there.

So much has been said and written in regard to education elsewhere that Dr. Danquah would be hard put to it to say something entirely new, but he is anxious to see facilities by which children may begin their training at the earliest possible moment, a course which, he recognises, demands a much more thorough education of the present generation of girls if it is to be carried out. In discussing the relative values of the clerk and the craftsman, he avoids the common error of exalting the latter at the expense of the former, and estimates their importance to the community as being unlikely to experiment by sending unprofitable material up for education. Why, by the way, has not Government induced him to fill a leading place at Achimota?

Such subjects as cocoa-growing, and problems of economics generally, are deliberately left out from the discussion, for Dr. Danquah confesses himself pledged only to the furtherance of educational and social advance, but a postscript to his "Epistle" discusses such matters as cocoa improvement and inspection, which are clearly connected with his main theme from the fact that they offer important financial contributions to the schemes of progress that he is preparing to initiate in his native land.

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Race Problem - 1929

Africa

SIR RANSFORD SLATER'S ADDRESS TO THE GOLD COAST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

II.—TAKORADI.—THE COURT OF APPEAL.—COCOA INSPECTION.—COTTON AND CO-OPERATION.

[FROM OUR GOLD COAST CORRESPONDENT.]

Sir Ransford re-told the story of the difficulties that had separated the official opening of Takoradi by such a long interval from its actual opening to commerce, and congratulated the lighterage companies and Customs Department for the smoothness with which they had effected their transfers. He announced that it would still be some time before coal and manganese would be handled at the new port, and the Manganese Co. had not started the installation of the necessary new plant on the area leased by them. Much progress was being made in the import of oil, and two prominent companies had leased plots near Takoradi and at nine railway stations for the bulk handling and distribution of this source of power. Since it was not desirable that tankers should discharge within the harbour, there would be berths outside, close to the lee breakwater, whence discharge would be by the companies' own pipe-lines, the estimated cost to the Government being £6,505, which would bring the revised estimated cost of the whole harbour up to £3,360,978. With regard to the completion of buildings in the commercial area, Sir Ransford had conferred with the Joint West African Committee and other bodies, and it had been agreed that permanent buildings should be completed by December 31, 1935, while for temporary buildings plans were to be submitted within three months of the completion of the lease, erection to be completed within 12 months of approval of the plans.

After reference to the institution of a West African Court of Appeal, particulars of which have already been given in the publication of the Order in Council, Sir Ransford passed to a review of agriculture. With the retirement of Mr. C. H. Knowles and the promotion of Mr. G. C. Auchinleck to the Directorship, the Agricultural Department had been entirely re-organised on a subject, rather than a territorial, basis, the chief divisions now dealing with inspection of plants and produce, statistics and surveys, laboratory investigations, education and training, rural economics, and publications and meteorology. At the same time, 11 minor experimental stations had been closed down, and concentration was being effected on the three stations of Tamale, Kumasi, and Kpeve. Sir Ransford was fully alive to the danger of the Department drifting away from public needs, but the institution of a Board of Agriculture, with local advisory bodies, and a Cocoa Advisory Committee, provided opportunities for the co-operation which he realised was so necessary to practical progress.

In an outline of the progress made with regard to the principal crops, the Governor stated that the voluntary system of cocoa inspection had already yielded a mass of valuable information, and by the end of 1929 it should be possible for merchants and Government to decide what steps should be taken to improve the quality of the product. The Director hoped to be able to preserve a voluntary form of inspection, although at present the experience with the nine small fermentaries opened by the Government seemed to show that the farmers expected everything necessary to be done by official effort. Sir Ransford alluded to the possibility of over-production of cocoa, and to suggestions for checking the extension of local cultivation, but he has concluded that it would be unwise to attempt compulsory limitation so long as there is sufficient population for further planting, the more so since the value of the Western Province was as yet hardly known, and since the "balance of power" in the Gold Coast showed some indication of a slow westward movement.

In respect of other products, Sir Ransford expressed views that are rendered none the less acceptable by their freedom from undue optimism. Experiments with cotton in the Northern Territories have been concentrated on the Dagomba district, since lack of transport will hamper economic development farther north for some time to come, but further tests were necessary to show the reason for the low yields in the past. In the south of Togoland, where an industry of fair proportions already existed, steps were being taken by the installation of a power gin at Kpeve to compete with the French plant at Palime, which at present attracts most of the crop across the border. The other potential product of the North, shea-nuts, had been tested by a trial shipment of 15 tons, with disappointing results, the consignment yielding only £12 a ton for a landed cost of £28 19s. 6d. Sir Ransford showed, however, that transport costs would be much reduced whenever the railway was continued northward, and stated that, in the meantime, an attempt would be made to express the fat of the nuts at Tamale, and this halve the bulk of the product. The rice-mill installed at Essiama, in the Western Province, was at last doing well, and it was estimated that by 1930 it would handle paddy to its full capacity of 700 tons, while with imports rising to £180,000 there was a good future for local rice. The coconut plantations were yielding well, but the climate of the Western part of the Colony made it difficult to keep copra dry after its first preparation. Efforts were being made to stimulate the production of palm-oil, and, while it had been proved that there was no prospect of success with large factories, the installation of smaller units, as proposed by the Niger Co., seemed to offer more hope of success, and the Company's request for a subsidy was therefore receiving consideration. The lime plantations at Abakrampa seemed likely to be very successful, and Mr. L. Rose, of the well-known firm of manufacturers, confirmed the report of the Agricultural Department that the yield was better than in the West Indies. He promised to erect a factory this year, but Sir Ransford reminded his hearers that although the Gold Coast might become a major supplier of lime products, the world's trade in this respect was not a very large one. The experiment with sisal showed no signs of meeting with ultimate success, for local apathy remains unchanged, and thanks partly to a breakdown in machinery and partly to the small acreage served by the factory, there was a loss of £5,297 on the year's working. At the best, Sir Ransford said, the revenue with the present acreage would only cover expenditure, although, if capital charges were excluded, there would be about £10 per ton profit. It was intended, therefore, to carry on until the mill was worn out, and then to close down.

There was little that is new to be said regarding the proposed co-operative societies. A senior officer is to go to Ceylon and Madras this year to examine the movement in those countries, but no definite step would be taken without the fullest consideration. By the local mind, co-operation was regarded as an elaboration by the Government of a system of controlling and marketing cocoa, and until this assumption disappeared Sir Ransford considered that it would be difficult to found any real scheme of beneficial co-operative societies.

The position regarding forestry reservation was in reality somewhat better than the bare figures showed. Last year, Sir Ransford reported 700 square miles of reserves. This year the area was 1,187, which, however, is still but a small proportion of the 6,000 square miles desired. Nevertheless, the protective chain against the extension southward of the savannah forest was nearly complete, and the chief danger to the cocoa areas now lay in the encroachment inland of the coastal savannah belt, against which little could be done, owing to the density of the population in most of the area, and to the change in ownership from stool to individual tenure.

Sir Ransford's survey of the educational position followed closely that of the Departmental Report on Education, recently published, [reviewed in WEST AFRICA last week]. The danger of a setback through the introduction of a new Education Ordinance had been examined by a committee, which had recommended the institution of rural schools, ending at Standard III, in which local men of good character would give instruction in the vernacular. In addition, a special short training course, of two years instead of four, was suggested for rural teachers, with the re-opening of the teachers' examination to selected unqualified candidates. Sir Ransford anticipated criticism in regard to the introduction of vernacular schools, but it is to be hoped that this one point will not blind the educational authorities to the wider fact that the recommendation is a vindication of the opinion that considerably less than half an educational loaf is better than no bread, an opinion constantly urged by WEST AFRICA. Sir Ransford expressed regret that the success experienced by evening classes at their inception last year had not been maintained. It seems likely, however, that were a frank interchange of opinion with parents possible, the reason would prove to be a social one, rather than a disregard of opportunity, especially since there was a great demand for education in the day schools, a demand which had extended to the higher education for girls. In regard to Achimota, Sir Ransford directed most of his attention to the proposed constitution, particulars of which have already appeared, and an appendix to his address gave the Principal's last progress report, showing the extremely practical lines on which the institution is seeking to link school life with local life and needs. The total number of scholars in Achimota was 406, 55 of them girls, the kindergarten and lower primary schools taking 170, the upper primary 44, and the secondary 49, with 140 student teachers and 3 university students. An opinion had been expressed that the secondary school fees were too high, but for £50, Sir Ransford showed, the Gold Coast scholar was obtaining educational facilities for which he would assuredly be charged £200 in England.

Education in the Northern Territories attracted special commendation during the year, both the Government Trade School at Tamale and the schools of the White Feathers at Navrongo, carrying out work that was well in advance of similar work further south. Sir Ransford quoted extensively from a report by the Rev. A. G. Fraser, who found that the presence of adults, even with infants, in the schools of the more primitive areas was all to the good, as it was these progressive persons who were quickest in breaking down opposition to education, and formed the source of the first teachers. The English Church Mission hoped to open schools in the Northern Territories in 1931, and in the meantime a possible risk of stagnation would be removed by the amalgamation of the Northern Territories Education Department with that of the Gold Coast, so that in future there would be one policy, but two codes.

ASSOCIATION OF WEST AFRICAN MERCHANTS.

MR. FAIRLEY'S COMMENTS ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS.—SIR EDGAR SANDERS THE NEW CHAIRMAN.

The annual meeting of the Association of West African Merchants was held at the Association's office, India Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool.

Mr. Thomas Fairley, of Messrs. John D. Fairley, Ltd., Manchester, the retiring chairman, said, in the course of his address :—

I propose firstly to deal with the important question of land tenure. We all know that it is of absolutely vital importance that a policy should be adopted by the Government which on the one hand will protect the Africans from exploitation and damage to their rights and privileges, and on the other hand will encourage wise investment of capital for new and progressive schemes, without which no country can hope to develop. The Association has this year discussed the difficulties relative to the

leasing of trading plots at Makurdi, and in general has stressed the importance of revising the system of the leasing of land to European firms with the object of doing away with auctions, premiums, short-term leases and frequent rent revision, and the inconsistencies, up and down the country, of these charges, and we have proof that our representations are receiving the closest attention of the Government. The Government has spent large sums on the development of roads, railways and ports and an increase of merchant enterprise is very desirable in order to consolidate and make good use of the new facilities. But the Association feels that its members cannot go forward until the anomalies and disadvantages of the present system are revised, to give more security for the investment of capital in buildings and plant.

The Association has discussed the form of lease put forward by the authorities for Takoradi and considers that in its present form the lease demands compliance with the details of a building programme in excess of the probable requirements of the district for many years to come. Details of the provisions of the lease are at the best somewhat severe. The lease has already been amended at the representation of the mercantile community, but we feel that further representations should be made before we can recommend our members to enter into agreements to take sites from the Government.

Regarding the Lagos Town Planning Bill, now that the measure has been passed, we trust it will work as smoothly as such a big scheme can be expected to.

The question of the more scientific extraction of palm-oil, in so far as the plans involve the setting up of mills, can be dealt with under the land question. It is clear that sooner or later mills and factories are bound to come, and the manner in which the Government propose to subsidise the first of these is in the opinion of the Association an excellent augury of their sympathetic encouragement of all such schemes for the future prosperity of the country. As I have indicated before, the merchants need tangible security for the expenditure of capital works in an undeveloped country like West Africa, and we are all sure that, given further security in a revised system of land tenure and in the extension of such facilities as they offer for the subsidising of the erection of oil mills, an era of progress of enormous benefit to African and British enterprise alike is bound to result.

To turn now to the question of produce production and disposal, the discussions of the Association through the year have brought out the importance of four factors necessary to successful export and marketing of absolutely first-class produce, able to compete with the produce of other countries. These four factors are education of the producer, great care in buying, efficient inspection, and sound marketing. Without education of the farmers, we cannot hope for really high-grade produce. Take palm-oil. The mills above mentioned would give us purity, but they can only be worked if the farmers bring in a plentiful supply of fruit from carefully-tended palms, gather the fruit with care and bring it to the mill when fresh. Our members feel that knowledge of these essentials and the fact that the farmer can increase his income by supplying fruit to mills instead of making oil and extracting the kernels himself, must be disseminated in line with, and not follow, the erection of mills. The Government obviously realised this, as evidence the offer of a subsidy to tide us over the difficult initial stages. But we feel that this help is not quite enough to make a reasonably successful start, and that some sort of instruction and education of the farmers should be proceeded with at once. A difficult matter, admittedly, but we think none the less essential.

The Association has dealt with the careless decortication of ground-nuts, and asked the Director of Agriculture to broadcast amongst the farmers the fact that we were not satisfied that every care is taken to keep the adulteration by shell and dirt and broken nuts to a minimum. To this the Director replied that unless we could and did offer a good premium for well-prepared nuts he deprecated any attempt at interference, because he felt that to request the farmers to take more care without the promise of tangible reward would result in serious misunderstanding by the simple-minded producer of the exact nature of our requests, and possibly a falling off in the bulk of produce brought in for sale. The Association decided to review the matter later, but the Director pointed out a simple way to ensure the improvement of the quality of shipments, namely, a refusal on the part of the merchants to buy badly-prepared produce. He instanced as a proof of the success of such a plan the improvement in the quality of shipments of hides and skins, resulting in the recent employment of expert buyers, and the refusal to buy any but well-prepared and unadulterated skins.

Discussion on the improvement of the quality of cocoa shipments from Nigeria formed the principal item at a most interesting and helpful meeting with Mr. Faulkner. It was recommended that grading with premiums for the highest grade was the best method of showing the advantages to the farmers of carefully-grown and well-prepared cocoa.

To turn to the question of inspection of produce for a moment, the newly adopted standards for the three grades of cocoa as advocated by the Association, and the special marking of the bags for Grade 1, will, I am sure, be of immense benefit to merchants when disposing of their shipments, and will show clearly the benefit of inspection of produce in the broadest meaning of the term. The inspection of produce has been instituted throughout Southern Nigeria, and we much appreciate the readiness which the Government shows to co-operate with the merchants in the detailed working of the inspection. This is instanced by an exchange of correspondence between our Lagos committee and local inspectors, on certain details in the method of examination.

Regarding the marketing of produce of which the various contracts with the L.U.G.P.A. form the basis, in continuation of discussions last year the Association lately expressed its willingness to amend the palm-oil and palm-kernel contracts to meet difficulties regarding declarations against contracts, the period during which arbitration may be claimed and quantity and quality margins allowable. Certain suggested new methods of packing samples were carefully tried and reported on by our members and the results of the experiments went to show that there was nothing in the contention that better means than those at present used could be found. Discussions were held regarding the advisability of selling cocoa f.o.b. Nigerian ports, and while many members deprecated this practice the matter could not be brought to a definite conclusion.

The third heading covering the discussions of the Association during this year is that of transport. Our work has consisted mainly in correspondence with Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd., on a variety of questions, including (1) the disposal of sweepings, (2) the settlement of outward cargo claims, (3) charge for lightering produce at Lagos, (4) the Duala and Burutu services, and (5) reduction of passenger rates.

There is little to report regarding railway transport. The General Manager of the Nigerian Railway has agreed to revise the limits of liability for the loss of cotton goods and other merchandise on a scale more in keeping with their present-day value.

There are only two other matters of any moment to mention. The Association is always anxious to probe to the bottom any matter which affects the integrity and fair dealing of merchants with our African customers, and to this end is causing further inquiry to be made regarding the practice in checking the entry at Lagos of cloth under the Folded Woven Goods Ordinance.

May I say a word regarding competition amongst ourselves? Most of my predecessors have mentioned it, and although it is not so bad as it was I would like to make a suggestion. Each year we all hope that we shall not be overstocked. But we can only hope; we do not know. To my mind we suffer from lack of information of what is going to our market in a way that hampers no other market. At present we only know the yardage of cloth that is going into, say, Nigeria, after it has got there. If, now, every merchant knew what yardage of cloth the trade as a whole was buying for shipment during any given period, each merchant would at least have something on which to base his own judgment. This information could be given by an independent authority making up its tables from secret returns made by each merchant. And any such authority will tell you that the secrecy of the information supplied to it by each firm can be made absolute by the use of code numbers and the like. This theory, I am aware, is a counsel of perfection, and I leave it to more experienced men than myself to explore its worth or otherwise.

A vote of thanks was passed to the retiring chairman for his valuable services during his term of office.

Sir Edgar Sanders (the Niger Company, Limited) was appointed chairman of the Association for the ensuing year, and Mr. John Holt (Messrs. John Holt and Co. (Liverpool) Ltd.) was appointed vice-chairman.

Fort Hare Results.

We heartily congratulate Professor Alexander Kerr Principal of the S.A. Native College at Fort Hare, and his staff, over the good results obtained by their students at last year's examinations. In the results we notice that one Cape Town young man, Henry Gannon completed his B.A. degree whilst another man has but one subject to write. Five other students have entered on their final B.A. year whilst six others passed in the first year or Intermediate B.A. In the University matriculation five passed outright whilst five others obtained the aggregate and have to sit for only one subject more. Three others passed the College matriculation; four took the College diploma in Education, and six passed in various subjects of the National Commercial certificate.

A class has been, for the first time in the history of the College, instituted for the Master of Arts degree. One of the college lecturers was appointed an examiner for the B.A. in the University of South Africa. The college roll this year has already exceeded a hundred students, for the first time since the P.T.3. entrance test was abolished. The establishment of the new High Schools throughout the Union has resulted in over forty students joining the college with a Junior Certificate qualification.

We would once more appeal to our local councils to institute scholarships for assisting suitable students to get into Fort Hare and to help the Agricultural Show which has been fixed for Ascension Day, Thursday 9th May next.

May the Fort Hare college prosper abundantly.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE ON HILTON YOUNG REPORT

PROBLEMS OF CLOSER UNION.

East Africa in general, with special reference to the question of closer union, figured prominently in the House of Lords on Wednesday when Lord Lugard called attention to the Report of the Hilton Young Commission.

Lord Lugard.

Lord Lugard said the special importance of the report lay in the fact that the principal issues involved extended far beyond any single colony or group of Dependencies and that the conclusions which were submitted for the consideration of his Majesty's Government affected profoundly the whole system of internal administration, and, in some degree, the method of control and supervision which was exercised by the Colonial Office and by the British Parliament over these non-self-governing Dependencies. The issues dealt with were of Imperial magnitude, and the Commission arrived at conclusions and formulated principles of Empire-wide importance, transcending the particular controversies of this or that African Protectorate. If there was no settled policy in regard to them, if they were allowed to drift as they had been allowed to drift elsewhere, it would lead assuredly to grave consequences and, possibly, disaster.

The report endeavoured to indicate a policy which could be accepted by all parties in the State and continuously and consistently put into effect. All those who had devoted thought to conditions in India and South Africa must have felt how many of the difficulties in those countries might have been avoided by the exhibition of greater foresight in the past. In Africa there were Empires in the making, and they had a new opportunity, and he submitted that the well-considered procedure to be adopted on the presentation of the report of the Simon Commission should serve as a model on this occasion. The proposals of the Government on the report should be submitted to a Joint Committee of all parties in both Houses, and a delegation representative of every section of opinion in Africa should attend the Committee and frankly and fully develop their views and difficulties and co-operate in finding a solution in an atmosphere of good will and calm deliberation. Such a method seemed to him more likely to produce useful results than separate discussions in London and Africa or the despatch of a high official as third Commissioner, proposals which, at present, appeared to be in contemplation. No one would suppose that the Joint Committee would find a royal way out of the difficulties, but it would provide an unrivalled means of hearing the views of the African natives and the Colonial Office, with the Commissioners' recommendations as a basis for discussion.

Crown Colony Government.

The first issue which called for a verdict was whether the accepted form of Crown Colony government was suitable to these vast African dependencies. Perhaps the most salient feature of that system was the Legislative Council, in which, by progressive stages, the unofficial representation became an elected majority and culminated in some form of responsible government. But His Majesty's Government, in the State Paper of 1923, recorded their considered opinion that this ultimate objection was out of the question within any period of time which need now be considered, and the Commission endorsed that view. This was a question of vital interest to the next and succeeding generations, and it was a question on which the settlers, in their own interest, should not form a hasty judgment.

As to the maintenance of Imperial control and responsibility, the Commissioners showed that that control had not been effective in the past. They proposed the creation of a central authority on the spot. Whether the creation of such a local authority was the best means of attaining the desired object was open to discussion. That was not the occasion to comment in detail on the scheme proposed for East Africa. In the interests of East Africa and the Empire it was of importance that the decisions reached should include the cardinal principles of policy from which the Imperial Government would not swerve and not merely the machinery by which it was sought to give effect to them in East Africa.

Looking at the many methods of co-operation between the races suggested in the report, combined with the freedom allowed to each to follow their own traditions, it might reasonably be hoped that if effective Imperial control were maintained the different races would settle down without fear of a struggle for domination. In the past this country had shown itself pre-eminently capable of dealing with subject races in a state of tutelage, but had not shown equal ability to take count of the results of the educational and economic forces which it had set in motion. The chief merit of this report was that it boldly faced the issue now that we stood on the threshold of fresh developments in Africa. The manner in which the problems of East and Central Africa were dealt with might affect not only the future of the British Empire, but have reactions in the relations between the white and coloured races throughout the world. Without co-operation the task of the proposed High Commissioner would be practically impossible.

Lord Olivier's Views.

Lord Olivier congratulated the House upon having had the privilege of listening to a closely reasoned address from one whose knowledge on African questions was generally recognised. He supported the arguments that had been emphasised by Lord Lugard, who had shown that the question was much more than local, that it affected not only the whole of Africa, but the Empire, and that it was of the greatest importance to the future relations between Europeans and Africans.

These principles were equal justice, equal fairness, and equal opportunity between all races. The British position was one of trusteeship for the natives until they were able to stand on their own feet. These principles were not properly applied in all our colonies. The time had come for a clear and definite statement, backed by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, of British policy in regard to land, labour, and economic policy.

What was wanted was a definite declaration of Imperial policy. In the same way the regulations respecting forced labour of the natives were obscure and should be made clear. They also needed a clear definition on the question of taxation. It was not within the purview of the Commission to pay any attention to these things, but they did want a continuous application of proper principles, and this could only be done, as he thought, by having some continuous authority to keep one Secretary of State in line with another Secretary of State.

He did not know what was in the mind of the Government. But if any ambassador was to be sent out to have conferences with people on the spot as to what they would like and expect to have, the Labour Party could not possibly be bound by any agreement or understanding between such an ambassador and persons in East Africa who it was assumed might be disposed to make difficulties.

Lord Cranworth.

Lord Cranworth said he agreed with nine-tenths of the report, but he was not in agreement with it as a whole, and for this reason: The idea or assumption of the report was that in this vast area, as big as England, France, Germany, and Spain, and infinitely more productive as a whole, the native and backward races populating it should have a vested interest in that great territory. We must increase the white population there to give the natives a knowledge of agriculture, and our example and precept, but the idea of the report seemed to be that when all that had been done and the natives had become conscious of their power, the white settlers should pack their bags and go away. The British Empire might have been guilty of mistakes in its overseas policy, but it had done great work for civilisation, and much of the success of that work was due to the treatment of native populations.

Government's Reply.

The Earl of Plymouth, Under-Secretary for the Dominions, replying for the Government, paid a warm tribute to Lord Lugard's great services in Africa. As a matter of fact, the problems with which they were dealing were in a very large measure the result of the noble lord's work as a pioneer of civilised administration in Eastern Africa. Lord Cranworth emphasised that the Government had no intention of taking any definite action upon the recommendations of the report until there had been full opportunity provided both for discussion in this country and for ascertaining the views of those people who were most intimately concerned—namely, the various communities in Eastern Africa. The Government had always maintained that these communities had a right to have their views heard as to whether the recommendations of the report should be applied at all, and, if they were to be applied, in what way exactly that application should be made. It was this very point, as how best the communities in Eastern Africa could be consulted, that the Government were at the moment closely examining. It was clear that the result of such consultation could not be known within the lifetime of the present Parliament. In these circumstances he thought it would be considered premature for the Government to set up a Joint Select Committee.

The actual scheme for closer union by a series of stages which was suggested by the Commission was a very interesting one and presented quite novel features. These suggestions had already been the subject of discussion between Mr. Amery and the Governors of Kenya and Tanganyika, who came home specially for this purpose, and it was the view of the Government that these questions would need fuller consideration on the spot in the light, not only of the political considerations which affected the territories and the communities concerned, but also their bearing on administrative problems in those countries. As to the general principles which had been enunciated by the Commissioner for guidance in what was known as the "dual policy," the complementary development side by side in East Africa of the native and the immigrant communities, their lordships would agree that they were, in large measure, only an amplification of the principles which were laid down by the Duke of Devonshire in 1923 and by Mr. Amery in 1927, and to the extent that they were merely an amplification they were, of course, acceptable to his Majesty's Government.

Lord Buxton.

Lord Buxton said that whatever decision was come to was going to be of the most fundamental interest and paramount importance to these great parts of East Africa, and they wanted to secure, if it were possible, that it should not be a decision forced upon one party or the other, but that an agreement should be come to as to the fundamental principles which were to govern the future of East Africa. That could only be done by inquiry and investigation on the other side and by consideration on this side, and he was glad to hear from the Government that they were giving the matter their consideration. He was sure that no one in their lordship's House desired to cast any aspersion on the settlers in Kenya. They had made mistakes in the past, as they had all made mistakes, but, in principle, their object was the same as those of their lordships. They had done a very valuable work for the Empire, and he felt sure that they would look at this matter from the general point of view and not merely from that of their own local interests.

South African Native College Fort Hare.

EXAMINATION SUCCESSES, 1928

African
B.A. Degree.
Native Opinion

Third Year:—Gannon, H G (Cape Town: Logic II, Ethics II, Physics I.
Goetham, D S (Paarl) English III, Logic II.

Second Year: Joshua, W S (Kimberley): English II. Mathematics I. Education I, Zoology I.
Kay, M G (Miss) (Port Elizabeth): English II Psychology I, Ethics I Zoology I.
Nowana W M (Port Elizabeth): Ethics I, Zoology I.
Noah, J M Z (Umtata): Ethics I, Chemistry I.
Oldjohn, Isaiah (Molteno): English II, Ethics I, Chemistry I.

First Year: Accom, C F (Uitenhage): English I, Psychology I, Chemistry I, Physics I.
Gcwensa, A (Riverside): English I, Hist. I Zoology I, Ethics I.
Jolobe, J J R (Matatiele): English I, Psychology I, Ethics I, Zoology I.
Lazarus, A D "Dannhauser": Eng. I, Ethics I, Psychology I.
Molefe, G B "Waschbank": English I, Psychology I Ethics I, Zoology I.
Nikani, C (Miss) "Kentani": English I, Psychology I Mathematics I.

UNIVERSITY MATRICULATION.

Bopela, Pascoe "Phoenix": Class II.
Shembe, J G "Phoenix": Class II.
Moerane, Fraser K "Matatiele": Class III.
Mtimkulu, Laughton "Cape Town": Class III.

SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATE.

Ntshona, Nozipo (Miss), "King Wms. Town": Class II.

COLLEGE MATRICULATION.

Rev D T Magoba, Colesberg, Cape.
Rev L M Vabaza, Acton Homes, Ladysmith.
Rev J Hongo, Mcfarlane, Alice, Cape.

COLLEGE DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION

D S Goetham.
H G Gannon
Miss M G Kay
W S Joshua.

NATIONAL COMMERCIAL CERTIFICATE.

Mabandla, Z "Tsolo" Commerce.
Mahlati, G "Mt. Frere": Commercial Arithmetic, Intermediate English Intermediate History.
Molapo, P J "Leribe": Commerce, English Literature, Typewriting,
Ntlabati, [illegible] (Miss). "Hackney": Commercial Arithmetic.
Thamae, E J "Alice": Commerce.
Yako, Harvey "Umtata": Arithmetic, Intermediate English.

III.

CISKEI NATIVE COMMISSIONER

South African
Native Opinion
3/12/29
Vol. 4
No. 2283

A very representative gathering of the Ciskei Native Convention met for the first time the new Ciskei Native Commissioner (Mr. M. G. Apthorp) on Saturday morning 16th inst. there being present a few of the recognised chiefs and many headmen. The matter brought to the notice of the Commissioner was an apprehension entertained by the chiefs of the adoption in these areas of the powers held by the Governor General under chapter I (7).

The Natives through several speakers gave out what constituted the Bantu custom in the election of a chief and also the method employed in deposing a chief. After a sympathetic hearing Mr Apthorp succeded in setting at rest the discomfiture of he Natives by explaining that though the law gave such powers to the Governor-General there was no precedent in the Ciskei or Transkei of a chief having been appointed by the Government against the wishes of the people. In a Gazette published late'y the Government had "recognised" the chiefs originally appointed by the Natives themselves, and in no case had the Government ever deposed a chief. The object of the law was to prepare for extreme cases, proceeded Mr Apthorp, where a chief went into rebellion, and he gave the assurance that whatever step the Government took, the people would always be consulted.

With this assurance the Natives seemed to feel that their tribal custom in this regard would not be tampered with. The Chief Native Commissionor took the opportunity of introducing the President of the Native Appeal Court Mr J. M. Young to the native chiefs, and the spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding that prevailed foretold a promising future for the progress in native administration in these territories. Altogether the new Ciskei Commissioner has created a welcome impression that sympathy and consultation with the natives in all matters pertaining to crown location administration would be the keynote in his activities; a system we guarantee to ensure success and contentment, in contrast to former officialism.

Native Franchise Debate.

South African
Native Opinion
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The Union Assembly for the last ten days has afforded a golden opportunity of demonstrating the inherent voortrekker ideas the present-day backvelder has of the Native. The intellectual descendants of the early Dutchmen as represented by the Nationalist jingo, cannot rid themselves of the old slave-owning tradition, and in this respect they paddle in the same mud-pool with their back-veld brethren. Any weight of forceful argument thrown in by the Opposition in favour of a wider outlook is met by a volley of sarcastic replication, conspicuous by its emptiness of sound reason.

Last week the Premier immediately reduced to ntimated his being aware or the first time of the fact that Natives were antagonistic o the word "Kaffir" being alluded to them; but observe his remark uttered in place of an apology: "Mr. Tengo Jabavu apparently objected to the word "Kaffir." Very well, let him take up that attitude, but the fact is that the name 'Kaffir' is used everywhere all over the country." General Hertzog should have gone the whole hog and admitted that it was the vulgar European who used the term, and the latter invariably qualified it by prefixing "black" (black Kaffir) to distinguish the reference from a "white Kaffir." Still more amazing was the expression suggesting a revolution to gain a right. 'There is only one way,' says the Premier "by which the Native can get the vote in the North, and that is by means of a revolution."

Our "kind father" should know by now that there are other ways whereby Natives may obtain what they want other than by revolution, and he will find it poor consolation to wait for years for a revolution and to find that Natives' objectives had long since been attained by less barbarous methods. To heighten his contempt of Native Affairs, the Prime Minister said: "I challenge any Minister of Native Affairs honestly to do his duty by the Natives as matters stand to-day. He cannot: the House would not let him. The only manner in which a Minister of Native Affairs can do his duty by the Natives is by means of the Bill now proposed by me."

This sounds rhetorical, but absurdity when we remind he Minister of Native Affairs hat the same House in 1920 llowed him the method of attaining his desires by passing Act 23 of 1920 which laid down the principle of consulting Natives on questions affecting them. If there is any insincerity, it is that of failing for two years to carry out the 1920 Act, and coming back to the House to ask for further legislation with the hope of being trusted to carry it out.

Mr. A. B. Payn (Tembuland) struck a note we often sounded in taking exception to the Premier referring to him as "the Kaffir member." "If he (Mr. Payn) was to be referred to in that contemptuous fashion because he represented the Native areas, with how much respect would those members who were to represent the Natives exclusively be regarded?" Our argument has always been that the members would be looked upon with contempt as carrying the stigma of being 'white Kaffirs.'

Race Problem - 1929
Africa

NYASSA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

PORTUGUESE DECREE TERMINATES CONCESSIONS IN OCTOBER NEXT.

TERRITORIES TO BE UNDER MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT—A POSSIBLE APPEAL AND NEW AGREEMENT.

A Government Decree issued last Friday states that the concession granted to the Nyassa Company, whose territories constitute two districts under the Governor of Mozambique, will cease from October 27, 1929. The Portuguese employees of the company will be absorbed in the administrative services of the colony, and the territories will come under the administration of the Mozambique Government.

This Decree is evidently in fulfilment of the official notice given to the Nyassa Company last December, by which the Portuguese Government was to take possession of the territories of the Charter in October next. That notice came as complete surprise, and the company contended that, according to the opinion of Lisbon counsel, the concessions could not be terminated before March, 1938.

Our Lisbon Correspondent states in a message below that the company may appeal to the Supreme Colonial Council, and that there is a possibility of the renewal of the Charter if a satisfactory new agreement can be realised.

Below we give a translation of the Decree from the Portuguese paper "Diario de Noticias."

Article 1.—On October 27 of the present year the delegation of the attributes of the State conceded by the Government to the Companhia do Nyassa by the Decree with force of law of September 26, 1891, for the administration and development of the territories referred to in Article 1 of the said Decree, in the Act of Possession entered into in the town of Ibo on October 27, 1894, and in the Decree with force of the law of November 4, 1897, will cease. As from that date the said territories are to be re-integrated under the direct administration of the State, and the Colony of Mozambique will govern them in accordance with the dispositions in force in its organic charter, approved by Decree of November 20, 1926, and other legislation.

Article 2.—The measures of a legislative or administrative character which are in force in the territories of the Colony of Mozambique under the direct administration of the State shall become effective in the Nyassa territories on the date mentioned in the preceding article, integrally or with the modifications which may be proposed by the Government-General of the colony and approved by the Colonial Ministry, and whereby from that time there shall be considered as revoked all of a similar nature taken by the Companhia do Nyassa or by the Government at its suggestion during the regime of the concession which was made to it by the Decree with force of law of September 26, 1891.

Article 3.—The territorial area re-integrated under the administration of the State shall be divided into two administrative districts, which in turn shall be divided into not more than five "circumscriptions," the Government of the colonies having to determine, in the terms of its Organic Charter, the name, limits, and headquarters of these districts and "circumscriptions."

Provisionally the present administrative divisions of the Nyassa territories may be adopted, but in such case the "concelhos" shall lose this designation and shall be named "circumspections."

Portuguese Employees to Continue.

Article 4.—The Governor-General of Mozambique, after hearing the Government Council, will submit for the approval of the Minister of the Colonies the draft for the broadening of the staff of the colony in which it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind the requirements of the public services of the Nyassa territories.

The Portuguese officials of the Companhia do Nyassa at the date of the publication of this decree of recognised probity and competence may be, provided they do not continue in the service of the Companhia do Nyassa, provided for in the positions analogous to those which they at present hold.

Article 5.—To the colony of Mozambique will belong the receipts and expenses arising from the administration of the Nyassa territories, included therein those for the installation of the public services and payment to the Companhia do Nyassa of the amount to be spent on the acquisitions referred to in the next following article. For one and the others covering the time which will run to July 1, 1930, the Governor-General, after having heard the Government Council, will send a financial statement to the Ministry of the Colonies, in order that there may be authorised the opening of the necessary credit to cover any deficit which there may be.

Acquisition of Buildings, Etc.

Article 6.—The Government of the Republic delegates to the Governor of the colony of Mozambique, the faculty which it reserves to itself in Paragraph 1 of Article 29 of the decree of September 26, 1891, to acquire, by indemnity, the buildings of the Companhia do Nyassa applied exclusively and principally to public services, as well as any other properties, buildings, and works of public interest susceptible of revenue which the said company possesses.

1. The amount of the indemnity shall be determined in the form provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the said article.

2. In the absence of agreement, and it being necessary to resort to arbitration, it shall be held in the colony.

3. The absence of agreement or arbitral decision shall not prevent the said buildings and works passing under the possession of the State on October 28, 1929.

4. Payment of the indemnity shall be made immediately after the agreement or arbitral decision, there being deducted therefrom any sums which the company owes to the State.

Article 7.—Excepting the dispositions of Articles 15, 16, and 17 (less its sole paragraph) and paragraphs 8 and 12 of Article 21 and 28 of the Decree of September 26, 1891, in addition to what the present decree expressly requires observance, there shall be considered as revoked as from October 27, 1929, all the other dispositions of the said decree, as well as those of the decrees of November 12, 1891, March 9, 1893, November 4, 1897, and April 10, 1902, the Companhia do Nyassa being left to exercise its activities according to the general rules of national limited companies.

Article 8.—There is guaranteed to the Companhia do Nyassa, for the mines under exploitation, and while this continues, the concession dealt with in paragraph 4 of Article 29 of the decree of September 26, 1891.

Sub-Concessions.

Article 9.—There shall be considered as extinct on October 27, 1929, the sub-concessions of a temporary character made by the Companhia do Nyassa after the publication of the present decree in the "Diario do Governo," and as regards those which have been made prior thereto, as well as those of a permanent character, they may be cancelled by an order of the Governor-General of Mozambique if the illegality of the respective constitutive title shall be proved, or the lack of fulfilment of the obligations taken by the respective sub-concessionaires.

From the nullifying Order the person interested may appeal, in the general terms of law, to the Superior Council of the Colonies.

Article 10.—The Companhia do Nyassa will modify its statutes approved by the decree of March 9, 1893, in such a form as to be in complete concordance with the disposition of the present decree.

Article 11.—The Government will publish the decrees which may be necessary for the complete execution of the present diploma in those directions which exceed the legal powers of the Government of the colony of Mozambique.

Article 12.—Legislation to the contrary is revoked.

COMPANY MAY APPEAL.

Possibility of Renewal.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LISBON, April 21.

The Lisbon daily papers have published the contents of the Decree that will give legal form to the despatch of the Minister of the Colonies as regards the cancellation of the Charter in force at the Cabo Delgado Territories (Companhia do Nyassa).

It establishes October 27, 1929, as the date of the cancellation of the concession given by the State to the Companhia do Nyassa, as per decree of September 26, 1891. The legislation of the Mozambique Colony will from that date be extended to these territories.

The company may appeal to the Supreme Colonial Council against the cancellation of the rights of the Charter.

The Decree has not yet been published in the Government Gazette, and when published will only serve to make legal the decision taken by the Minister of the Colonies in December last.

It is, however, the opinion of many people in Colonial circles that the Charter may still be renewed if a new agreement is realised showing better advantages for the Government, which will certainly have to incur great expenses if the cancellation is carried out.

When the Cloth exchanges the pulpit for politics the result is seldom advantageous to either. Experience has proved this to be especially true of South Africa, where the predicant and the parson are too frequently disposed to take more than a detached interest in the political passing show. We are inclined, however, to make an exception of Dr. Carey, the Bishop of Bloemfontein, who has intrigued South Africa with a sermon on racialism. His Lordship, fully conscious of the dangers wrought in the country through the curse of racialism, hopes to eliminate this sinister monster in the people's midst by appealing to the British section to be more forbearing in their attitude towards the Dutch, and to respect the latter's natural wish to maintain their individual culture and traditions. For our part, based as it is on an intimate and long association with South Africa and its many problems, we have never discovered any attempt on the part of the British section to thwart in any way these ambitions. The subject is a somewhat thorny one, but even if Dr. Carey's views do not meet with universal endorsement they will at least be treated with the consideration that is due to anyone, like the Bishop, who has for many years shown himself to be a true friend of South Africa and a sympathetic student of its problems.

NIGERIA LETTER.

An Oil-Mill for Abeokuta.

During his visit to Abeokuta, Mr. E. J. Arnett made enquiries regarding the prospects for an oil-mill in Egbaland, for he said that if the fruit were available the Niger Co. would erect the necessary plant at a cost of £8,000. The replies received showed that everything depended on the increase in price that the people might expect for their oil, the Alake mentioning what apparently was the minimum that would be anticipated, namely, 20s. for two tins, the result of the extraction of 50 bunches. This price, however, would not include transport, which would have to be arranged by the company, and, apparently, the mill could expect to be working at full capacity only from January to June, for the remaining half of the year produced only sufficient oil for local consumption. It seems likely that this last factor, lack of continuous supplies, will prove the stumbling-block that it has been elsewhere, but the possibility of setting the oil industry on an organised basis is worth more practical consideration than it has hitherto received. Since the visit of Mr. Arnett the Nigerian Agricultural Department has carried out demonstrations among Egba villages, and has shown that even with small handpresses it is possible to obtain two tins of oil from 35 bunches, as compared with the 50 bunches quoted by the Alake. With the offer of this machine at £15 there is no reason why farmers should not co-operate in obtaining one per village, especially if the Government could see its way to encouraging the foundation of primary societies on the

...es of those foreseen in the recent Gold Coast Ordinance.

Nigerian Art.

The position of African art receives somewhat pessimistic notice in the latest "Nigerian Education Bulletin," the writer feeling that there is at present too much "European-isation," for even in Northern Nigeria African art does not flourish as it should at the arts and crafts schools, since art does not attract the same pay as the skilled trades, or, if it does, commercial firms are disposed to impose their own artistic standards on the worker. While it is easy enough on paper to suggest that drawing and other art instructors need to be more sympathetic to African forms of expression, and to say that Africans should be allowed to decorate churches and public buildings, it must not be forgotten that they are now surrounded with, and have a liking for, many European objects which cannot fail to influence their artistic aspirations, and that their own feeling would probably lead them to apply ornamentation of European type to a building that in its general lines is non-African. The danger in the encouragement of African art is that crudities which European helpers come to believe are almost necessary to it will be preserved, just as in the art of living many would have the African stick to methods, however uncomfortable they may be, which the stranger has learned to look upon as typical of him. What Africa needs is technique, and better instruments and tools, and although many interesting features will then disappear from his artistic work, it will lose none of its African flavour, as may be seen from some of the carving turned out by Catholic schools in the Congo, or by leather-workers and weavers everywhere.

Abeokuta and Child Welfare.

A child welfare centre has been established at Abeokuta by the conversion of the Native Administration resthouse, and has been placed under the charge of Miss J. McCotter, whose work in the official nursing service is well known. Miss McCotter, after retiring on pension, returned to Nigeria last November as a voluntary assistant in the Sacred Heart Hospital, built and ably managed by Father Coquard, and although her transfer to her new task has occasioned some speculation, it is evident that the qualities for which she was distinguished in her official work are inspiring the confidence of the women of Abeokuta, for already the demands upon the new centre are many.

Nigerian Statistics.

In an interesting lecture on the census at Lagos, the Government Statistician, Mr. S. M. Jacob, pointed out faults tending to show that when it was estimated that the error in the 1921 was placed as high as five to 10 per cent., it might easily have been higher still, for many areas were never enumerated, and in Ibadan, where a double count was made, the totals reported were 117,000 and 321,000, figures so widely divergent as to make both valueless. It is interesting to see that in the "good old days" of 1881, when the enumerators were paid at so much per head of population enumerated, the inhabitants of Lagos numbered 37,452, while 10 years later, despite much immigration, their number had sunk to 32,508, which seems to be due to the fact that the enumerators were then paid a fixed wage. It will no doubt be said that methods have improved since, but a recent experimental census in Lagos showed errors of between 11 and 23 per cent., so that the figures for more remote districts can hardly yet be regarded as satisfactorily accurate, especially when they are based on the confidential intelligence books of the District Officers. No doubt a considerable improvement may be expected in the near future from the incidence of direct taxation necessitating the compilation of more accurate records by the Native Treasuries, but until that time arrives the statistics of population, especially in the more crowded of the Southern Provincial areas, must be used only with the greatest care.

The Nigerian School Certificate.

Following the recent meeting of parents in Lagos, a deputation headed by Mr. E. O. Moore, interviewed the educational authorities, but without making much immediate progress. The deputation and the Board of Education were in agreement that the ultimate aim of local secondary schools should be the Oxford and Cambridge School Certificates, and not the Junior Locals, as at present, an agreement of opinion which shows how difficult in practice it is to get away from the modern ideal of an education that recks not of mere certificates—but whereas the Board of Education wish to replace the Oxford local certificate by a Nigerian examination carrying the student a form higher, the deputation thought it better to scrap the local examination and to provide no substitute, their view being that the grant of any certificate before Form IV (the school certificate) would merely lead scholars to limit their efforts. This view is a tacit admission that the junior locals are unsuitable, and also that a Nigerian certificate would probably be accepted by most of the pupils, so that the matter seems to have resolved itself into a misunderstanding, with a single important difficulty remaining. This is that although the Nigerian Government says that a certificate that is not accepted by the Home universities would be valueless, it cannot obtain that acceptation until it has been introduced, and an examination actually held to demonstrate its standard. In the circumstances, and since the examination is only regarded as a temporary step to the state desired by the deputation, the parents will no doubt withdraw their opposition.

Lagos Municipal Elections.

From the official posting-up of the date of the Lagos municipal elections, the result was a foregone conclusion, for in two wards there was no opposition to the nominees of the National Democratic Party, and in the third, Ebute Metta, Mr. H. King Paul, an independent candidate, was never considered to have a chance, as was evident from the articles in the most anti-Democratic papers. The three new members are, therefore, Messrs. Ayodele Williams and T. A. Doherty, barristers, and A. S. W. Shackleford, baker, and the ease of their victory shows once again the power of the only living party in the town. Naturally, it is said that the electors follow blindly where they are led, but those who know Lagosians well know that they are a difficult community to lead unless their inclinations lie in the same direction.

The Proposed National School at Lagos.

With education occupying so prominent a place in the eye of the Lagos public, it is not surprising that the form which is to be taken by the proposed local thankoffering for the King's recovery is to be that of a national secondary school, giving a course up to the London matriculation examination. At a general meeting presided over by Mr. E. O. Moore, the proposal was unanimously adopted, and £400, already tentatively promised, was increased to over £500. It is suggested that all who can do so should contribute £1 cash down or 24s. in monthly instalments of 2s., and the committee estimates that at least 30,000 of the inhabitants should be able to do this. There are, unfortunately, as Dr. Adeniyi-Jones pointed out, instances in the past of much less ambitious schemes coming to grief from lack of public support, but the present scheme not only seems to have fairly united support, but it attracts more general interest than was the case in days when education was regarded with suspicion, and not as one of the necessary aids to progress.

Christ Church Cathedral Chancel, Lagos.

The dedication of the chancel of Christ Church Cathedral, Lagos, on June 15, marks the completion of the first section of a building of which the foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales only four years ago. The cost of the part now brought into use, exclusive of gifts of furniture and equipment, is £14,500, of which some £12,800 has been collected from the local congregation,—a matter of considerable pride along a coast notorious for its incomplete churches. After the dedication by Bishop Melville Jones, who was accompanied by a procession of nearly 70 clergy, the sentences of dedication, were signed and witnessed by Sir F. Baddeley, Sir Kitoyi Ajassa, and Mr. Henry Carr, and a special sermon was preached by Bishop Oluwole, then within a few days of his 77th birthday. The membership of the cathedral chapter is as follows: Dean, the Bishop of Lagos; sub-dean, Bishop Oluwole; archdeacon, Rev. G. Burton; canons, Revs. M. S. Cole, S. C. Phillips, A. B. Akiyele, W. M. Peacock, and L. A. Lermon; and chancellor, Mr. H. Carr. There will also be 14 lay members, two nominated by the bishop, two by the synod, and 10 by the cathedral.

Tembuland Constituency.

Sir,—I desire through the medium of your columns to thank the many Native voters and workers who so loyally supported me in the recent Tembuland Contest.

The pity is that their efforts were not rewarded with success as they undoubtedly would have been, but for the 289 voters, who in voting for Mr Bunting, accomplished for Mr Payn that which he could not have done for himself.

I trust the lesson will not be lost and that they will remember in the future that only in unity does strength lie.

To my supporters I say "Ninga dinwa nangomso."

GORDON HEMMING.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The South African Native College was declared open by the Rt. Hon. General Botha, in the presence of a large and representative gathering of Europeans and Natives on the 8th of February, 1916. Thus, after many years, the ideal of a College for the higher education of the Natives of South Africa reached the stage of working realization.

As early as the year 1880 Dr. James Stewart of Lovedale recognized that if the desire for education on the part of Natives continued to grow, sooner or later it would be necessary to provide an Institution which would give an education, under Christian auspices, of University standard. In November 1904 Dr. Stewart represented this view to the Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission, of which Sir Godfrey Lagden was president, and when this Commission reported in January 1905, the recommendation was made "that a Central Native College or similar institution be established and aided by the various States for training Native teachers and in order to afford opportunity for higher education to Native students."

On the 28th of December, 1905, a week after the death of Dr. Stewart, a convention of Natives from all the States of South Africa was held at Lovedale under the presidency of the late Mr. J. W. Weir of King William's Town, to consider the steps that should be taken to give effect to the recommendation of the Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission. It was resolved to prepare a petition for presentation to the High Commissioner and the various Governments of South Africa, praying that an Inter-State Native College should be established.

In the years that followed much was done to enlist the sympathy of the Governments concerned and to obtain the support of the Churches and of the Native Races throughout the Sub-Continent. Much is due to the effort of the late Hon. J. W. Sauer, General Sir C. P. Crewe, and Senator the Hon. Colonel Stanford. An Executive Board appointed by the Conference of Representatives of the Guarantee Fund met for the first time on the 3rd of October 1907, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. James Henderson, M.A., Principal of Lovedale. The interest of the Natives in the scheme was manifested by the grant of £10,000 made by the Transkeian Territories General Council in the same year. The United Free Church of Scotland offered a site at Fort Hare as part of a contribution of £5,000, and other contributions were made or promised.

In 1908 a Select Committee on Native Education appointed by the Parliament of Cape Colony reported in favour of support being given to the Inter-State College but owing to the large political questions engaging the attention of statesmen both before and after the passing of the Act of Union in 1910, the College scheme suffered delay:

Meanwhile, with the capital already available, a property adjoining the site at Fort Hare promised by the United Free Church of Scotland had been purchased. The whole formed compact block with buildings suitable for staff housing and capable of adaptation to allow of the carrying on of the College until such time as permanent buildings might be erected. The site proposed for the future College Buildings was the historic one at Fort Hare, on which the lines, trenches, bastions and block house of that important military station, the largest on the frontier, are still clearly visible. From the site the ground slopes away to the Tyumie River which girdles the lands now occupied by the College Farm.

In November 1914 an important step forward was taken when the Constitution of the College, which had been submitted in draft to the contributors and various bodies interested finally adopted. The Council of the College established under the Constitution, held its first meeting in January 1915, and took over the funds hitherto administered by the Executive Board. The Council decided that the site offered by the United Free Church of Scotland was suitable for the purpose of the College, which, in view of the incorporation in its foundation, was hereafter to be called THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE COLLEGE." The Government of the Union of South Africa pledged its support by promising an annual grant and appointed its representatives to the Governing Council, a step that was also taken by the University of the Cape of Good Hope and the various contributing bodies.

In February 1916, as already noted, the College was declared open by the Prime Minister of the Union, and classes were inaugurated on the 23rd of the same month with a roll of twenty students, drawn from all the provinces of the Union and from Basutoland.

In 1917 the Governing Council approved of plans which had been prepared by the Public Works Department of the Union. The scheme makes provision for the gradual development of the College through a long series of years.

In 1918, the Union Government placed upod the loan estimates a sum of £10,800 for the erection of the middle portion of the main tuition block which the Governing Council unanimously agreed to associate with the name of Dr. Stewart. The loan was passed by Parliament and thus, in spite of the difficulty of war conditions, the erection of the permanent building of the College was ensured.

In the same year the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa which had been interested in the scheme from its inception determined in Conference to proceed immediately with the erection of the Hostel to accommodate students belonging to that denomination and, availing itself of opportunities provided by the Governing Council, resolved to transfer its Theological Seminary for Native ministers to Fort Hare.

In 1919, the Administration of Basutoland intimated its intention of contributing an annual grant of £300 to the funds of the College, and of sending a representative to sit on the Governing Council of the College.

In 1920, the erection of the Wesleyan Hostel and Warden's Residence was begun and the Warden was appointed to the Staff. The Hostel was completed in 1921.

In the same year the church of the Province rented a house as temporary hostel and their Warden also appointed to the Staff.

In 1920, also, the first portion of "Stewart Hall" was completed and taken over for teaching. This was opened by the Rt. Hon. F. S. Malan, Minister for Education on the 8th day of January, 1921, in the presence of a large gathering of Europeans and Natives.

In 1923 the College was incorporated under the Higher Education Act (No. 30 of 1923). By this Act the Government of the Union of South Africa is entitled to nominate four representatives to the Council instead of two, while the Senatus, or Board of Studies, obtains two representatives for the first time. The Governing Council which had fashioned the policy of the College since 1916 and had seen it through the uncertainties of its early days held its last meeting on the 30th August, 1923, when certain alteration to the constitution necessary to bring it into line with the provision of the Act were passed.

In 1923 the Presbyterian Hostel was erected on a site granted to the United Free Church of Scotland in 1919. It was occupied in February, 1924.

In 1925 the Foundation stone of Assembly and Dining Hall was laid by the Hon. the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, and an extension of Stewart Hall was undertaken.

In 1926, for the better prosecution of the Agricultural Training given at the College, an additional farm of 1250 acres was purchased, and adequately stocked with dairy cattle. The College Farm land was thus brought up to a total of 1660 acres (approx.) and room for expansion secured.

In 1926 also, £1500 being the balance of a donation promised in 1906 on condition that £50,000 of capital was raised, was paid over by De Beers Diamond Syndicate.

THE MYSTERIES OF ZIMBABWE.

Referring to our Editorial appeal two weeks ago, in which we desired practical co-operation from any generously interested friend to facilitate the much-needed aerial survey of the valley containing the ruins of the great Temple, the Acropolis, and other well-known ruins in their environments we have reason to think the matter is being seriously considered and hope to give further favourable information on the subject in an early issue. Meanwhile, further very interesting news has reached us by mail, proving that both the Frobenius Expedition and the preliminary work being done by Miss Carton Thomson are likely ere long to give some surprising results. The remarkable theory presented in 1910 with rather unconvincing details by Professor McIver to the effect that great Zimbabwe was constructed by Bantus or other natives not more than five centuries ago is likely shortly to receive its final quietus. Certain tablets are stated to have been found recently with Egyptian hieroglyphic lettering, carrying the seal of Thutmos III., who ruled the Nile Valley some 1450 years A.D. The numerous soap-stone images, known to represent the birds sacred to the Phœnician goddess Astarte are another likely Oriental indication of the religious cult of the ancient builders. Is it perhaps possible that a great pre-Bantu African native nation lived in Southern Rhodesia, who were visited thousands of years ago by ancient Egyptian and other Eastern Mediterranean nations with a view of trading for gold, ivory, and gems? Every day makes the mysteries of Zimbabwe greater, but very shortly a great and surprising announcement may be made on this truly most intriguing puzzle on the Sub-Continent.

FLOGGING A WHITE MAN.

There have been so many flagrant miscarriages of justice in similar cases in the Transvaal, says our contemporary "Truth," that the conviction of a white Jewish farmer at Bethal for thrashing a native to death was in itself calculated to cause a sensation. Time after time, in spite of the clearest evidence and the strongest judicial admonitions as to their duty, juries have acquitted white men accused of killing or grievously injuring black servants. In the case at Bethal, described by Mr. Justice Solomon as "horrifying in its cruelty," the prisoner was acquitted of the charge of murder, but found guilty of culpable homicide, and sentenced to seven years' hard labour and ten lashes. It is not surprising that the inclusion of flogging in the sentence has created an even greater sensation than the conviction. Mr. Justice Solomon expressed the opinion that inasmuch as the prisoner heartlessly inflicted terrible pain on his wretched victim, his punishment would not be adequate unless he was also subjected to physical pain. "Truth" thinks that on this occasion Mr. Justice Solomon allowed his natural indignation to get the better of his wisdom. The execution of that part of the sentence has been suspended by General Hertzog, and it might well be remitted, leaving the prisoner to serve the seven years' imprisonment. Thus far our influential contemporary. We venture to disagree, and have no hesitation to say that if the cabled details as to the tortures inflicted by the guilty individual on the native are correct, the sentence was in common justice thoroughly deserved, and that it will stop future terrible indulgences of this kind for once and all.

UNREST IN NIGERIA.

The latest reports from Nigeria show that the unrest reported to have broken out in the Calabar District is local, and is not likely to spread. The cause is stated to be a change in the method of assessing the direct taxation, which caused considerable trouble in several parts of the country when it was introduced two years ago. As the people of this district are among the most backward tribes in Nigeria, their resentment at direct taxation is not surprising. The tax-collector, nowhere popular, is regarded by such people as a spy and extortioner. His demands for a fixed amount, to be paid in coin on a given day, are much more burdensome to a primitive people, who have only recently begun to learn the use of money, which is consequently scarce among them, than would be the payment of a larger sum in kind, with latitude as to the date of payment, such as they have been accustomed to make to their Chiefs. The troubles in Lagos over water and other rates should have prepared the authorities to expect similar disturbances among these backward peoples, among whom there are no educated natives to direct the expression of grievances into constitutional channels. They know of no remedy save the violence with which they have been wont to oppose unpopular acts of their Chiefs, and have no conception of the power they are provoking, so they break out in disorders which have to be suppressed. We can only hope that the toll of life exacted by this instance of bureaucratic pressure on the Native Administrations, which are represented as the immediate causers of this unrest, has been small. It is to be regretted that, according to latest advices, eighteen lives should have been lost in restoring order, but it would not be judicious to comment on this regrettable incident until full details reach us by mail.

Race Problem - 1929

Liberia

Africa.

STATE
COLUMBIA, S. C.

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"Liberia As I Know It."

Liberia is far from being singular among foreign fields in that missionaries are there constrained by circumstances to make practical accommodations between the precepts to which they are committed and the practice that presently and on the ground appears feasible. The Rev. Clinton C. Boone, M. D., a North Carolina Negro who has labored 20 years in Africa, and was recently in Columbia, really need not have been quite so apologetic as he seems, in his book, "Liberia as I Know It," which explains, ingenuously and withal persuasively, the adaptation which experienced workers like himself regard as necessary.

Replying, apparently to criticism from the United States directed at the attitude held by the dominating immigrant element toward the aboriginal majority, Doctor Boone says: "The civilized Liberian, to maintain his standing as a light and a ruler of the country, must live in some way aloof from the people he governs." And elsewhere: "In daily contact with the heathen nations, one must fight to keep above the native tide of polygamy, witchcraft and moral lethargy. ... It is not easy for us, who have been brought up under Christian influences, to understand the intricate and vexing question of polygamy. ... The laws of Liberia countenance polygamy, and all the natives practice it." "The civilized are permitted to have housekeepers," naively adds, "so that the church has a tremendous effort to maintain the standard of monogamy." "'Big city out there does not mean that you are at all isolated from heathenism, for wretched, uncivilized, poor, half-nude, dejected aborigines wander through the streets of Monrovia, 'unwept, unhonored and unsung.'"

Manifestly, the little fringe of sophisticates along the littoral has a continual stand to make against being absorbed, overwhelmed, by the hordes of autochthones pressing from behind. Perhaps the enlightened world has expected over-much of the American Negroes domiciled there: who shall say but that they have rather well acquitted themselves, in maintaining an orderly, continuous, on the whole an honest government through all these years, in the immediate presence of a vast savage population, which might readily have mopped them up, as fresh blotting paper takes up ink?

Never has the Liberian "civilized" group suffered its realm to "reel back into the beast." If there has been inefficiency in practical concerns, as notoriously there has been, let it be remembered, in partial explanation, that the Negro republic has at all times been preoccupied with urgent political problems, notably the maintenance of its boundaries against pressure from all sides, not a little of it from adjoining British and French colonies.

Doctor Boone, patently a "practical" man, keeps to himself any misgivings he may feel (this is not to say that he has any) regarding the possible eventual domination of the Liberian government by the great Firestone rubber planting interest. Doubtless he knows that seldom have white men adventured such heavy commitments in backward areas without intriguing for and ultimately obtaining effective control over the local governmental machinery, as a matter of "practical" management. So great are the social and economic benefits expected through this rubber development, with associated activities, that he is willing to incur for them such risk of political manipulation as they may involve.

Liberia Going Forward Fast, Says Dr. Taylor.

London, August 12.—"If I were still a young man, with my way to make in the world, I should unhesitatingly go out to Africa," was the statement made to me by Dr. R. R. Taylor, vice principal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, the great Negro Educational center founded by Booker Washington. He has just arrived in London after a visit to Liberia and the Gold Cost. He received a special invitation from the President of Liberia, to give the Negro republic the benefit of his experience and advice concerning the foundation of a Liberian Tuskegee, for which a sum of $75,000 was recently left by the late Miss Olivia Phelps-Stokes, of the well known American family whose members have supported so many schemes for Negro progress.

"The International development of Liberia is proceeding fast," said Dr. Taylor. "There are larger appropriations for schools than ever before, and the late Mr. James L. Sibley, the American who is the Educational Advisor of the Government, whose tragic death has just occurred, had their complete confidence. These schemes and the building of excellent roads, are now possible, President King explained to me, now that border problems and the hostility of the people of the hinterland are questions of the past. The activities of the "Firestone' interests, who have already developed about 55,000 of the million acres assigned to them, have stimulated a number of the Liberian people to plant rubber also, and there is also agricultural development in other directions.

"There is great enthusiasm for the idea of a Liberian Tuskegee among all of the three sections of the community, the Americo-Liberians, the natives and the Europeans. I was able thoroughly to recommend the preliminary choice of a site at Kakata, situated on the fine motor road which is being driven through the country, at a point about 46 miles from Morovia, the capital. It is thus easily accessible, and is in the center of a thickly populated district, while it is also at a spot where the territories of three tribes, the Bassa, Pesseh and Golas, meet. It is on rolling ground, is well watered and the soil is good and will do excellently for agricultural development and experiment. I have little doubt that the scheme will be approved by the advisary board in New York to which I am reporting."

Dr. Taylor also paid a visit to the Gold Coast, where he was entertained by Sir Ransford Slater, the British Governor. He is very much impressed with the progress being made at the Prince of Wales' government College, at Achimata. "Principal Fraser and his staff have gained the complete confidence of both the Africans and the Europeans," he said "The period of suspician has been outlived, and most of this is due to the influence of the late Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, whose memory is revered throughout the community from the Governor to the smallest children. I was very much impressed too by the favorable attitude on the part of the Africans to the British administration, as well as the sympathetic attitude of the officials toward the Africans. I found there no word of bitterness or hostility. The Africans, too, all seem eager to learn, and the fact that they can own their own land gives them a self-respect which is most important."

An architect by profession, Dr. R. R. Taylor has been asked to draw up the plans for the Liberian college buildings when he gets back to the United States, if his recommendations are accepted.

PROGRESS IN LIBERIA.

Vice-Principal of Tuskegee's Report on West African Conditions.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

"If I were still a young man, with my way to make in the world, I should unhesitatingly go out to Africa," was the statement made to me by Dr. R. R. Taylor, Vice-Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, the great negro educational centre founded by Booker Washington. He has just arrived in London after a visit to Liberia and the Gold Coast. He received a special invitation from the President of Liberia to give the negro republic the benefit of his experience and advice concerning the foundation of a Liberian "Tuskegee," for which a sum of $75,000 was recently left by the late Miss Olivia Phelps-Stokes, of the well-known American family, whose members have supported so many schemes for negro progress.

"The internal development of Liberia is proceeding fast," said Dr. Taylor. "There are larger appropriations for schools than ever before, and Mr. James L. Sibley, the American who was the Educational Adviser of the Government, and who has just passed away, had their complete confidence. It is difficult to believe he is gone, for it was only just over a fortnight ago since he gaily waved good-bye to us from the surf boat as we left Monrovia. These schemes, and the building of excellent roads, are now possible. President King explained to me, now that border problems and the hostility of the people of the hinterland are questions of the past. The activities of the American Firestone interests, who have already developed about 55,000 of the million acres assigned to them, have stimulated a number of the Liberian people to plant rubber also, and there is also agricultural development in other directions.

"There is great enthusiasm for the idea of a Liberian Tuskegee among all of the three sections of the community, the American-Liberians, the natives, and the Europeans. I was able thoroughly to recommend the preliminary choice of a site at Kakata, situated on the fine motor road which is being driven right through the country, at a point about 46 miles from Monrovia, the capital. It is thus easily accessible, and is in the centre of a thickly-populated district, while it is also at a spot where the territories of three tribes, the Bassa, Pesseh and Golas, meet. It is on rolling ground, is well watered, and the soil is good, and will do excellently for agricultural development and experiment.

Part of the Firestone plantations are within twenty miles of the proposed college, and Dr. Taylor believes this will also be a helpful influence. A feature of the modern methods in operation there, he added, is the fact that the concern has its own wireless station. There are also extensive electric light and ice-making plants on the estate, while the Africans are proving themselves most adept in the machine shops.

Impressions of the Gold Coast.

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An architect by profession, Dr. R. R. Taylor has been asked to draw up the plans for the Liberian college buildings when he gets back to the United States, if his recommendations are accepted.

Miss Davis Tells of Work Among Liberian Natives

Clad in the garb which she wore in the hinterland of Liberia—khaki shirt, riding breeches, knee-high leather boots—Miss Rebecca E. Davis, former Jeanes worker in the African republic, lectured to students of Tuskegee Institute, Sunday evening, September 29, on the manners and customs of the peoples of Liberia, and the resources and potentialities of the country. 10-12-29

Miss Davis has recently returned from Liberia, where she introduced educational methods among the rural schools similar to those which the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation sponsors among rural schools for Negroes of the South. Prior to her appointment to African service she had been a Jeanes worker in Tennessee, and social worker in the city of Cleveland.

"Liberia needs such a school as

Tuskegee Institute and men with the spirit of Booker T. Washington." Miss Davis said. "This is what we are trying to develop in the new Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute at Kakata where the youth of the country will be trained to become intelligent producers.

"The African is a race from whom the American Negro may well be proud to have descended. They are a fine looking people, stalwart and well-built, intelligent, and well-mannered. And in regions where they are untouched by white civilization ying and larceny are unknown."

Miss Davis paid tribute to the nemory of James L. Sibley, educational adviser to the republic with whom she was associated in her work, and who recently died of yellow fever, a martyr to the cause of education in Africa.

Miss Davis displayed some samples of the art work and home crafts of the west coast Africans. These included leather work, country cloth, ied and dyed pieces. She donned a costume which the native women usually wear.

Dr. R. R. Taylor, who had observed Miss Davis at work while on his mission to Liberia, introduced her as a woman of unusual courage and ability who had won the confidence of the people among whom she worked.

WHITE APPOINTMENT IS ONLY TEMPORARY

By LOUIS R. LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Appointment of Henry Carter, of the division of western European affairs of the State Department, as charge d' affaires to assume direction of the American legation of Monrovia during the proposed investigation of forced labor conditions in Liberia, involves no departure from the United States custom of maintaining a colored minister resident in Liberia, according to an announcement by the State Department last Wednesday.

Upon the completion of the investigation and the appointment of a minister resident, Mr. Carter will return to Washington and resume his duties as an officer of the division of western European affairs. A colored man is most likely to relieve him of his temporary assignment.

To Sail Shortly

Announcement of the assignment of Mr. Carter as charge d' affaires in Liberia was made by the State Department on November 12. He will sail for his post, it was said, shortly after his confirmation by the Senate as a secretary in the diplomatic service.

In the statement explaining his appointment, the State Department said that Mr. Carter will take charge of the American legation in Monrovia for the period during which the proposed forced labor investigation by an international commission is in progress.

Probe to Start

It is believed that the investigation, which will be carried out in Liberia, will be able to get under way shortly after the first of the year and will be concluded in June, 1930.

The State Department said:

"Reed Paige Clark and Clarence E. Macy, both white, served as charge d' affaires ad interim to Liberia, the former from February to December, 1926, and the latter from April to November, 1927."

LIBERIAN ADMITS SLAVERY EXISTS IN W. A. REPUBLIC

Natives Work on Roads Without Pay; Chiefs Get the Money.

SLAVE TRADING Writer in Liberian Paper Declares It's Legal.

MONROVIA, Liberia.—Liberians work on the road without pay and natives are shipped to Fernando Po, G. W. Gibson admits in a letter to the Liberia Times printed here.

Mr. Gibson's letter to the Times was a reply to the charges of slavery made by T. J. R. Faulkner, published several weeks ago in the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN.

Mr. Gibson says: "Well, insofar as natives being called upon to work on the roads, we all know that is true, and that is nothing strange. Has not Mr. Faulkner seen in every place in Liberia natives working on the roads without pay?" Native chiefs, he said, had agreed to this rather than pay taxes for roads. Despite this, according to Mr. Gibson, President King sent down to Monrovia and at one time got from the treasury department over "five thousand dollars and distributed it among the various chiefs for those who were working on the public roads."

BOYS SHIPPED LEGALLY.

Relative to shipping "boys" to Fernando Po, Mr. Gibson says. "All of us know that it is a transaction authorized by law, and sealed by contract or agreement. Whether we agree with the law, or not, is another question altogether."

The writer of protest regretted that Mr. Faulkner gave the impression that the people of Liberia were crushed by President King. He said: "Mr. Faulkner accuses our President and others of receiving money on these boys. Well, this is what we shall like to see him prove?"

WHARTON'S POST IN LIBERIA GOES TO CARTER

White Man Named as Charge d'Affaires by Stimson.

NOT MINISTER

To Fill Francis's Place After Slave Probe.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Henry Carter, now in the division of Western European affairs in the State Department has been appointed charge d'affaires of the American legation in Liberia, Secretary Henry L. Stimson announced last Saturday.

Mr. Carter succeeds Clifton R Wharton, the secretary of the Liberian legation, who has been the American charge d'affaires at Monrovia since the death of William T Francis, who was the United States minister resident and consul general on July 15.

The State Department has had under consideration the selection of a successor to Mr. Francis, but as yet President Hoover has not named anyone for the post. Mr. Wharton was mentioned in connection with the vacancy, with others, including Dr. Walter C. Quinn, a physician, of Plainfield, N.J., who heads an organization of 2000 voters and has the support of two N.J. senators.

Assist Slavery Probe

The appointment of a minister however, has simply been delayed until after the international investigation of forced labor conditions in Liberia. The State Department does not want a minister appointed while that investigation is being carried on.

The United States has a number of definite interests in Liberia, all of which the American minister must maintain and advance.

Missions

There are also extensive American missionary interests involving about 100 American missionaries, both white and colored, with an estimated investment of $500,000 and a yearly budget of $300,000.

Rubber

American capital is also entering Liberia on a large scale in the development of rubber plantations. An American concession permits the planting of 1,000,000 acres, which is now being developed at the rate of about 20,000 acres per year and at an approximate cost of a million dollars annually.

There is a $5,000,000 loan to Liberia placed in America and secured by American receivership of customs under the direction of an American bank and assisted by an American financial adviser.

Pay too Small

The salary of the United States minister resident and consul general is only $5,000 a year. Legislation authorizing an increase in the salary has been recommended to the Congress. The State Department is advised that the cost of living at Monrovia for a foreigner is even higher than it is in the United States and it is impossible for the American minister, unless he be a man of large means, to meet the requirements of diplomatic life and his family necessities on the small salary now granted.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

Liberia's Sudden Rise To Prosperity

That Liberia, "the little black republic on the west coast of Africa, sometimes referred to as Uncle Sam's 'foster-child'," is now rapidly "getting on its economic feet," is the contention of Lester A. Walton, Negro journalist and author, in April Current History. He says: "While a combination of forces may be accountable for this dawn of a better and brighter day, there can be no denying that the basic and motivating cause is the entrance into Liberia of the Firestone Company of Akron, Ohio, to cultivate rubber on a large scale. A $100,000,000 corporation was organized by the American concern which has been granted a million-acre concession by the Liberian government.

"By putting the republic's finances on a more stable basis, Liberian officials have been able to adopt a more comprehensive program for the development of its educational system. In the past the government has had no funds to establish public schools throughout the republic. Aside from a few institutions for coast groups, very little, if anything, was done to prepare the masses for native leadership. American colonization societies and mission boards have done conspicuous service in an effort to meet the educational needs of the people. Five years ago the Liberian government spent less than $5,000 for education. During the past year, through Dr. B. W. Payne, secretary of public instruction, $100,000 was expended. Not only are small public school buildings being opened in the coast areas, but in the interior. . . . Higher and secondary education and vocational training are taught the natives." As to the charge that Liberia was coerced by the United States Department of State into granting the Firestone concession, Walton quotes President King's emphatic denial that this charge had any basis in fact.

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN LIBERIA, HERE

T. J. R. Faulkner Admits Virtual Slave Traffic in West Africa.

KING IS BLAMED

President Gets $15 for Each Laborer Shipped Out.

Traffic in forced labor, amounting virtually to slavery, exists in Liberia, according to Thomas J. R. Faulkner, now visiting friends in Baltimore.

Mr. Faulkner was born in North Carolina, married a Baltimore girl and took her with him to Liberia many years ago. He is now a full fledged Liberian citizen and was a candidate of the People's Party for president two years.

Before coming here he travelled for several weeks in Europe and expects to return there some time next October.

Forced Labor

Mr. Faulkner admitted that Raymond Leslie Buell makes a correct statement in his new book, "The Native Problem in Africa," concerning the system of forced labor in Liberia.

As a result of this, Mr. Faulkner says, workers are leaving the country in large numbers rather than remain to be forced into slavery. The country is fast becoming depopulated.

A census, he said, would probably show that instead of 1,500,000 people in Liberia, the population is nearer to 800,000.

The System Explained

Explaining the system, Mr. Faulkner said,

"Natives are forced to work on the roads nine months of the year. They are compelled to furnish their own tools in this work and receive no compensation whatever.

"Not only are such natives required to furnish their own food, but the native chiefs are compelled to furnish the commissioner and soldiers with rice and palm oil free of charge or 25 hampers of rice and a quantity of palm oil while driving the natives on the work.

Chiefs Fined

"Upon failure of the chief to supply the demanded number of men, he is at once heavily fined and forced to pay cash or go to jail. Often these men are compelled to pawn their wives and children to get money to pay their fines.

"Natives are frequently whipped so severely on the roads that they die from injuries. No official report, however, is made, because of the high government officials implicated.

President King Involved

"Coupled with this condition of forced labor, is the more pernicious activity in the form of shipping laborers to the Spanish Island of Fernanda Po. This is carried on thru the office of the Liberian government and it is impossible to ask the courts, the legislature or any other official body to interfere.

"Spaniards pay $50 for each Liberian laborer they secure. Of this amount of money $15 goes to President King, $15 to the shipping agent, $15 to be divided among a number of petty officials and five dollars to the headman of the tribe who picks out the natives.

Officials Are Shipping Agents

"Allen C. Yancey, vice president of Liberia, is the shipping agent for the county of Maryland. Samuel A. Ross, postmaster general, is shipping agent for the county of Sinoe. These agents are appointed by King.

"Secretary of State, Edwin Barclay, gets 10 shillings and John L. Morris, secretary of public works, five shillings for each boy shipped.

"Former native African commissioner-general, Reginald G. Sherman, was dismissed from office by President King when Sherman protested against the traffic in laborers."

Hope Through People's Party

It is only through the People's Party, Mr. Faulkner said, that any relief can come to Liberia. President King is supported by the Whig Party.

In violation of the Liberian unwritten law, which is similar to the American unwritten law, President King has permitted himself to be re-elected for a third term.

He may seek to perpetuate himself in office.

He is able to do this, Mr. Faulkner said, because there are virtually no positions available in Liberia except government positions which the president controls absolutely.

21 Congressmen

Besides members of the cabinet, petty government officials and the court, Liberia has 21 representatives, and 10 senators who receive $2,000 a month for four or five weeks work.

The president, himself, draws a salary of $15,000, plus an allowance of $5,000 for travelling and various other perquisites, bringing his total remuneration to around $30,000.

Salaries Unpaid

White financial advisors, supervisors of custom, supervisors of internal revenue, electrical engineers and so on, all of them officials from America, appointed under the Liberian loan agreement, cost the government in salaries and maintenance $100,000 a year.

So great is the drain on the national resources, Mr. Faulkner says, that on May 23rd when he left the Republic, the salaries for April had not been paid.

Wholesale Voting Fraud

had no chance of defeating the Whig.

Mr. Faulkner said his own party party in election because of fraud, perpetuated by President King. He pointed out that in 1919 the voting strength of Liberia was 7,000.

"Legal voters are men past the age of 21, who own property in their own names, the deed and fee simple having been registered and probated. Without a deed no one can register and no one can vote who has not registered.

Votes Jump

"In 1923, Mr. King received 40,000 and his opponent Harmon, 7,000 votes.

"In 1927 the votes reached the amazing total of King 235,000 and Faulkner 9,000.

"Today there are not more than 10,000 voters in all Liberia and King is elected through the use of fraud, deceit and bribery.

"Col. T. Ellwood Davis, presidential aide, remarked he gave Mr. King 40,000 odd votes in 1923 and 200,000 in 1927."

Boxes Stuffed

Explaining the Liberian fraud perpetrated, Mr. Faulkner said that "men were permitted to vote as often as they desired over and over again. Tickets were stuffed into the ballot box before the polls opened, during the recess and after the polls were closed.

"After the polls were closed White tickets were put in and People's Party tickets were taken out.

3,000 Voters—72,000 Ballots

"In one county alone, there are only 3,000 legal voters. The register for the last election held, 32,000 names and votes as reported were 72,000.

"These ballot boxes when opened in the presence of the legislature contained thousands of ballots which had never been cut nor marked. All of them, however, were counted for President King."

Liberating Liberia

Discovery of peonage in Liberia, West Africa, which will result in an investigation by a subcommittee of the League of Nations, may well suggest to the Liberian electorate that the administration of President C. D. B. King has outlived its usefulness.

Peonage in Liberia takes two forms. In one case, natives are compelled to work on the roads nine months of the year without food or pay, and must furnish their own tools.

Natives who refuse to work are flogged, and chiefs who refuse to furnish workers, are fined.

The second form of peonage is virtual trading in slaves. Natives are kidnaped and shipped to Fernando Po (Spanish West Africa), where they are forced to work on plantations and roads.

This shipment of laborers is in violation of Liberian law, but is winked at by government officials who get $50 for each native sent out of the country.

President King is reported as receiving $15 of this amount. Under him, the vice-president of the republic, the postmaster general, and the secretary of state are shipping agents, who get $15 for each worker impressed in their respective districts. Various other smaller sums to petty officials in the counties make them willing to share in the traffic.

The Liberian republic founded as an asylum for Africans who had been enslaved against their will in the United States, has become a gigantic slave pen, not only enslaving humans itself, but using its governmental machinery to secure profit out of the slave traffic. History records no queerer turn of events.

For all of this, President King is responsible. He has violated Liberian unwritten law which (as in the United States) forbids a president from serving more than two terms. Through alleged fraud, Mr. King is now serving his third term in office.

President King, it is, who has insisted on a five-million-dollar American loan at the unusually high rate of seven per cent interest, bringing with it a flock of white financial advisers, auditors, and customs officials, drawing salaries and expenses estimated at $100,000 a year. These must be paid by Liberia in addition to the interest.

Mr. King has raised his own salary to $15,000 a year. He has seen to it that twenty-one representatives and ten senators draw salaries of $2,000 each for four or five weeks' work each year.

With a fine chance of getting the country upon a strong economic basis, founded upon the thrift, industry and education of the uncivilized natives, he has chosen to exploit them instead.

Extravagance, petty graft, election frauds and "the big stick" have taken the place of wise statesmanship.

If Liberia is to be saved, it will happen because its friends in America join with the real patriots in the West African republic in affecting a change of administration at the next election.

LIBERIA ASKS AN INQUIRY INTO SLAVERY THERE

Geneva, September 13.—(AP)—The African Republic of Liberia, which was largely established by American ex-slaves, today proposed to the League of Nations that a commission conduct an inquiry into the question whether slavery now exists there.

The Liberian delegate, Dr. A. Soppile, said his country would welcome an inquiry, adding that the American government had declared its willingness to participate. Soppile said that slavery did not exist in Liberia. His statement was made as the result of decision by the committee on technical organization to revive the slavery commission of the league, as proposed by Lord Cecil, of Great Britain, who asserted there are still 3,000,000 slaves.

The threatening situation in league circles created by the Chinese delegation seemed pacifically settled today when the program committee voted to refer to the routine course of business the resolution presented by Dr. C. C. Wu, aiming at the revision of "inapplicable treaties" as provided by the inactive article of the league covenant.

LIBERIAN ELECTION METHODS.

We have received a copy of an appeal signed by Thomas J. R. Faulkner and dated at Monrovia, December 6, 1928, in which he protests vigorously against the frauds which he declares were perpetrated in the last presidential election of Liberia. He started off by asserting that the "ponderous irregularities and frauds have not been forgotten nor the crimes of force, bribery and intimidation been forgiven." He demands reforms that are needed "to make the country safe for democracy" and denounces the padding of the registration lists by writing down the names of fictitious persons.

The situation as Mr. Faulkner finds it was described briefly as follows: A padded registration, by which it was made to appear that instead of ten thousand voters, there were 250,000, more or less. Evidence of this rotten condition, but no court that would investigate and hear the evidence, on the ground of lack of jurisdiction. A senatorial election coming on to be held under the same conditions. No newspaper press to give the facts to the public, because of intimidation of people and press by the present administration.

These are serious accusations to be brought against the government by a responsible member of the community like the signer of this appeal. Mr. Faulkner first went to Liberia twenty-five or thirty years ago to aid in the development of the country, and has remained there ever since, except for an occasional visit to this country, largely to secure machinery and engineering supplies. At one time he was in charge of a vessel that belonged to the Liberian government and installed a telephone and telegraph system. His appeal is directed to the citizens of Liberia, so it can be seen that he is not seeking foreign intervention.

If the figures quoted by Mr. Faulkner are to be credited, it can be seen that the leaders of the Whig party, who are accused of manipulating the votes, are adepts at swelling the majorities for their ticket. A few examples are quoted: Maryland county which has not more than 800 legal voters, polled 23,000 in 1923, the natives being called in to swell the vote. In 1927 instead of 800 votes, there were 54,000 in the boxes, Sinoe county has but 300 voters, but a return was made of 10,000 ballots cast. Bassa county may have 300 voters, but 33,000 were registered and 72,000 voted, according to the returns. Mr. Faulkner asks: "Can you beat this calculation?"

More figures of the same sort are given, showing the wholesale nature of the frauds committed, which it is claimed contributed to the reelection of President King. Mr. Faulkner clinches his contention that fraud was committed by instancing the arrest of the commissioner of election of Monserrado county a year later, on a charge of forgery in connection with the printing of the registration law and the registration of voters. The excess-that she is entitled to a high ive registration is accounted place among the nations. She for, because it brings moremight even rank with such money to the registrars, whoAmerican adepts in election are paid for the number offrauds as Pennsylvania or names entered. Mississippi according to this If the charge of fraud in elec-appeal.

LIBERIA AND FIRESTONE.

Recent issues of our lively weekly contemporary "John Bull," which can deservedly boast of a world-wide circulation, printing as it does over a million copies weekly, have indulged in some articles devoted to alleged slavery customs in the Republic of Liberia, and coupling therewith in intimate connection grave assertions reflecting on the great American Corporation known as the Firestone Rubber Company. Such charges deserve immediate attention, being not only made in a loose and unconvincing manner, but asserting an alleged state of affairs in connection with the methods to obtain labour supply for the Mount Barclay Rubber Plantation, which may at once be stated from our knowledge to be totally devoid of any foundation. The facts are that the Firestone Corporation, which took over the full rubber plantation at Mount Barclay, near Monrovia, after it had been created by British enterprise over many years, only to be seized without proper legal procedure by the Liberian Government, has developed this and other estates in the negro republic during the past few years in a magnificent manner and at a cost of millions of dollars, in the face of very great local difficulties. We are not going to enter into details to-day on the methods employed to obtain the labour supply for these estates. We know that as far as Firestones are concerned they are perfectly ready to face any investigation by the recently appointed Commission of the League of Nations at Geneva on the matter. We can go further and state that to our best knowledge Firestones invite every possible investigation by that Commission, and are confident as to the result of such investigations, no matter how severe, as to their own methods and everything they have done to date from the start in developing that rubber plantation industry of Liberia. It is only fair this fact should be given the widest publicity at this particular period—a most interesting one in the history of the negro republic, as the next twelve months will show.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS the Negro republic of Liberia has been under fire, because of the treatment accorded to its native populations. It is charged that the government compels natives to work on the roads without compensation and without limit as to time. It is likewise charged that natives are forcibly recruited in Liberia for the Spanish plantations in the island of Fernando Po, and that government officials, from President King downward, profit heavily from such recruiting. Finally, fears have been expressed lest the Firestone rubber plantations make use of the methods of recruiting which the government elsewhere follows. It seems that Mr. Firestone treats his men well once they come into his employ. Nevertheless, as long as he utilizes Liberian recruiters and makes use of government aid in procuring a labor supply many students of tropical labor believe that indirec compulsion and other abuses sooner or later wil become inevitable. When Mr. R. L. Buell made charges in regard to the Liberian labor situation in his book on "The Native Problem in Africa," the Liberian government made an abusive denial, which it repeated this June at the International Labor Conference. At first the State Department came to the defense of the Liberian government. But during the last few months evidence in regard to the Fernando Po and road situations has become so overwhelming that the State Department, we understand, only recently sent a sharp note to Monrovia declaring that these conditions must come to an end.

AS A RESULT, the Liberian government has announced to the League of Nations this week its intention to appoint a commission to investigate charges of slavery, one member to be appointed by the Liberian government, one by the United States, and a third by the League of Nations. The effectiveness of this commission will depend upon its personnel. It goes without saying that the Liberian representative will give the government a clean slate. In view of the charges made at Geneva regarding conditions in Liberia, there is every reason to believe that the League representative will insist upon a thorough investigation. The balance of power will, therefore, be held by the representative selected by the State Department. We hope that Secretary Stimson will name a competent and a courageous man.

Race Problem - 1929

Africa

Liberia

Dr. Charles Johnson Gets Hoover Position

Washington, D. C., Dec. 27. —Dr. Charles S. Johnson, professor of social science at Fisk university, Nashville, has been designated by President Hoover as the American representative on the international commission which is to investigate alleged forced labor conditions in that country, the state department announced last Wednesday.

The commission is to consist of one American, one Liberian and one member appointed by the League of Nations. The Liberian government proposed the commission after charges were made here that natives were being sent out of that country forcibly into a condition of virtual slavery and that government officials were sharing in the proceeds from the shipment of laborers into Fernando Po, a Spanish colony. The United States was requested to recommend a member to be appointed on the commission. It was in accordance with this request that Dr. Johnson was named. The inquiry will last four months.

The commission will determine whether slavery as defined in the anti-slavery convention of the League of Nations, of which the United States is one of the ratifiers exists in Liberia, whether the government participates in and encourages it, whether and what leading Liberians participate in the traffic what extent, if any, forced labor exists and whether the shipment of contract laborers to Fernando Po under arrangement with Spain or to the Congo or elsewhere is associated with slavery or forced labor.

The investigation will also cover the question of whether the labor employed for private purposes on privately owned or leased plantations is recruited by voluntary enlistment or is forcibly impressed by the Liberian government or by its authority. It will also extend to the question of whether the Liberian frontier force and other government officials are implicated in labor recruiting.

The commission will have authority to summon witnesses, whose attendance will be obligatory, and to make such recommendations to the government as it sees fit.

Dr. Johnson, the son of Rev. Charles A. Johnson, was born at Bristol, Tenn., July 24, 1893. He was educated at Virginia Union university, Richmond, Va., and the University of Chicago. He is regarded as an authority on questions affecting interracial relations and social science.

Republic of Liberia.

SCOPE OF SLAVERY INVESTIGATION.

International Inquiry to Last at Least Four Months.

The U.S. Department of State is giving careful consideration to the question of investigating alleged slavery and forced labour in Liberia, according to a statement by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, states the "Afro-American."

The international commission, which will make the investigation lasting four months will have a wide field to cover as a result of the conditions of the inquiry stipulated by the Liberian Government in communications to the League of Nations and the American Government.

As already announced, the commission will consist of three members. The Liberian Government is to appoint one member another is to be appointed by the Department of State, and the third by the League of Nations, according to information obtained at the State Department. Dr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary-treasurer of Howard University, was offered the American appointment, but declined.

The investigation was proposed following charges by Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner, an American-born naturalised citizen of Liberia, that the Liberian Government was engaging in forced labour in a way which amounted to slavery.

Part of the investigation, it is understood arises from the Liberian Government's desire to clear itself of the charges, especially in connection with various concessions granted to foreigners.

Is Contract Labour Slavery?

Liberia is asking the commission to determine whether slavery as defined in the League's anti-slavery convention, of which the United States is one of the ratifiers, exists in the republic, whether the Government participates in and encourages it, whether and what leading Liberians participate in the traffic, what extent, if any forced labour exists, and whether the shipment of contract labourers to Fernando Po under arrangement with Spain or to the Congo or elsewhere is associated with slavery or forced labour.

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This unfortunately was treated with contempt, and emboldened by this seeming weakness to enforce the law against him, or misplaced sentiment, he has taken the opportunity whilst abroad to scandalise the Republic and her leaders.

The gravamen of the charges are that slavery and forced labour exist in the Republic. As to these charges, we are in a position to state positively that they are devoid of foundation. Domestic slavery to the same extent as existed in Sierra Leone as recently as 1927 may be found in isolated places in the hinterland, but the clear wording of the Constitution prohibits slavery of every kind, and this system has no sanction whatsoever from the Government.

As regards "forced labour," it has been pronounced by the highest judicial authorities of the Republic that every man is free to offer his services as he may choose: and so convinced are the leaders of the Republic of the baselessness of the charges, that they have invited the League of Nations to appoint a Commission to enquire into them. We have no doubt that the result of this Commission will be to consolidate the position of Liberia in the Internatianal Councils. We do not share the view that there is anything which calls for any interference by America into the domestic concerns of the Republic, and we feel convinced that the same broad-mindedness and sincere interestedness which America has manifested in the affairs of Liberia will continue to characterise her relations and actions.

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Officials of the League point out that the charges originally were made in a book by Raymond L. Buell, an American, who hinted that the Liberian government was forced to resort to slave labor in order to meet the terms of loans advanced by powerful American corporations.

At the last League Assembly the representative of the Liberian government in the League of Nations' Council denied these allegations and demanded the appointment of a commission of inquiry. The general assumption here is that Liberia's demands have strong backing from the United States administration.

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Measure Had Been Passed in the Lower House. Liberian Newspaper Admits Afro-American Is Barred from the Mails

MONROVIA, Liberia, Shipment of laborers out of this country against their consent would have stopped last year, says a current issue of the Agricultural World published here, had the legislature acted upon a measure introduced by Representative Twe at its last session.

"This measure passed the House, shipment of labor from Liberia to any the World states, "but was tabled in country except to Fernando Po, to

"We expressed our regrets at the time, for it was our candid opinion on the table by the laying of the shipping bill the Senate spelt future criticism for Liberia."

The World reminds the Liberian is serious danger in permitting the

for right and if the the foreign press is charge made by the citizens who take the stand against practice of forcing boys to leave home against their will. We don't know if this is true, but the European detectives have been watching our shipping agents all the year and they report these things at the home office as eye witnesses.

AFRO not in the Post Office

"We hear of some criticism being made on Mr. Thomas J. R. Faulkner for a speech he made in America against forced labor. We can't comment on that speech, as our copy of the AFRO-AMERICAN was conspicuous for its absence at the local post office."

Race Problem - 1929

Africa.

Liberia.

NEW YORK WORLD

AUG 7 1929

ACCUSED of Maintaining Forced Labor in Negro Republic



CHARLES D. B. KING

SAYS NEGRO STATE ENSLAVES NATIVES

Citizen of Liberia Charges President Supports Autocracy

By Phil D. Stong

Liberia, founded by Americans in 1822 to provide a democratic refuge for Negro freedmen, has so far failed of its founders' plans that it is now virtually an unlimited autocracy which, through a system of forced labor, has re-instituted slavery, according to T. J. R. Faulkner, who is now in this country visiting relatives after more than thirty-five years in the African republic.

Mr. Faulkner was defeated for the Presidency of Liberia in the 1927 elections by Charles D. B. King, who is now serving his third term of four years in that office. "Defeated" is an understatement. The incumbent's majority was more than twenty times the whole voting population of the country. Although no census has ever been made, in spite of the demand of the reform party, it is estimated that there are about 10,000 property owners legally qualified to vote. Of this number he received 9,000 votes and King, 235,000.

So completely has the control of the civil branches passed into the hands of the governing clique, Mr. Faulkner charges, that when he brought this circumstance to the attention of the courts it was rejected as falling outside their jurisdiction.

In 1919, King, running unopposed, received 4,000 votes. In 1923 his opponent, Harmon, received 7,000 votes and he claimed 40,000. In eight years the total of votes rose from 4,000 to 244,000.

Enslave Natives

The ascendancy of the King clique, according to Mr. Faulkner, has enabled it to assess arbitrary fines and impose arbitrary imprisonments. Thus the attorney for the People's Party in the election case was fined $50 for "contempt of court." Judges are appointed by the President and hold office at his pleasure.

Mr. Faulkner unconditionally corroborates the charges in Raymond Leslie Buell's book, "The Native Problem in Africa" that the Liberian Government enforces a system of virtual slavery upon natives from the back country, impressed to work on the roads. Not only are these workers not paid, but they are compelled to furnish their own tools and food, and rice and palm oil for the overseers who often treat them brutally.

The Government has never consented to investigate charges that the natives were beaten, in some cases fatally, on these gangs, and the one native Commissioner who attempted to bring the situation to the Government's attention was promptly relieved of his duties. The laborers are subject to "fines" for various petty offenses and are sometimes compelled to sell their food to pay these assessments.

In addition the chiefs are oppressed by the "hut" tax. Polygamy is almost an economic necessity for the aborigines of the interior, and the men set their families up in different establishments, to cultivate various plots of ground. A tax of $1 is levied by the Government on each "hut." Transportation facilities are so bad that though the interior is rich agriculturally, and living costs along the coast approximate those of New York, only a small percentage of the needs of the coast inhabitants are supplied from the interior, some produce being carried out on the heads of natives.

As a consequence, many of the back-country natives hardly see a dollar from one year's end to the next, and the chiefs, who are responsible for the hut taxes of their tribes are often fined or imprisoned for being unable to raise the amount demanded by the Government.

Is Liberian Pioneer

The Government also ships natives to the nearby Spanish island of Fernando Po, drafting workers from the tribes of the interior. The premium of $50 per native, paid by the Spanish planters to the Government officials concerned in making the shipments, is divided among them, Mr. Faulkner says. While it is to the interest of the planters to treat these laborers well, there is no question of obtaining their consent before shipping them.

Mr. Faulkner is by no means the ordinary type of embittered patriot. He was born in North Carolina and educated there and at Cooper Union in New York. He went to Liberia as an engineer and has served the country in various capacities, as an engineer and a citizen. He was wartime Mayor of Monrovia, the capital and most important city of the country, which has a population of 5,000 to 6,000. He brought in the first electric lights, the first telephone, built the first five miles of road, owned the first motion picture theatre and still owns the only ice plant and the only hotel in the country.

Three of his brothers, two engineers and a doctor, have died in Liberia.

Since the United States took over the Liberian debt outstanding to France and England, this country has maintained a number of officials to look in on the conduct of Liberia's financial affairs. These five officials draw about $50,000 from Siberia's annual revenues of less than $1,000,000. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that President King has raised his own salary to $15,000 and that of his ten Senators and twenty-one Representatives to $2,000, partially accounts for the fact that the country is making no extraordinary financial progress, Mr. Faulkner believes.

The wartime Mayor of Monrovia, Mr. Faulkner, had a brief but not inglorious part in Liberia's campaign against the Central Powers, which he describes amusingly.

Shelled Radio Station

Since America was the country's founder and its principal creditor, and Germany was half-way around the world, when United States declared war Liberia felt that it could do no less than support its patron's gesture. America had advised Liberia to sever diplomatic relationships in April, 1917. The German diplomat was sent back to Berlin. Things went calmly forward as before in Monrovia.

But not for long. The morning of April 10, 1917, the citizens of Monrovia woke to stare into the large guns of a German submarine, which had come into the harbor on its way to harry enemy commerce off South Africa. There was a sensation and Mr. Faulkner was deputized by President Howard, with another citizen, to visit the raider and see if the Imperial German Government could be induced to deal gently with Liberia.

They were cordially received by the Commander, who spoke excellent English, and shown about the boat. After the trip of inspection, during which the visitors were shown the boat's armament of two 6-inch and two 4-inch guns, the Germans served champagne and Spanish crackers in the officers' saloon. Although Mr. Faulkner does not normally drink, he managed the champagne on this occasion.

After refreshment the subject of Monrovia's fate was cautiously broached. The Commander laughed and assured them that he knew why Liberia had gone into the war and that the return of their envoy had been accepted without any particular trepidation by the Central Powers. Liberia's army numbers 600, but it was busy on border duty.

He had seen a French radio and cable station, in Monrovia, however, and he thought it would be best to close this down. The Liberians were given despatches warning the Government to clear the inhabitants from the neighborhood of the station while the submarine shelled it.

Then Liberia's war tragedy occurred. One shell was faulty and went wild, striking a hut and killing two women. The others were true, however, and destroyed the station. The U-boat cruised on, and Liberia's part in the great war was over.

Mr. Faulkner is profoundly interested in the outcome of the present troubles. There is virtually no public education except that conducted by mission schools. To avoid the road gangs, the back-country natives have left the country in great numbers, and the general unrest among the civilized citizens of the coast suggests that if the people are not soon permitted to rule by legitimate means, they will resort to direct action.

The Firestone investments, Mr. Faulkner says, may add largely to the resources of the country. Mr. Firestone is not only developing the 1,400 acres cleared by a British company before the war, but has 30,000 additional acres in a condition to produce within two or three years. Before the whole lease of 1,000,000 acres is developed roads must be built which will not only furnish a vast new income to the people and the Government, but will make possible the communication between the coast towns and the rich natural resources of the interior.

This communication could be most beneficial for both parties, as virtually the whole civilized population is concentrated on the coast, while the productive lands are all in the interior.

LIBERIA REQUESTS 'SLAVERY' INQUIRY

Seeks an Investigation After Getting a Strong Note From Our State Department.

AMERICAN ASKED TO SERVE

Labor of Firestone Rubber Plantations Is Not Included in Peonage Complaints.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10.—Alleged widespread conditions of slavery in Liberia are to be investigated by an international commission, by direction of the Government at Monrovia at the instance of the United States Government, thereby promising light upon a situation concerning which charges and counter charges have been made.

Brief announcement was made by the State Department today that the investigation would be conducted by a commission consisting of one Liberian, one American and one other member to be selected by the League of Nations. In the announcement the word "slavery" was not used, the term applied being "forced labor conditions," while nothing was said of the initiative taken by the American Government.

The Firestone Rubber Company, which began extensive cultivation of rubber in Liberia three years ago, is in no way involved in the slavery situation in that Republic, it is stated here. The Firestone company pays native workers on a scale which has done much to raise their standard of living.

The announcement that a commission would investigate labor conditions in Liberia and requesting the appointment of an American member was made in a message from the legation at Monrovia received yesterday, the State Department said.

Washington Called for Inquiry.

It is understood that recently the department sent a strong note to the Liberian Government on the subject, and that this led to the decision for an investigation. The text of this note was not disclosed, nor was comment on the situation available from officials. The announcement was issued just before the department closed for the week-end.

The American member of the commission is to be appointed after the formal request is received from the Liberian Government and the League of Nations will name the third member when the request for his appointment is officially received at Geneva. The department merely said that the United States, "of course, would cooperate" with Liberia in the matter.

Reports of slavery in Liberia have been widespread for several years.

Private investigators and native political opponents of the government at Monrovia have made sweeping charges of deplorable labor conditions through publication in this country and in Europe.

Subject Brought Up at Geneva.

The subject has been brought up several times at Geneva and the aid of the League of Nations has been sought, but not until Washington intervened with what is understood to have been practically a demand for a clean-up has the situation been brought to a head.

Some of the allegations have attributed primary responsibility for conditions to the Liberian Government, which, it has been asserted has permitted the slavery to exist. The victims are said to be natives from the hinterland who have been sold to traders for work along the coast and on plantations. A thin veneer of regularity, according to these reports, has been given to the practice by arrangements permitting the natives to regain their liberty through savings from nominal earn-

Slavery
Aug 10 29
New York Times

SEEK MEMBERS FOR LIBERIAN LABOR BD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 29.—(C. N. S.)—An effort will be made to have a colored American appointed to the proposed international commission to investigate forced labor conditions in Liberia, which will be appointed by the Liberian government, it is understood here.

The commission will be composed of three members, one Liberian, one American recommended by the United States government and a third to be recommended by the League of Nations, according to the present plan announced by the Liberian government to the State Department recently.

Ever since the announcement of the proposed commission speculation has been rife among colored leaders and politicians as to whether the American member recommended for membership on the commission to investigate conditions in the little Negro Republic will be white or colored.

Charged of the existence of shocking conditions of forced labor and alleged slavery in Liberia have been widespread for years. The political opponents of the native government have made numerous sweeping charges of deplorable conditions there, which have been partially substantiated by private investigators.

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The matter was recently reopened by Thomas J. R. Faulkner, an American born, naturalized Liberian, who carried a protest to the State Department and requested an official investigation. His story of the deplorable conditions among the natives has attracted a great deal of attention both in this country and in Europe.

President King promptly denied the existence of alleged slavery and proposed an international commission which will investigate the conditions.

No names of colored citizens have yet been proposed to the State Department to date, it is claimed.

Several are reported to be aspiring to membership on the commission.

LIBERIAN SLAVERY

THE world in general and the Negro press in particular has been making much of late of the fact that slavery and forced labor exists in Liberia. President King denies the charges against his country but there is a little too much evidence on the other side. Assuming, then, that slavery does exist in the West African Republic, the question might well be asked: What of it?

Liberia is no different from the rest of Africa. Here, as in the other lands in the so-called Dark Continent, there are a handfull of people with European culture ruling over two and a half million natives who seldom are able to speak and understand their language and are not familiar with their ways. The little ruling class has the power and is using it to its own advantage and for what it deems the benefit of the country. Roads must be built, forests cut down, swamps drained, plantations cleared. Where else in the world and when has a country under such circumstances failed to force those in its power to do this necessary work? The natives are indifferent to the need for bringing the country abreast of other countries, economically and financially, if it is to survive.

We hastily admit that slavery and peonage are bad, but we know that Liberia is not the only offender in Africa. White rulers and black rulers confronted with similar conditions react similarly. Forced labor (another name for slavery) is the rule in the French African colonies, the Belgian Congo, the Portugese colonies and many of the British African possessions. Andre Gide in his recent book "Travels in the Congo" tells again and again how the natives are cowed and ground down by their French oppressors. In Portugese Angolo the black population has been decimated through forced labor. In Kenya, the British have taken away most of the land of the natives which step has forced the latter out of sheer hunger and want to work for wages so low that the average slave is fortunate in comparison. It is a well-known fact that most of the labor recruited by the British in the South Seas is forced labor.

All of this does not excuse Liberia, of course, but it does reveal the hypocrisy of the whites and the thoughtlessness or misinformation of many Negroes. If Liberia can end slavery—which we do not doubt it eventually can—poor as it is, then how much more able to do so is the French Republic and the British Empire? If Liberia must end this nefarious practice for the good of humanity, how much more fitting is it that the United States should stop peonage in its southern states and forced labor in Haiti?

Liberia, hemmed about with avaricious neighbors, has been fortunate to maintain its independence, slavery or no slavery. Its is one of the most inspiring histories. Dumped on hostile shores, with little or no aid from America, the mother country, this handful of Negroes has not only held its own against hostile natives, but against the French and British as well. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh's colony off Virginia disappeared in a few months when cut off from England, the Americo-Liberians after a century of struggle and privation are in better shape than ever before.

Conditions in the little country are admittedly not what they should be, but neither are they elsewhere in Africa. It is high time for those who so severely condemn the Liberian officials for permitting slavery and peonage, to also pay a little attention to labor conditions elsewhere and not be fooled by such euphemism as "contract labor" and "indentured service." Incidentally, they might profitably read Franz Oppenheimer's "The State."

SLAVERY

COMMISSION TO BE APPOINTED TO GET U. S. HELP

Liberian State Secy Denies Existence Of Slavery

REPORT IN PAPERS

Defeated Presidential Candidate Reveals Situation

Special to Journal and Guide

Baltimore, Md.—Submission of a blanket denial of slavery and forced labor conditions in the Republic of Liberia by Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul General here and chief diplomatic representative in the U. S. last Saturday to the State Department in Washington, has brought forth the information that his government contemplates the appointment of an international commission to investigate charges that those conditions exist in the Negro republic.

The American Government will be glad to cooperate with the Liberian Government in this investigation, it is reported from the Capital.

The denial submitted by Mr. Lyon was in the form of an official statement by Edwin J. Barclay, secretary of state of Liberia, Secretary Barclay asserted that his government would thoroughly probe the alleged conditions.

The matter was brought to the attention of the United States because of the publication in American newspapers of charges by Thomas J. Faulkner, an American born naturalized Liberian, who was an unsuccessful candidate for the Liberian presidency against President Charles D. B. King.

Faulkner is at present in the United States. He has filed with Secretary of State Henry L. Stinson a memorandum asking the United States to intervene in the settlement of his claim of election to the Liberian presidency.

Faulkner charge that King is illegally holding office and that he himself was elected president of the Liberian republic. He sought to have the courts of Liberia pass on the question, but the Supreme Court there held it was a political question out of its jurisdiction.

It is not believed that the Washington State Department will take any action in the matter.

HELPING LIBERIA

The state department of the United States government has decided that there is slavery in Liberia and that something must be done about it. With this idea in view, a commission has been formed to investigate Liberia's "forced labor" system and to draw resolutions to correct it.

Isn't that just like the United States? Dear old Uncle Sam is still at his tricks, it seems, and just can't lose the habit. In order to prove that this is a humanitarian country with the highest of motives we must go far afield to Africa to tackle the "forced labor" question. Somewhat on the order of the plan which resulted in United States marines taking charge of Haiti 13 years ago and Nicaragua last year, all on the ostensible mission of protecting human rights, we are making plans now to investigate an internal problem in another republic.

And while this is going on, virtual slavery continues to flourish in southern United States. Peonage and other methods of "forced labor" are accepted as necessary to white supremacy in most southern states of this country. However, the federal government has not yet seen fit to investigate these conditions. Nor has a single marine ever been called upon to protect property and life of the American citizen at home, although there is more need for protection within our borders than without.

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Liberia.

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Firestone News Service

FOR the past several months some individual or group of individuals styling themselves the Premier News Service with headquarers in Washington have been sending out occasional releases to Negro publications painting inspiring pictures of the wonderful benefits in store for Liberia because of the Firestone concessions in that country. Of course, most of these releases go immediately to the waste basket, where they properly belong, for anybody or at any conversant with his job knows these releases are patently Firestone advertising, or subsidized propaganda, meant to ease the conscience of the American Negro of any misgivings of what the Patron Saint Firestone may ultimately do to Liberia and Liberians.

Harvey Firestone has plenty of money, and he also has the privilege of spending it to suit himself, but with all his business ingenuity he exhibits an amusing naivette when he pays out good cash to run off and send out to colored newspapers a mass of unsolicited and unwanted one-sided propaganda on his Liberian grab. Mr. Firestone may yet do wonderful things for Liberia, and maybe he is doing some of them now. His vast enterprises there may prove an ultimate economic savior for that Republic. His squatting there may have been even of divine ordination, for Americans always are divinely inspired to carry on their economic exploits in weaker countries for the benefit of the countries themselves. But, for the information of Mr. Firestone and his Premier News Service, the American Negro of discerning is skeptically watching his Liberian project, and is scarcely in any humor to be fed on the sweet educational propaganda sent out from Washington. Certainly Negro editors are not going to impose this stuff on their readers, who would prefer a closer-up of the mass Liberian opinion of the Firestone interests than may be expected to be found in subsidized releases.

OPENING OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, MONROVIA.

On November 14 the Public Library of Monrovia was opened under the auspices of the Hon. B. W. Payne, Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction.

The Exercises were attended by His Excellency the President, ex-President Barclay, the members of the Cabinet, and representatives from Monrovia and the adjoining country. In the opening address by Dr. Payne a review of the efforts of the Department of Public Instruction to attain and open the library was made. Ex-President Barclay, in a very fine address, called the attention of the public to the necessity and use of a public library as a means of valuable instruction. President King commended the library to the care and use of the reading public in eminently fitting words.

The new library contains 1,500 volumes of well-selected examples of literature, fiction, art and science, history and travel, as well as the latest examples of reference books, maps and charts. Especial attention has been given to attaining the latest and most valuable books concerning Africa and the African race.

The reading room is supplied with the best and latest papers and magazines. The library has been placed in the pleasant and commodious rooms of the building of the Department of Public Instruction, and has already a large number of readers.

M.

SAVES ARMY FROM JUNGLE DEATH TRAP

Widow of Canadian Missionary

Monrovia, Liberia. — The Liberian government has knighted "Ma" Brown for supreme bravery. The 55-year-old woman, widow of a Canadian missionary, has been married to a chief of an African tribe for 30 years. The knighting ceremonies took place deep in the forests of Liberia, where "Ma" Brown lives.

The white woman was native" upon the death of her husband. She has four children by her African husband and around her hut now toddle her grandchildren, many of them blond haired and almost white in color.

To the tribe "Ma" Brown has been a loyal and faithful "medicine man," curing ills more by her knowledge of the curative powers of plants and drugs than by evil mutterings, although at times she does resort to witchery. She is feared by the superstitious natives and reigns almost as a queen over thousands of tribesmen.

Since the American rubber interests moved into Liberia to plant 1,000,000 acres with rubber trees "Ma" Brown has prospered. She threw up a hasty general store and caters in fruits, fowl and fresh bread for the Americans engaged in clearing the forests and their thousands of workers.

"Ma" was knighted for saving the Liberian army from almost certain extinction in an ambush in the depths of the jungles. The army had as its mission the subjugation of one of the smaller tribes which refused to send men for contract labor work in a Portugese colony at the instruction of the government.

As the army moved through the jungles the tribe deployed in ambush. "Ma" Brown heard of the ambush and ran ahead, argued the rebels out of their position and saved the army. She took her knighthood philosophically and announced that she did not intend to become "Lady" Brown, but would remain "Ma."

Kuminations

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS

IS the United States going to use the allegation that slavery exists in Liberia as a pretext to establish herself in Africa? This, at least, is the belief of more than one European newspaper.

The Manchester Guardian, speaking of the proposed inquiry that is to be made in Liberia on that subject, has published views which, if they have any foundation, are of considerable importance and worthy of mention. This newspaper declares that at Geneva no one would be surprised if the United States, after the inquiry, was invited to take a more definite part in the government of Liberia. It thinks that, in view of the great undeveloped wealth of Africa, that the United States is disposed to extend its colonial empire in West Africa.

In the meantime, the Liberian government has made emphatic denial of slavery in the European press, and adds:

"Besides, it may be remarked that, if the Liberians sold the natives to slave merchants, to be used along the coast of West Africa or in the rubber plantations, these merchants, being Europeans or subjects of European powers, would be slave buyers, and it would be easy for their governments to control this traffic in their respective colonies, where the Liberian workmen go for fixed periods to work at their various occupations."

The fact is that slavery in some form or another exists all over Africa, regardless of the power in control. It may exist in forms like peonage in the Southern States of America, where the individual is sold for a limited period, a period that may be extended even to life, or he (which in this case also means she), may be sold outright for life, as in Egypt, Abyssinia, and all the length of North Africa.

In French North Africa the slave markets have been closed by the government, but the slave traffic goes on like bootlegging in the United States. Slaves, white and black, may be bought for domestic work and for the harem. And, in a land where living conditions are very hard, it is the slave himself or herself, who is often the first to welcome a purchaser, in order that he may receive regular support.

In British East Africa slavery Rhineland, thus bringing them into proximity with white women.

"What an agitation the presence of those Senegalese sharpshooters caused," reflects the writer. "Today the few colored soldiers there are officers' servants.

"In December, 1918, the African troops had been stationed in the localities of the extreme zone of occupation and in important centers, like Ludwigshafen. But, in spite of all that has been related by the press and the German patriotic associations, the black men did not constitute any danger for the virtue of the fair Gretchens.

"Long before the war, at each colonial exposition in German towns there was a veritable feminine run on the Negro villages. That was so well known the German police often found itself in the necessity of restraining the ardor of the German women to get at the black men."

It will be recalled on this subject that, due largely to the agitation of Congressman Britten and his wife, the United States made an official inquiry into the matter of Negro troops on the Rhineland, and both Gen. Henry Allen and M. Dreisel, the commissioner, reported that it was often necessary to station troops to prevent the German women from going through the barrack windows at the black men.

The curiosity about black people in all the northern European countries, as Norway and Sweden,, Russia and Germany, is strong.

——0——

BRUSSELS.

The European Dancing Masters' Association, in congress here, has decreed that the Charleston, the Black Bottom and like acrobatics that made the triumph of Josephine Baker are at end.

Henceforward, the up-to-date dancer must know the waltz; the six-eight one-step, which has been enthusiastically received in London; the rapid fox-trot; the blues, with slow rhythm; the Boston, with slow, graceful and distinguished steps, and, at last, the European tango. The European tango is the censored version of the Argentine tango, terror of the clergy and the police in Vienna, Amsterdam and Budapest.

In the meantime, the jazz bands in cabarets and over the radio in all the European capitals, even Rome, continue to be as peppy and frisky as ever.

still exists, taking on a more harsh form than in North Africa, where the Negroes are forced to work on the plantations, the same being also true of Portuguese and of Belgian Africa. In South Africa, north of Cape Colony, conditions have been created which force the natives to sell themselves for a fixed



— J. A. Rogers —

period, during which time they suffer virtual slavery.

Slavery was abolished in Sierra Leone only last year, it will be recalled. Sierra Leone is England's oldest colony in Africa and, since slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions in 1838 great, therefore, was the surprise of the world at the news that it still existed there.

One may feel sure, however, that the decree has not wiped out all slavery in Sierra Leone, any more than the Thirteenth Amendment has destroyed peonage in the Southern States, or the decree of President Guerrero has prevented peonage in Mexico.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

Additional evidence of the Union's prosperity is continually forthcoming, but even those who have come to take the country's wealth for granted will probably be surprised to learn that during the past four years secondary industries have made such remarkable progress that it can no longer be said that agriculture and mining constitute the only important basis of the country's economic life. Statistics which have just been published show that manufacturing industries of the Union have advanced from a gross output of £17,000,000 in 1911 to £40,000,000 in 1926-27, and it is estimated that their gross output for 1927-28 has exceeded £100,000,000. The gross number of manufacturing establishments have advanced from 3,998 in 1915-16 to 7,172 in 1926-27, while the number of European employees in these establishments has risen from 39,514 in 1915-16 to 66,189 in 1923-24 and 80,755 in 1926-27, having more than doubled in the last twelve years. Similar progress has been made in the number of non-European employees, the figures being 61,654, 116,658 and 121,934 respectively. Secondary industry has thus filled out the plans of the Union's economic life into a balanced whole, and has helped to cope with the growth of the population. Well may it be claimed that the road of industrial progress has been well planned. Many of the obstacles have, declares Mr. Fourie, the Administrator at the Cape, been removed, and the remaining difficulties can be overcome by patient effort and service. This optimistic hope is praiseworthy, but the greatest care will be required in handling the problems that must inevitably arise from the expansion of mass production methods coupled with world movements tending towards the greater control of wages, hours and conditions of work, especially in a comparatively new and thinly populated country like South Africa. However, there is no call to anticipate trouble for, at present, the relationship between Capital and Labour in South Africa was never more harmonious. Meanwhile, it is a source of lively satisfaction to all interested in South Africa to know that the country is no longer solely dependent on mining and agriculture.

A GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA.

The volume dealing with Africa in the new geographical series issued by Messrs. G. G. Harrop and Co. (39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, W.C.2—6s.) is compiled by Mr. L. S. Suggate, B.Sc., and is probably the most complete geography of the whole continent yet issued, for unlike most English books on the subject, it gives to the great French and other non-British territories in Africa the space that their importance demands. Mr. Suggate has drawn his facts from a wide range of up-to-date official and other documents, and although his rendering of place-names does not always follow that generally in use, the variations have no more serious effect than to emphasise the immensity of the areas for which the spelling of place-names is still unstabilised. In tracing the important part played by the discovery of minerals in the opening-up of Africa Mr. Suggate says it would be interesting to speculate what would happen if the mineral wealth came to an end, and lest some of his readers should understand this to imply that African progress would stop, he might have answered the query by quoting the Governor of French Equatorial Africa for theory, and the people of the Gold Coast for practical results. The former has described how most lands, not excluding Britain, have normally three stages of growth. At first when communications are poor, foreign trade arises from the collection of a few valuable products—rare metals, ivory, and the like—that can stand high freights and great risks. As communications become part of the capitalised value of the country and the valuable products draw to an end, the people turn to the more valuable of their agricultural products, or to the beginnings of industrial activity, and so rise with the perfection of transport to their full economic position in the world. To many African minds, therefore, the answer to his speculation is that the end of mineral wealth would mean the beginning of "Africa for the African" in the best and widest sense of that misused slogan.

THE LIBERIAN INQUIRY.

There has been some mystery about the recent announcement concerning the Commission to inquire into slavery and forced labour in Liberia, and it has been suggested that the difficulties were so great that nothing would come of it. The always well-informed correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" learned this week that the difficulties have been overcome, and that the Commission will be appointed. The Council of the League, the American Government, and the Liberian Government are each to appoint a Commissioner, and are now approaching certain people to ascertain whether they will serve. Experts in this matter here pointed out that the usefulness of the inquiry will depend, first, upon the personnel of the Commission—whether the Commissioners are men with a knowledge of West African conditions—and, secondly, upon whether the terms of reference are such as to allow of investigation being made not merely in the coast towns but into the hinterland, for if slavery and forced labour exist it is from the interior that the supply must come. It is hoped that Liberia will consent to allow a thoroughgoing type of inquiry over the whole ground by investigators of acknowledged authority. No one who follows the question would be surprised if, as the outcome of the Commision, the United States were invited to take a more definite administrative interest in Liberia. It is thought that America may be prepared to enter upon an extension of colonial policy in West Africa.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ACTIVITIES.

THE saying "truth will out," has been proved to be correct before ever it became adopted as worthy of the quotation by men eminent in their ability to gauge natural events. Truth has a peculiar way of forcing itself out sometimes even perhaps to the embarrassment of the utterer; and confession, one of the exponents of truth, is at times so involuntary, that the confessor sometimes only realises the effect of his statements after the words have been uttered. The truthfulness of the statement, that the voice of the people in the Urban District is for the re-election of the two present representatives, has been echoed from a quarter where we least expected it.

The editorial of the *Guardian* of the 27th September contained the following statement:—

> "Our two Urban Members and one Rural Member have served their time, and they may either be succeeded by others or re-elected. We know that the Urban Members are seeking re-election, and they have a strong backing up. The seat of the Rural Member does not appear to be so secure. Competition will be keener in the election of the Rural Member than with the Urban."

The "strong backing up" of the Urban Members is none other than the manifestation of general public satisfaction for services rendered. That almost unanimous cry for their re-election, that coming together of several units, classes and creeds in the community for the purpose of supporting their return, is an evidence that the people have not allowed the ungracious actions of some mal-disposed persons, in inventing wicked and malicious statements to circumvent their attentions, to prevail. The triumph of the people's cause is recognised in the difference in this editorial of our contemporary from that wild statement published a few weeks ago in the same journal, that the people wanted a "clean sweep." We were convinced nothing was further from the truth than that statement, and we were of the opinion that besides recording the wish of the Editor and perhaps some of his co-thinkers, the idea of a "clean sweep" or a total change of the three elected members for three other members was never contemplated by as many as ten per cent of the people of this country. Perhaps, after a closer acquaintance with the real mind of the Electorate, the truth is out, and whether intended or not, whether desired or not, it must be admitted that the two Urban Members have a "strong backing up." As to the range of choice of candidates, the limitation is more imaginary than real. The real difficulty is that men with balanced minds and patriotic intentions, men with sober judgments, men who are not merely for self-aggrandisement,—if they have sufficiently judged public opinion, if they themselves are numbered among those "backing up" the two Urban Members, and are convinced these men should be elected,—will not be found yielding to the flatteries and entreaties of those who for personal reasons are anxious to see useless opposition. Nor should the narrowness of the groove be any justification for the support of men, who are in the view

of those who are best able to judge, unfit for the high office that they claim. If the election is tame, and the people's candidates are re-elected, the success of their choice is compensation for the absence of emotion, passion and other excitements which are undeserved and undesirable to the extreme.

Of the Rural District we are told competition will be keener than in the Urban District. There is some truth in this, for the information that we have been able to glean as to the mind of the electorate of that area, does not show any degree of unanimity. The two outstanding Candidates, Messrs. TUBOKU-METZGER and HYDE are making strong bids for the votes of the Electorate, and a ding-dong battle is being fought. It is unfortunate that up to date none of the Candidates of this district has issued a manifesto from which something definite as to their claims for the support of the Electorate may be gleaned. Mr. TOBOKU-METZGER says, he served a period of five years' apprenticeship and with his varied experience which is ripe and matured, he will be able if re-elected to bring into play these useful stores in the deliberations of Council. With no desire of invidiousness we may be permitted to say that Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER, is a moderate speaker, vehement in the condemnation of any policy which he considers detrimental to the interest of the people as is evidenced by the stand he has always taken with the Urban Members in their condemnation of un-British acts.

As has been reported in one of our previous issues, Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER has earned the commendation of the two Governors who presided over the Legislative Council during these five years, for his patience, painstaking searches, and attention to bills. His interest in the people that he represented, his eagerness to advocate the cause of the Rural District as a whole, are commendable and could hardly be improved upon. He has carved out for himself a place in the admiration and estimation of those who have sat with him in Council as should stand him well in the eyes of those whose support he is seeking.

Mr. HYDE, his opponent, is a man with courage, and one who should certainly be admired for his dogged-determination to succeed, and his ambition to ascend the political pinnacle. His activities in life have been of a varied nature: he has been a clerk, a mercantile agent, a Minister of Religion, and now, as a Barrister-at-Law, he claims to have the qualifications which should make a successful politician.

To his credit, it must be stated that whilst yet a Minister of Religion he had identified himself with some of the political questions of the country. Mr. HYDE has the advantage of youth over his opponent, although if records are any indications, the regularity of Mr. TUBOKU-METZGER at the different sittings of the Legislative Council shows that his age has not in any way impaired or affected his physique or his ability.

We have endeavoured to put as fairly as possible what we conceive to be the relative claims and capabilities of these two men, and we express ourselves open to receive corrections or any contributions on the subject, so as to express our opinions with a view to guide and not unduly to influence the Electors of the Rural District, for the object of these contributions is to show that in reality "the voice of the people, is the voice of GOD.

Native Housing.

That the Native urban locations of King William's Town are still without an advisory board to advise the Town Council on matters affecting the welfare of the residents is a sad disappointment.

The Natives elected representatives to the board months ago; but the officials responsible do not seem to be taking the necessary steps to get matters going. In the meantime residents are living in municipal houses that are in a most unhealthy state of disrepair. Who is to blame for all this?

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, October 2.

The Largest West Coast Liner.

A survey of the fleet of the various shipping companies connecting Europe with the West Coast of Africa indicates that the largest West Coast liner is the twin-screw mail liner "Leopoldville" of the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo, which, on Tuesday next, at 5 p.m., leaves Antwerp on her maiden trip to Matadi. The gross register tonnage of the "Leopoldville" is 11,172 tons.

The next two largest West Coast liners are the "Albertville," also of the C.B.M.C. (10,387 gross register tons), and the "Brazza" (10,000 gross register tons) of the Chargeurs Réunis.

A New East Coast Liner.

On Sunday morning last, the Société Provençale de Constructions Navales successfully launched, at La Ciotat, near Toulon, the twin screw motor liner "Jean Laborde," which the Messageries Maritimes has ordered for their Marseilles-Mombasa-Dar Es Salaam-Madagascar fortnightly mail line.

The "Jean Laborde" is 148 metres 80 long, 18 metres wide, and, with her normal draught of 7 metres 90, she will displace 14,450 tons. She will accommodate 303 passengers and 600 soldiers, and will have a crew of 200 men. She will be driven by two Diesel motors of 3,200 h.p. each, and all her auxiliary engines will be electrically driven.

America-East and South Africa.

According to a note of the American Shipping Agency, 18, Rue Oudaen, Antwerp, in to-day's Antwerp "Neptune," the motorship "City of New York," of the American-South African Line, Incorporated, at present being built, will undertake her maiden trip from New York to East and South Africa on February 1, 1930.

The "City of New York," like the other ships at present being built for the company, will be larger and more up to date than the vessels already commissioned by this corporation. They will be fitted with four two-bed cabins, with a private bathroom adjoining, and with sixteen cabins with three beds.

Belgian Capital in the Congo.

Compiling the statistics issued monthly by the National Bank of Belgium, I see that in the first eight months of this year twenty-five companies were founded in Belgium, with the Congo as a field of activity. The nominal capital invested in them amounted to £263,900,000 frs. During the same period thirty-three Belgian companies operating in the Belgian Congo, of which the capital amounted to 662,850,000 frs., increased their capital by 547,525,000 frs.

The Geomines Brings Its Capital to 200 Million Francs.

According to the Brussels "Echo de la Bourse" of the 25th inst., the Géomines has decided to increase its capital from 16 to 200 million francs by the issue of 736,000 new shares of 250 francs, to be issued at 300 francs. Each share at present held is entitled to subscribe ten new shares.

As to this capital increase, its aim is to finance the working of the new and important tin discoveries made by the Géomines in Katanga, also to finance the up-to-date working of the Lukuga collieries by means of the sinking of a pit and the creation of galleries.

The cassiterite discoveries made have considerably increased the reserves already proved, and borings are being continued where further surface indications have been noticed. It is interesting to note that these surface indications cover an area considerably larger than that in which further reserves have been proved. Thus one may hope for a further increase in the reserves.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

The Bantu Presbyterian Church.

(By A. K. S.)

An appeal has been issued by Circular signed by the Convener and Treasurers for £12,000 (presumably) to commemorate the growth of the mission of the United Free Church of Scotland among the Natives of South Africa, and the services and sacrifices of devoted Europeans in laying the foundations of Christianity among the Bantu. Within recent years a transformation has taken place which has evolved a Bantu Presbyterian Church as a step to the opening of a wider field for the energies and activities of the Native ministry, and placing upon the Native people a larger measure of responsibility for the future development of a self organising, self supporting, and self governing Church. While the purpose of religion should be to raise the level of our intelligence, and self reliance, and a proper social self respect and willingness to shoulder our own burdens it ought to be clearly understood that with a people so backward in the mass the Bantu Presbyterian Church will still crave and welcome the sympathy and direction of Europeans friendly to the cause of religious progress. Those Europeans who are attached to this Church are deserving of our utmost consideration, reverence, and esteem, and it rests with them more especially to see that this new structure is based upon sound principles of administration although to be ultimately successful the structure should be rooted in the people, who should draw out of themselves their own mental, spiritual, and economic sustenance and cease to look overseas for its nourishment. More rapid development will be demanded of the Natives in the future although it must be admitted that administrative experience in the larger sense is as yet little developed among the Native office bearers especially the elders who as a class as mostly illi-

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II

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terate in the sense of moderate business methods, especially in the management of finance. Without the aid of a trained personnel, efficiency in this direction will not be possible, and the Church will be (if it is not already) in danger of retrograding. Circular appeals in English and Xosa form a good foundation but they are (mostly effective with the intelligent and enlightened who realise and are prepared to shoulder their responsibilities. But even these would appreciate the personal appeal as a much more effective way of securing contributions for, speaking for myself as an intelligent member of the Church I feel we require much fuller information than we have on the aims, opportunites, and ideals of the Church than has been vouchsafed to us by its framers, and if so then what of the mass of its members and adherents who are largely ignorant of the merits of a Centenary Fund and the destination of the various monies which are sought from them and which appear to be accumulating to an alarming extent at any rate to a people who are already overtaxed by unsympathetic governments and whose economic position is becoming a distressing problem. Although I am no expert in Church matters or government having had more experience in unprofitable politics, and without any anxiety to teach the missionaries what they know better than myself, I still recognise that Union and Finance are synonymous, and in view of the pending General Assembly of the Church at Somerset East I would like to impress upon our spiritual fathers the need of detaching a commissioner to visit the various centres to explain more fully the fiscal policy of the Church and to introduce a simple system of Church finance besides enlightening the minds of the meanest among us as to the duties of office bearers and congregation from top to bottom. Such a man should visit and spend two or three days at each station and should be prepared to be heckled and cross questioned. More I need not say at present for reasons of space in your valued paper.

9-12-29

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Tin and Civilisation.

A great historian has written that the history of tin is the history of civilisation. Long before recorded history began the great discovery had been made that by adding a small quantity of tin the soft copper tools could be made hard enough to work wood and even stone, and to take and keep an edge. The discovery may have been accidental, but within a very short time the proportions of the two metals suitable for various purposes had been fixed and the knowledge rapidly spread. The Bronze Age is one of the outstanding epochs of human history, for man was then equipped with a material for fashioning tools and weapons surpassing in utility and durability his clumsy and quickly worn equipment of stone or copper.

10-12-29

Where the discovery was made is doubtful, but as the bronze found on prehistoric sites of the bronze-using cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe is always compounded of the same proportions of the two metals it would seem that the formula was spread from the place of its discovery. Tin promoted civilisation, not only by improving the means of adapting the raw materials provided by Nature, but also by the extension of communications and knowledge of the world obtained in the search for the precious metal. Every reader will remember the story of Phœnician visits to Cornwall and its tin mines, but long before those indefatigable searchers after profitable trade had found their way to the Cassiterides—the Tin Islands of the north—or reached the Western Mediterranean and the tin deposits of the Iberian peninsula, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece, which have no native deposits of the metal, were using large quantities of bronze. Where did all the tin thus used come from? Nature has not been generous in the distribution of the metal, and no new fields were added to the list until the opening up of the New World, so the original sources must have been drawn upon for ages. Etymology may help to guide us to this source.

In Sanscrit—the ancient sacred language of India—tin is named "kastra," a word which reappears in many European languages as the name of the metal, so it is probable that the Western nations obtained their supplies from the Malayan peninsula. To the bold sailors who had, in prehistoric times, traversed the eastern ocean from Madagascar to the Philippines, the voyage round India to the Persian Gulf and the mouth of the Red Sea would present no difficulties. From the head of the gulf the tin was carried through Mesopotamia to the caravans going to Asia Minor and Eastern Europe; Egypt was supplied by way of the Red Sea. Later the Phœnicians established factories on the southern Arabian coast which intercepted and monopolised the carrying trade, and still later they found new sources in Spain and Britain.

The Eclipse of Tin.

The displacement of bronze by iron greatly diminished the demand for tin. The import from Malaya was interrupted by the disorders which attended the break-up of the Roman Empire, and was extinguished when European trade with the East was cut off by the rise of Islam. The north-western districts of Spain, which contained the tin mines, were not reached by the Moorish civilisation, and as the Gothic barbarians who occupied them had not the skill to work the mines, Cornwall became almost the sole source of supply.

During the Middle Ages, until the establishment of sheep-farming introduced the wool trade, tin was England's most valuable export. The demand, however, continually diminished until, in the middle of the last century, the industry was moribund. At the ruling price of £56 per ton many of the mines could not be profitably worked and were shut down. When the industry seemed doomed to early extinction it was saved by the demand for tin-plate for roofing the houses of the pioneers in America, Canada, and Australia. This was soon followed by the rise of the canning industry. By the end of the century the growing demand had forced the price of tin up to £90 per ton. In the present century the price has never been below £180 per ton for any length of time.

The Nigerian Tin Field.

It had long been known that brass ware was made in Northern Nigeria, and it was supposed that the tin used in its manufacture was brought across the desert, from North Africa, until Sir William Wallace discovered that it was produced in Bauchi. This was in 1884, but it was not until 1902 that the country was sufficiently pacified and settled to allow of the actual source being traced. In that year Sir William accompanied the force which subdued Bauchi and obtained about 28 lb. of tin concentrate from the Delimi River, near where the town of Naraguta now stands.

Later in the year prospecting parties sent out by the Niger Company took up large areas in the province for tin mining. Much work was done by Mr. Laws, the Company's Mining Adviser, by the primitive method of sluice-boxes and calabashes, and by the end of 1909 over 1,000 tons of concentrates had been won, of a richness which commanded a higher price than ordinary English tin. Little attention was paid to the newly-found deposits till they were taken up by Messrs. Oliver and Walter Wethered, accountants, and Mr. S. R. Bastard, solicitor, of London, who were the pioneers of Nigerian tin mining.

In September, 1909, a company under them control, formed for gold-mining on the Gold Coast, turned its attention to the Northern Nigerian tinfields, and sent out a prospecting party on whose reports the "Tin Fields of Northern Nigeria, Ltd." was formed with a capital of £100,000. This was followed a week later by the "Nigerian Tin Corporation, Limited," also with a capital of £100,000. Public attention was now attracted and inflamed by reports from experts of high repute on the inexhaustible richness of the new field, and the facility with which it could be worked. With each report public excitement grew. The Stock Exchanges, which had been dull for some time, welcomed the opportunity of increasing business, and before 1910 was far advanced a Nigerian-tin boom was in full swing. By the end of the year two hundred companies, with an aggregate capitalisation of over £10,000,000 had been floated for exploiting the field.

The public, with the credulity usual in boom-time, rushed in to subscribe to each company. Under the glamour of easy money and the desire to get on to the latest good thing, the capital asked for was oversubscribed. Then came the rude awakening of the inevitable slump. A few of the companies turned their remaining resources to other channels, but the majority were wound up. By the end of 1914 only ten or twelve of the two hundred companies were working satisfactorily. Those familiar with mining history will recognise in this story the hectic youth through which most mining fields pass before settling down to sober development by hard work with reasonable expectations, instead of exaggerated hopes. The Nigerian tin field reached this stage a few years after the boom, and is now the seat of a well-established industry.

W F H

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 13 1929

"POOR WHITE" QUESTION AGAIN IS RAISED IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE South African press is paying considerable attention to a paper read before the recent meeting of the British Association at Cape Town. It was entitled "Education and the Poor White," was delivered by Dr. E. G. Malberbe Young, a South African, educated at Columbia University, who had just been appointed director of the National Bureau of Education of the Union of South Africa, and was in part:

"The poor white evil in South Africa, which is a product of local conditions, is prevalent to the extent of some 8 to 10 per cent of the white population. It can be mitigated by better education and the provision of increased opportunity, and is intensified by the national habit of regarding manual labor as 'Kaffir work.'

"Color bar legislation is a measure resorted to by the white man which jeopardizes the whole of South Africa's economic future and which will rob the whites of the virility bred by the buffetings of stern competition, rendering them soft and weak when the Nemesis—the rise of the blacks—comes.

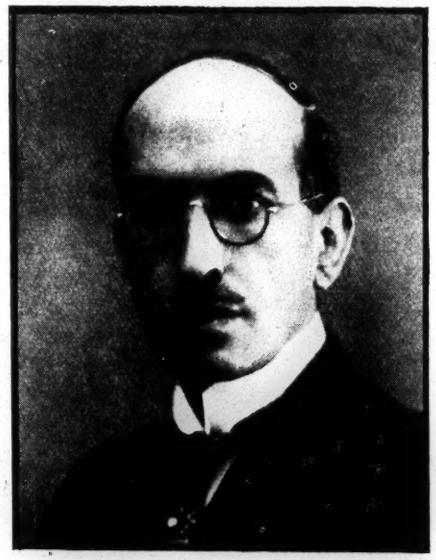
"Unless we cease to think that the population of South Africa is 1,500,000—the number of the whites—and realize that it is 7,000,000—the total including natives—the outlook will be black indeed for the whole of South Africa.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA.

Portugal's Third Colonial Possession. A Rich Agricultural Country.

The Colony of Guine (Portuguese Guinea), in West Africa, is undoubtedly one of the richest and most progressive of the colonies of Portugal in Africa. I have just had the privilege of meeting in Lisbon one of the most prominent elements of that progressive colony, Mr. Manuel Pereira Manso, leader of some of the highest interests at the Bijagòs Archipelago. Mr. Manso was the first white man who made an efficient business in these islands, and may be considered not only a merchant also as a missionary—a true pioneer of the white civilisation in that archipelago, always being on the best of terms with the native races inhabiting the territory. "Just before I left the Bijagòs," Mr. Manso told me, "in accordance to a law issued lately, all natives had to be dressed properly at certain periods, and in less than a fortnight I managed to have many more than 5.000 natives of three different tribes all dressed within the law. A man of the type of Mr. Manso should be an acceptable helper to His Excellency the Governor of Guinea, himself a great colonial, and to whom the colony is deeply indebted. Regarding H.E. Colonel Leite de Magalhaes, Mr. Pereira Manso tells me: "The colony of Guinè owes to its present Governor the greatest impulse of its remarkable recent development. His Excellency has made it possible by means of a very intelligent policy to intensify all old agricultural enterprises as well as the establishment of new ones, which are contributing largely to the colony's development. The real wealth of Portuguese Guinè lies in the agriculture, thus the essential base for its fomentation is in the development of this system. Colonel Magalhaes understood the importance of this matter, and has in accordance with the necessities of that colony made excellent plans to that end. Guinè has so far lived, I may say, almost exclusively on the export of mancarra (palm nuts), living thus in the dependency of this mono-culture, which has many ups and downs in the markets. This colony has now in full acting several experimental stations, with convenient experts, a complete and up-to-date organisation of agricultural services and rules, to help all farmers, settlers, and natives. These works are still being enlarged. This action has produced the wanted results, and so to-day we see with the greatest success the first plantations of coffee (Liberia type), maize, cotton, coconut, palm oil, etc. The production of cotton is already showing a great increase which will by itself justify all praise for Governor Leite de Magalhaes, who initiated this culture by the same method as is done in Egypt—that is, by giving to some entities the exclusive of purchase in certain areas, against the obligation of the construction of factories and acquisition of all the cotton produced by the natives in the territory to whom these entities will supply the necessary seeds and instructions. This system has been adopted before with great success in Egypt and the Belgian Congo, in Angola and Mozambique, etc. From the financial aspect as well, Mr. Leite de Magalhaes has given the colony a great impulse. The reorganisation of the Customs tariff, which, in spite of the advantages offered to national manufacture, does not make it prohibitive for the foreign competition. The taxation system is such that the colonials of Guinè, both Portuguese and foreign, have no complaints. In Guinè there is a great deal of French, Belgian, and German capital employed in many enterprises British capital has not yet been so largely placed there as it should be expected. I am sure that any British enterprise or capital that would come to Guinè will be most welcome. Knowing the colony as I do, I can say that capital coming from Portugal's old allies is always most welcome and helpful. In most of the great works accomplished in our other colonies there is always British capital interested, remembering only the great Benguela Railway. I sincerely regret the indifference that British colonial interests have shown up to now for Guinè—the Portuguese Gold Coast. There is no necessity for building railways or bridges or other very expensive works there, but, if other big foreign companies are working there with full success, there is room yet for many other enterprises, agricultural and industrial, where our allies could employ initiative and capital with great advantage. The Portuguese Guinè has its commercial scale well balanced as well as its budget, without a great sacrifice to the taxpayers. This has been also the work of the present Governor, and I can say to-day After all, we have discovered economically Portuguese Guinè."



H.E. COLONEL LEITE DE MAGALHAES,
Governor of Portuguese Guinea.

It must be pleasant for all colonials, particularly to the Portuguese, to hear such optimistic words. The colonies of Portuga are no doubt going ahead, and when the appointment for Governor falls on people like Colonel Leite de Magalhaes all of us any well be satisfied as to the future.

LUIS LUPI.

Lourenco Marques.

LINKING UP WITH THE UNION.

More Facilities Wanted.

At a meeting of the Lourenço Marques Chamber of Commerce, a shortage of trucks was complained of. It was stated that the Director of the Port and Railways had gone to Johannesburg to discuss the matter with the S.A.R., and there was every prospect of the position being normalised at an early date.

The Chamber decided to send three delegates to the Chambers of Commerce Congress at Kroonstad, namely, Messrs. Adriana Maia Rjt Hawke and A. White, and to repeat the invitation for the Congress to meet next year in Lourenço Marques.

It was also decided to submit proposals for the agenda relating to international roads and telephone communication between Johannesburg and Lourenço Marques, the building of a line from West Nicholson to Beit Bridge, the connecting up of the S.A.R. with the Portuguese railway at Goba by building a line across Swaziland, further excursion facilities and the removal of the Fruit Board of Control embargo on the port of Lourenço Marques, so that the fruit growers of Eastern and Northern Transvaal might export through their natural port, in view of the fact that a pre-cooling plant was being erected here, and would be ready for the next season.

Mozambique Bananas.

A proposal has been drafted for submission to the Government Council of Mozambique providing for the inspection by the Agricultural Department of all bananas destined for export from the colony. The fruit must be clean and packed in crates or boxes of wood, and they will be classified, but only those falling in grades one, two, or three may be exported, states a Reuter message from Lourenço Marques.

ISLAMIC DELEGATES AT LOURENCO MARQUES.

LOURENCO MARQUES, September 2.

The three Islamic delegates from India, Moulana Shouzat Ali, Mir Mommed Bloch, M.I.C., and Gazi Ashfaque Ahmed, arrived this morning, and were given an amazing welcome.

The speeches of welcome contrasted the Portuguese authorities with the Union authorities to the detriment of the latter. A conference is proceeding regarding the action of the delegates, who, however, expect to remain here for the next fortnight.—Reuter.

LISBON WATER PIPES CONTRACT.

Awarded to British Firm.

The Stanton Ironworks Company, of Alfreton, have obtained the contract for the supply of iron pipes to the Lisbon Water Company for the new water supply of that city, says the "Times" Lisbon correspondent. This contract, the value of which is £31,000, was obtained in spite of keen Continental competition.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

NEW PORT RECORDS.

100,000 Tons of Cargo a Month.

("African World" Correspondent.)

Beira is making and breaking records in regard to the cargo movement at the port from month to month. According to the port-captain's statement for July the total cargo movement (landings, loadings, and transhipment) in that month amounted to 99.393 tons, compared with 76,579 tons in July, 1928. In August the port was still busier, and although complete figures are not yet available, it is known that the tonnage handled at the wharves reached 85,900 tons which, with a normal quantity of transhipment cargo, would have brought the total for the month above the 100,000 tons mark. Of the August movement 80,962 tons were handled at the Chiveve (right bank) wharves, 2.273 tons at the Customs (left bank) wharf, and 2,665 tons at the Pungue (deep water) wharf.

For the first seven months of this year the total cargo movement at the Port of Beira was 522,210 tons, against 463,643 tons in the corresponding period of last year, an increase of 58.567 tons, or 12½ per cent. There is now little doubt that the cargo movement at Beira for the whole of 1929 will approach very closely to the million tons mark, even if it does not pass beyond it.

In August a record day's tonnage of 4,066 over all wharves was attained. Early in September this was broken with a tonnage of 4,421. The Pungue wharf was in use for loading maize, and 1,316 tons were put on board the s.s. "Eastlea" on September 4.

The Savoy Hotel.

The closing of the Savoy Hotel to transients—no visitor is now received for a stay of less than seven days—has attracted unfavourable comment in Rhodesia, where it is feared that passengers who are compelled to spend some days at the port before their steamer leaves will find difficulty in securing accommodation, or will have to pay seven days' charges at the Savoy for a stay of a much shorter period. It is, however, felt that the action of the proprietor will inevitably lead to the provision of other hotel accommodation at Beira, and an official of the Rhodesia Railways at Bulawayo informed an interviewer that they had the matter under consideration and were looking into the desirability or otherwise of building an hotel at Beira or purchasing one there.

To Beira by Road.

Four members of a Johannesburg firm have recently travelled by motor-car from the Reef City to Beira, their route from Umtali being via Gondola, Grudja and Nova Lusitania, whence they reached Beira by launch.

Avenida da Republica.

Beira's main artery, the Avenida da Republica, has recently been reconstructed as a modern roadway, which is described as being one of the best in Southern Africa. It is to be officially opened to-day (October 5).

Race Problem - 1929 I

Africa.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, March 30, 1929

THE NIGHTMARE IN THE PROTECTORATE.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SIERRA LEONE SETTLERS.

II.

WE closed our last contribution by the statement that the Protectorate is such only in name. The idea of a Protectorate is the establishment of what is known as externa sovereignty over a country without inspiring its internal sovereignty, that is the Protecting Nation for all practical purposes, controls the external or foreign relations of the Protected Nation, but does not interfere in its internal affairs or government. The Protectorate of the Colony of Sierra Leone does not possess the right of full internal control; the Government of the colony has full power to maintain order and good government within the Protectorate; and the Chiefs of the Protectorate are appointed and removeable at the will of the Governor for cause shown. In fact we think the Law expressly makes it an offence for "any Chief ordered by the Governor, either directly or by a deputy or messenger, to do or refrain from doing any public act or acts, and shall either defy, or neglect promptly to obey, such order."

A Chief is further liable to be fined; and as such all vestige of sovereign power is entirely lost. And whilst no Governor would arbitrarily depose a chief, we think no Chief would be so di-loyal as to act in a manner diametrically opposed to the wishes of the Governor, when he already knows them, unless there is some sinister influence seeking to undermine the prestige of the Governor.

What is the position at the present moment: Sometime last year a law was passed in the Legislative Council "to make provision relating to the Tenure of land by non-natives in the Protectorate. Among other things the law provided that "No land in the Protectorate shall be occupied by a non-native unless he has first obtained the consent of the Tribal authority to his occupation of such land." The Ordinance then proceeded to provide for leases and other tenures of su h land; and in order to safeguard the rights of persons occupying lands before the date of its operation, required them to register their title within twelve months. As we pointed out in our last issue, many of the lands occupied by the Sierra Leoneans were given by the Chiefs to them or their ancestors for services rendered, and as then the best relations prevailed, there were very few if any written agreements or leases for such lands. There was no promulgation of the new law, the Sierra Leoneans were unaware of its provisions, and they continued as under the old law. They paid their ground-rent and settler's fee. It is a significant fact that the District Commissioners who received these amounts, did not think good faith required of them to have drawn the attention of these settlers, before receiving their monies as if no change in the law had taken place. And we cannot disguise our opinion that the subsequent conduct of some, in view of this, leaves much to be desired from officers who are expected to reflect credit on themselves and on their class.

Sometime in November of last year, the Paramount Chief at Bo issued seven days notice of ejectment to the Sierra Leonean Settlers. It is significant that no Syrian was served with such notice. The Settlers, of course, could not understand the situation, and the first hing they did was to seek the protection nd advice of the Governor. In the meanme the Tribal Ruler, presumably with the knowledge of the political officer of his district, had started issuing summonses, and about a hundred Sierra Leoneans were summoned before the court of the Travelling Commissioner. Some of the cases were investigated in court; judgment given against the Settlers, and damages totalling about £300 were awarded against them.

Just at this time the conscience of His Excellencey the Governor was touched at the hardship which would befall the Settlers, if these judgments, unreasonable as they were, were enforced.

An amendment of the law was made by which the time for Settlers to register their titles was extended to April, and His Excellency the Governor undertook to use his good offices with the Chief that the judgments and damages should not be enforced. This commendable act of the Governor has been baulked by some influence, which is desirous of creating unrest when the Governor desires peace; and the result is, that after the Chief had, apparently, for three months accepted the advice of the Governor, he suddenly disregarded the wishes of His Excellency, engaged a Solicitor to issue a *mandamus* against the Travelling Commissioner to show cause why such execution should not be issued. The Travelling Commissioner did not wait to test the decision of the Circuit Court on the matter but, complying with the reques', issued execution, although he must have known that in doing so, he was acting contrary to the spirit of the compromise, and was thus creating unnecessary difficulties for His Excellency.

The Travelling Commissioner informed the Settlers, that he is issuing execution after refusing to do so in the first instance, because he has now been instructed to do so by Mr. BOWDEN the Provincial Commissioner. The question naturally comes up. How and by what authority did Mr. BOWDEN interfere with the Travelling Commissioner on such a matter? Did he obtain the advice of the Attorney-General? Is he aware that the Travelling Commissioner as far as these matters were concerned was a Judicial and not an Executive officer?

The most important question however, that Mr. BOWDEN must sooner or later be required to answer is, how is it, it is only in his Province—the Central Province—that there is this unrest?

How is it the Commissioners in the other Provinces have managed to avoid all this unrest.?

Has he so lost influence over the Paramount Chief that he is unable to use his good offices in the manner indicated by His Excellency?

We cannot believe that Paramount Chief KAMANDA BUNGE would have the effrontery to challenge or defy his Provincial Commissioner who has the power to make or mar him. It is one of the mysteries of the age, and needs to be solved. Matters cannot remain as they are, and we look to His Excellency to vindicate his authority and position.

NATIVE FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Recent Developments.

(From a South African Correspondent)

With General Hertzog's failure to secure the necessary two-thirds majority for the third reading of his Native Bills the first phase of the attempt to remove the Cape native franchise comes to an end. The franchise is provided for in one of the "entrenched" clauses of the Act of Union, which means that it cannot be altered by ordinary legislative machinery, but only by a special joint session of both Houses, when a two-thirds majority is required on the third reading.

General Hertzog did not hope to secure this, but he had a twofold object in bringing the bills forward. He wanted to show his backveld supporters that he had at any rate tried to redeem his promise of five years ago to settle the native question on "comprehensive" lines. That object he has presumably achieved, though it is doubtful if his party gained much prestige in the course of the debate. In the second place, he wished to get General Smuts and the South African party to reveal their own admitted differences on the subject. He hoped that amendments would be moved from the Opposition side which would expose these differences, but fortunately party loyalty and ordinary common sense prevented this disaster, whilst on the other hand a number of Labour members voted in the minority.

And so for the short remaining life of this Parliament the threat to abolish the Cape franchise disappears. But the Nationalist leaders are determined that their object is to be achieved in the new Parliament, which is to be elected on June 12. In view of this the critical nature of the general election needs no emphasising.

In the meantime a remarkable document on the subject has just been issued over the signatures of a number of distinguished men and women, of widely differing political views, in the Cape Province. The cabled résumé of this manifesto has recently been quoted by Lord Olivier. With one

REMARKABLE SURGERY.

A remarkable story of surgery in the African bush is told of Dr. Stanley Jackson, of the Sudan United Mission, who has been on a visit to Johannesburg. Dr. Jackson has been working among the natives in Northern Nigeria, indeed he is stated to have been the only medical man in an area of several thousand square miles, inhabited by some 110,000 people.

Recounting what he described as being one of his most memorable experiences, he stated: "A man was brought in to us on horseback one evening. We realised that an operation was the only thing that would save his life, but we were 100 miles away from the conveniences of a hospital, and we had to do the best we could.

"We whitewashed a small room, and sterilised it as far as possible by spraying the walls with carbolic acid. We made an operating table out of a mahogany board, lent us by a miner. My wife made theatre gowns and towels, and we sterilised them in the top tier of an aluminium vegetable steamer. Our instruments we boiled up in one of our pans. The patient was put under chloroform, and a tumour was removed, with eleven smaller ones underlying it, from his thigh, and the wound was stitched up within forty-five minutes. Seventeen days later he left the station fully recovered."

WEST AFRICAN REGIMENT.

Colours Handed Over to the Prince of Wales.

The Colours of the West African Regiment, now disbanded, were handed over to the Prince of Wales, colonel-in-chief of the regiment, at St. James's Palace on Thursday. The ceremony, brief, but none the less touching for its simplicity, was witnessed by some sixty or seventy spectators, mostly officers and other ranks who had served in the regiment and others closely connected with it.

At the gate leading into the Mall were the Colours, carried by two ex-officers of the regiment, both in service dress, and behind them an escort, under Second-Lieutenant T. W. Coke, from the Scots Guards, in full dress uniform. Behind them again were the drums of the Coldstream Guards.

On the arrival of the Prince, who wore the full dress uniform of the Welsh Guards, the Colours were lowered for the last time in a Royal Salute. Then slowly, while the drums and fifes played "Auld Lang Syne," the Colour party and escort advanced and halted. Lieut.-Colonel Leader took the King's Colour from its bearer and handed it on bended knee to the Prince, whose equerry, Captain J. R. Aird, bore it into the Palace. The Regimental Colour was handed over in similar fashion by Lieut.-Colonel A. E. Norton, another former commanding officer.

The Prince of Wales then addressed the officers and men as follows:—

"This ceremony cannot fail to strike a note of sadness in our hearts, and it is with feelings of no ordinary sorrow that I bid farewell to the West African Regiment, of which I have the honour to be colonel-in-chief.

"You are called on to-day, for reasons beyond your control, to part with your Colours; the Colours which, since the regiment's formation in 1898, have been guarded as a sacred trust, and which record your achievements in the Sierra Leone Rebellion, the Ashanti War of 1900, and the Great War.

"In His Majesty's name I gratefully thank all ranks for their loyal and devoted services to the Empire, and, as your colonel-in-chief, I am proud to take over these Colours, which will be preserved for all time at Windsor as the visible memorial of a distinguished regiment."

The following were then presented to the Prince:—Major-General Thompson, Lieut.-Colonel Leader, Lieut.-Colonel Norton, the Colour-bearers, Lieut. E. B. Beedle, the Gordon Highlanders, and Lieut. J. W. A. Hayes, the Inniskilling Fusiliers, and Brigadier-General Sir Joseph Byrne, Governor of Sierra Leone. His Royal Highness afterwards passed down the line shaking hands and speaking with each officer and man. Among the officers present in mufti were:—Brigadier-General G. T. Mair, the last Commander of Sierra Leone, and Brigadier-General B. Faunce, his predecessor.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

LORD DELAMERE ON KENYA PROBLEMS.

Question of Trusteeship.

Lord Delamere, in the course of an interview with a Cape paper, expressed highly interesting views on some of the great constitutional and economical problems facing East Africa.

He stated, *inter alia*, that the settlement of the White Paper on Indians in East Africa was accepted as what was likely to be at least a temporary settlement of the Indian question of that day. How, asks Lord Delamere, could we quibble about somebody else's wording dealing indirectly with an entirely different problem than that of the White Paper on Indians? We ourselves did and do consider ourselves trustees for the future of the indigenous races, and we said so, using the word trustee in its widest sense.

This argument about trusteeship was used by us as one of many reasons against the immigration of low-grade Asiatics who would be capable of competing with the indigenous people in the lower grades of economic endeavour. The question of the natives' serious competition with people of our own race living on a totally different plane has not seriously arisen yet in East Africa, and the future must solve many of its own problems.

Trusteeship Defined.

Our trusteeship (cannot we get back to the real meaning, which is responsibility?) is that of all governing peoples for the uncivilised races under their rule. It means that during the long period of time likely to elapse before they can take their place on a civilised plane we will see that they have every chance in the state of life and the standard of civilisation to which, as a whole, they rise. Their own plane, in fact. Certainly not that their interests should be paramount over those of other inhabitants of East Africa.

I do not expect to live to see the whole of South and East Africa a single political entity. It is from an economic point of view that I make this appeal. South Africa is gradually turning towards anything which will help the elimination of uncivilised workers. Voluntary migration from the south northwards owing to good transport facilities may help to solve this problem, and the northern countries may provide suitable Bantu lands in the far future. In the meanwhile, East Africa is gradually moving towards government by our own people who live and have their homes there, and live face to face with these problems rather than by officials who are only migrants themselves. And I am confident that until those of us who live in Africa are granted the extension of our birthright of governance all these problems will remain in the melting-pot of changing governors and time-expired officials. We in Kenya are trying to go a step further.

It is expected that Mr. and Mrs. Martin Johnson, of big game fame, will arrive in Kenya from America some-time in the autumn.

* * *

A new Kenya Judge in the person of Mr. Justice S. J. Thomas, arrived at Nairobi recently and was sworn in by H. E. the Acting Governor, Sir J. W. Barth, and afterwards welcomed by the local Bench and Bar. Mr. Justice Thomas has been Second Puisne Judge of Trinidad and Tobago since 1923.

MAJOR GROGAN'S VIEWS ON PROTECTION.

Neighbouring Territories and Common Interests.

In the course of an address at Mombasa, Major Grogan, who is looked upon as Kenya's prince of orators, dealt with the question of Protection.

He went on to say that in practice it was adopted by the whole world, based on a study by each people of its own area and a determination to co-operate in its development and secure the maximum wealth from it. Protection was essentially a socialistic policy contrasted with the *laissez faire* policy that it was displacing and which was individualistic.

Kenya Safeguards.

It was impossible for Kenya to enter into incorporation, at the moment, without an assurance of fundamental principles. There were differences, but they were momentary: the lamentable Land Agreement in Uganda, and the necessity imposed on Tanganyika to present a particular picture for the satisfaction of Venezuela, Brazil and Abyssinia—but those would pass. The vast proportion of the land of Kenya could be developed effectively only by white initiative and white enterprise.

But such white enterprise had to be protected and developed and Customs duties were not the only machinery of protection. It was part of what should be a concentrated effort of the State to develop its resources to the utmost for the good of all. Statesmanship lay in adjusting *all* the types of machinery involved so as to secure that no one section was in an advantageous position as against any other section. There were always difficulties in securing that, but they could be overcome.

Kenya and Uganda were one single basin; Tanganyika had three clearly marked basins within itself: the great one based on Dar-es-Salaam, and stretching from the Congo to Rhodesia; the Pangani Valley on the Tanga, and the South-East. If people would realise these natural formations they would find their difficulty even of associating the distinct basins, less formidable than they appeared.

A First Duty.

Kenya's first duty was to get to an agreement with Uganda. That could be done, and it could be made perfectly clear to Uganda how identical their interests were with those of Kenya. When the facts were properly presented, Uganda would see that even if all the protective duties were abolished at once, imported produce would still cost more than local goods!

He said they had been assured that Mombasa was in favour of protection. Where it disagreed was in the use of the railway as an agency. He personally did not believe there was any difference in principle there. They had to accept the principle that produce should pay what it could bear; that had to apply to maize and cotton alike. He had been partly responsible for securing the low rates on these, and had urged that cotton should be got out of the country free, if necessary. That was not in order to subsidise burglars, but to bring back far greater wealth from the proceeds of the sale of that produce overseas and to make it possible to bring under production some part of the enormous areas that were so suitable for maize in this country. That idea had been laughed at, but it had been forced through and a derelict railway had been redeemed.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

LATEST NEWS BY CABLE.

DANGER OF NATIVE OUTBURST.

Armed Police Rushed to Robertson.

CAPE TOWN, May 23.

Large forces of armed police have been rushed to Robertson, a small town eighty miles west of Cape Town, following threats that native trouble has been planned for to-morrow.

It was stated officially at Worcester, twenty miles from Robertson, to-day that N'Dobe and Tonjeni, two native agitators, have been delivering speeches in the native locations, inciting the natives to acts of violence.

One speech delivered by N'Dobe at Robertson on Sunday incensed the crowd so much that the police had to be called in and they rushed N'Dobe for his own safety to Worcester, where he proceeded to address inflammatory speeches to another meeting.

He declared that he would go back to Robertson on Friday, Empire Day, defy all authority, and address the natives. He asked his audience to go with him.

It is feared that natives from Cape Town and other places will assemble at Robertson, ostensibly to attend a coloured bazaar but really to cause trouble.

The Mayor of Robertson has called a public meeting for the purpose of restoring confidence, and the European residents have requested the Government to take steps to prevent native agitators using inciting language and also to close licensed houses on Friday.—"Daily Express."

INDEPENDENT LABOURITES.

JOHANNESBURG, May 23.

The Independent Labour Party of South Africa was officially launched at a meeting here when a manifesto was issued and addresses delivered attacking the existing Labour Party—particularly the Creswell section—which is declared to be no longer capable of representing the true interests of the working classes.

The new party has a Socialist objective and a progressive industrial, economic, and political programme. It is pledged to support Mr. Carruthers who, as an Independent candidate, is contesting the Jeppe division of the Rand against Mr. Sampson, the (Labour) Minister of Posts, and against Mr. Carter, the South African Party candidate.—"The Times."

MYSTERY OF MISSING SHIP.

DURBAN, May 17.

Negotiations are proceeding to charter the former dredger "Kate" to search for the missing Danish training ship "Kobenhavn." There is also the possibility of the services of Commander Wild, of the Shackleton Expedition, being obtained.—Reuter.

NOTE.—The "Kobenhavn," with naval cadets on board as well as her crew, has been missing since December 14, when she left Montevideo.

Race Problem – 1929 II

Africa

She was going across the South Atlantic to Australia. It is feared that she is disabled, and may have drifted to one of the lonely islands of the South Atlantic.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

Both Parties Confident.

CAPE TOWN, May 22.

The recent defection from the South African party of three Cape wine farmers, two of whom are described by the Opposition Press as "disappointed place-hunters," has caused great jubilation in Nationalist circles.

"De Burger" to-day asserts that the political outlook has lately undergone a great change, and that there are now solid grounds for believing that General Hertzog will receive a majority at the elections on June 12 over all parties, and find himself in a position to form a very strong Government with the aid of the Creswellite Labour section. Even Natal, it predicts, will surprise the rest of South Africa.

Meanwhile General Smuts shows no signs of the spirit of panic which his opponents attribute to him. He is at present touring the Western Transvaal, where there is a good deal of feeling against the Government, owing to the measures it has taken to restrict the production of diamonds at alluvial diggings. In a speech to-day General Smuts promised that if he were returned to power he would amend the latest Diamond Law, which was equally unjust to the diggers and to the landowners.

Referring to General Hertzog's "native danger stunt," he predicted that, like his former cry of "secession," it would be dropped after he had stirred up and divided the whole country. There was in reality, he declared, no native menace. The position was the same as it was twenty years ago, when General Hertzog himself was a party to the insertion of clauses in the Act of Union entrenching the Cape native vote.

The South African party leaders vie with the Nationalists in expectations of victory. Impartial authorities, although inclined to predict a small majority for General Smuts, owing to the Labour split, recognise that withdrawals of canditates before the polling day may improve the Pact chances.—"Daily Telegraph."

WHITE AND COLOURED.

WHITE CAPITAL AND COLOURED LABOUR. By Lord Olivier. London: Hogarth Press. Pp. 348. 12s. 6d.

Pacific internationalism among the white nations of the world will not suffice to give security to civilisation. Equitable relations between white and coloured peoples are equally essential and [illegible] to attain. Nobody is better equipped than Lord Olivier for a sober and [illegible] discussion of these relations. During the greater part of his active life, as an official of the Colonial Office and an administrator, he has been in close personal touch with the problems that arise from the contacts of different races, and ten years' residence in Jamaica (mostly in the character of Governor) gave him a rare opportunity for detailed observation and reflection from the most advantageous centre. For in Jamaica he found a practical refutation of a good deal of the loose theorising about whites and blacks which has been a source of much mischief. That mixing of white and negro stocks is necessarily fraught with physical, moral, and social damage, that negroes are congenitally lazy and incapable of close thought, that thieving habits, sexual and other vices are normal racial factors, and other shallow generalisations in support of the white man's desire to dominate cannot be sustained in the face of the actual experience of Jamaica and other colonies where considerable race admixture is found and where something like equality of economic and political opportunities obtains. In 1906 Lord Olivier first set out his reflections upon his experiences in the little volume of which this is a revision and enlargement. Its title lays a right emphasis on the economic relation, because this is the chief formative influence in the contacts between the white and coloured peoples of African stock. The writer distinguishes three periods in the contacts of two races: first, that of trading intercourse, inclusion of slaves as a chief material of commerce; next, the colonial or "plantation" era, of which rural slavery was the distinctive feature.

The third type of contact dates from the gold discoveries and those of other mineral wealth and natural resources to be extracted by the labour of natives under the direction of Europeans, and the main confrontation between white and black men is again, as distinctly as it was in the slavery period, one of capital and labour (p. 53).

But before the full opening of this third period the urge of the French Revolution and of English Liberalism had put down crude slavery. The modern problems of the race contacts arise from the capitalist exploiters' need for a revival of slavery under various subterfuges. Wherever whites have undertaken the "development" of backward countries they have needed native workers to be at their arbitrary disposal. If they find enough upon the spot, well and good; if not, they must import them. Africa has for centuries been the chief source of such supplies. Most of this labour has been "forced," in the sense that some special form of "inducement, stimulus, or pressure" (to use a phrase of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) has been applied by white masters or their Government. Lord Olivier analyses the various forms this pressure takes. The crudest, of course, is the corvée. But most of these consist in leaving to the natives so small a share of their land as to make it impossible for them to live unless they come out and sell their labour to the white capitalist for work in his mines or on his farms. The Government of these countries "obliges" by a head, hut, or wife tax, and by "pass" laws which have the effect of the old Settlement Laws in England. There are, of course, various modifications of this policy, according to the proportion of white masters and black servants available, and as the presence of "poor whites" or imported "Asiatics" (as in South Africa) complicates the issues.

Lord Olivier is not, however, an economic determinist. He does full justice to the religious and other idealistic factors that influence contacts with Africans and sometimes succeed in modifying the economic domination. But even philanthropists are taken in by the specious talk about the dignity of labour and elevating the natives by instruction in the arts of industry and higher standards of living. Modern anthropology teaches how dangerous it is to thrust upon "backward" people a white man's industry, morals, or religion so as to break up the customary habits, thoughts, and feelings which have kept them "going" as tribal groups from time immemorial.

A large and very profitable section of this book is given to a close consideration of the reactionary positions recently taken in South Africa and Kenya. In an important chapter entitled "Development and Civilisation" Lord Olivier shows how much turns upon the meaning of "development." The rich resources of many of these lands undoubtedly need white science and white leadership in order to make them available for the world. There is no natural right vested in the occupants of such lands to keep them undeveloped. It is in working out a sound and equitable mode of development that the problem of race contacts finds its true solution. Here we enter a fourth period that is beginning to make itself manifest in the principle of trusteeship. Often abused in the past by selfish nationalism, this principle may be able to operate soundly if the aims and professions of the League Covenant can be made good and its mandate system can be strengthened and extended so as to apply to all colories and protectorates where white men are in economic control. Lord Olivier performs a notable service in his fruitful exploration of this difficult set of problems and in his bold plan for a reassessment of native human values.

J A H

A CORRECT STUDY OF THE CONGRESS.

ITS AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS.

II.

THE foresight of the Congress in visualising the future needs of British West Africa has been justified in a recent appointment made in Nigeria. Among the resolutions passed at the First Conference at Accra in 1920, was one—"that the chiefs should be encouraged to engage **qualified educated men** to act as **Judges** in their courts so as gradually to raise the standard of the dispensation of justice in them."

This has in fact happened, by the appointment of Mr. FOLARIN, a Barrister-at-Law, to be Judge in the Court of the Alake of Abeckuta. At the time when the Congress suggested that as the best method to improve the status of the Native Courts, it was considered by some a fantastic proposal; its reality has shown its wisdom and justified the vision of the leaders of the Congress.

The resolutions of the Congress on **Medical Reforms** are interesting, because they represent the views of all sections of the community, and several of them have already been put into operation by the governments of West Africa.

The Trade Union spirit of the West African Medical Staff which creates a **Medical Segregation** is so contrary to the principles of the noble profession and so fundamentally opposed to the acknowledgment of merit as the sole hallmark of efficiency, that it must needs continue to be a target against which all West Africa must direct its aim. Several questions have been asked in the Legislative Councils of both Nigeria and Sierra Leone in order to ascertain the true grounds for such discrimination: the answers given are veritable instances of begging the question and disclose the machinations of men who are adepts in prevarication. Such a condition of things must not exist; Africans who have qualified in British Universities and Hospitals must have equal opportunities with their European Confreres. The Congress is awake to the situation and calls for universal support on this matter. The Congress further advocated for Hospitals with all modern conveniences and appliances, and that proper wards be provided for the better class of Africans. The first of these suggestions, namely, hospitals with modern conveniences and appliances has been adopted and all the principal Hospitals in British West Africa are more or less provided with modern appliances. But we cannot say that they are all provided with proper wards for

the better class of Africans. This is a necessity, and it is an admitted fact that the hospital in Freetown, for instance, is not as popular as it should be, because of this want of wards for the better class of Africans. Nature has so ordained that the constitutions of different persons are not the same, and one accustomed to better environments, even in time of illness requires conveniences suited to his mode of living. The Congress further advocated the appointment of an **equal number** of European and African Medical Officers in the Service. This has not yet been achieved, but it must be admitted that the number of African Doctors in the service, in Sierra Leone, for instance, is far in excess of what it was before 1920.

The question of the establishment of **dispensaries** in all the out-stations of British West Africa is one of the planks of the Congress, and it will be within our memory that the Congress actively championed the cause of the unfortunate villagers when the Government of Sierra Leone closed the dispensaries. The efforts of the Congress in rousing the conscience of Government to the unconscionable act of leaving the people to an itinerant Medical Officer had its effect, and to-day not only is there no possibility of the dispensaries being closed, but there is a scheme for the training of a higher class of men in the nature of Medical Assistants to replace them in due time. The question of **Infantile Mortality**, received the consideration of the Congress when the Governments were apparently apathetic to the question. The **general sanitation** of British West Africa and not the system of reserving certain areas for Europeans, and having those areas sanitarily improved to the detriment of the others, received due attention. And so long as the attitude of the Governments of West Africa is directed towards segregation, so long will it be incumbent on the Congress in a loyal and constitutional manner to point out the defects of their system.

In closing this sub-head we may with pertinence quote a resolution of Congress passed in the year 1920 as follows:—

"That having weighed all the information at its disposal as to the grounds of the principle of segregation, this conference is not satisfied that those grounds are of sufficient weight to justify its operation," and would quote Mr. RONALD ROSS on the point where he says:—

"The second measure—the segregation of the healthy—is one which has long been used in India, where the Europeans generally live in seperate cantonments. It protects only a section of the public. In places where it has not already been adopted, it will generally demand the building of a new station for the Europeans. This will be costly, and the question will arise whether the same amount of money could not have been better spent in protecting the whole public, European and native alike. Besides, complete segregation is almost always impracticable"

Bantu European Conference.

The first was based on fear of the numerical superiority of the Natives, but it failed to note that the European voters were increasing at a greater rate than Native voters and that, as Dr. Mitchell had said, the natural rate of increase in the European population was greater than that of the non-European. There were three fallacies in this view, (1) apparent numerical superiority really proved nothing, (2) the Bantu people would not think alike on all subjects, (3) Bantu and Europeans would not necessarily be opposed to each other.

With regard to those who supported a separate franchise they overlooked the principle that representation should be based on local community of interests. Further, if it was derogatory for Europeans to represent Eurooeans and Natives it was surely more derogatory to represent Natives only, although he did no think so. Sir Clarkson Tredgold then submitted a resolution in support of the retention of the present franchise in the Cape (This motion was later referred to the Franchise Committee.)

Professor Jabavu, referring to the earlier discussion as to the desirability of debating the Native Franchise at this Conference said that it was merely chance that the issue was political. An abstract principle was involved and it could not be just ignored because it happened to rub shoulders with politicians. Franchise rights were being attacked, rights which had not only never been abused, but had been so prized that those whom the Natives had sent to Parliament had adorned it. Members of the Conference could not allow these rights to disappear without a struggle. Attacking such current phrases as "Develop along your own lines," Professor Jabavu claimed that all civilisation was the heritage of every one. He challenged those who said "The black man is a danger to civilisation" to explain its meaning. Such phrases should be eliminated from the currency of language.

Professor Brookes held that the Conference was competent to discuss the subject before it. and it was necessary that it should do so because (1) there should be no general election on this issue, (2) the time was most inopportune for an election of the nature, and (3) consequently it was necessary to see how such an election could be prevented. He then pleaded that legislation on the Native Franchise be defarred until after the election and an effort made to secure the consent of both races concerned to any such legislation. The matter should be discussed in a Conference atmosphere. He himself was not tied down to the Cape Franchise as it stood for he was alarmed at the disproportion between the rights of Natives in the Cape and those in other Provinces. If however it was still to be an election issue he would join in resisting the attempt to take away the Cape Native Franchise without having reached an honourable agreement. He then submitted a series of resolutions which were later referred to the Franchise Committee. These deprecated the Native Franchise being made an election issue, and suggested settlement by a national convention or failing, this that all who wished to secure a fair settlement should now join in resisting the present proposals. Professor Jabavu seconded. Mr. Mushet said that no one in 1910 even in the North had thought of taking away the Native franchise. All had regarded it as sacrosanct. The Franchise rights had never been abused and its abolition would be treason.

Rev. Z. R. Mahabane supported Professor Brookes' motion. Professor du Plessis urged the Natives to recognise that the Franchise was not a panacea for the ills. Long experience and training was necessary for a people to exercise the franchise effectively. Was the bulk of the Native population fit for it? He expressed doubt whether the Conference was the place for the adoption of Sir Clarkson Tredgold's resolution. The Conference then adjourned.

Friday evening. The Conference resumed at 8.15.

Native Health Organisation.—The following findings of the Committee on Native Health Organisation were adopted unanimously.

Medicel Services.—1. This Conference impressed by the fact that the 'poorer and more backward the district the greater the need for the intervention of the State,' and by the needs of the Native areas as disclosed by the reports of the several committees of enquiry, urges the Government to inaugurate medical services for the Natives.

Hospitals.—2. The Conference urges the authorities to adopt the recommendations of the Hospital Survey Committee of 1927 as the basis of the immediate hospital programme for the need of non-Europeans, viz.:—"One bed for every 1,400 of the non-European population; and that within a period of ten years provision will be made for at least one bed for every 700 non-Europeans.

Clinics.—3. The Conference stuggests:—(a) That Chiefs, Native Councils, Municipalities and Hospital Boards be urged to provide or support clinlcal facilities covering various medical needs in their areas and particularly to undertake propaganda for child welfare, health and sanitary measures generally.

(b) That warm appreciation be expressed of the action of those municipalities which have inaugurated medical services in locations and Native townships, and that other Municipalities be urged to develop such services, wherever posfible.

(c) That the public health authorities be urged to establish outpatient clinics for Natives in all large centres of population, and that in view of the difficulty of the provision of conveyances for sick Natives care should be taken that these are situated in places of easy access or that adequate ambulance prevision be provided.

Medical Training.—(4) This Conference supports the following recommendations of the Loram Committee on the Training of Natives in Medicine and Public Health:—

(a) That facilities be provided in South Africa for a full University medical course for non-Europeans, carrying the same entrance requirements and the full registrable qualifications applicable to Europeans.

(b) That loans on conditions to be approved be made available for the assistance of deserving Native medical students.

(c) That until such time as adequate facilities exist in South Africa for the training of medical students a system of bursaries and loans be made available to Native nurse instituted to enable students to proceed overseas.

Nursing Training, etc.—5. (a) That increased training facilities be provided for non-European probationers, both in general nursing and midwifery, with the same entrance requirements and the full registrable qualifications applicable to women who already hold a midwife's qualification. That a deputation consisting of three members chosen by the Committee be appointed to interview the Chairman of the Board and to discuss the proposal with him.

(b) That where necessary loans be made available to European probationers.

(c) That this Conference approach the Board with a view to ascertaining whether the same entrance requirements be granted to some form of health visitor's certificate as for women who already hold a mid-

the better class of Africans. This is a necessity, and it is an admitted fact that the hospital in Freetown, for instance, is not as popular as it should be, because of this want of wards for the better class of Africans. Nature has so ordained that the constitutions of different persons are not the same, and one accustomed to better environments, even in time of illness requires conveniences suited to his mode of living. The Congress further advocated the appointment of an equal number of European and African Medical Officers in the Service. This has not yet been achieved, but it must be admitted that the number of African Doctors in the service, in Sierra Leone, for instance, is far in excess of what it was before 1920.

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(c) That this Conference approach the Union Government and the Royal Sanitary Institut in S.A. with a view to ascertaining whether the Board is prepared to grant some form of health visitor's certificate for women who already hold a mid-

wife's qualification. That a deputation consisting of three members chosen by the Committee be appointed to interview the Chairman of the Board and to discuss the proposal with him.

Race Problem - 1929 1

Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The West African Regiment.

By the disbandment of the regiment whose colours were handed to its Royal Colonel-in-Chief on May 21, the only Imperial West African Regiment disappeared from the roll of the British Army, the West African Frontier Force being a Colonial Regiment. The regiment had just thirty years of existence, having been raised in 1898 to serve as garrison of Sierra Leone, whose importance as a coaling station for the British Navy on the long voyage between Great Britain and the Cape of Good Hope was demonstrated during the Great War. During the short career the regiment saw a good deal of active service. Within a month of its formation it was called upon to take the field to suppress the Hut-Tax rising of 1898. Two years later it took part in the Relief of Kumasi, and added to its honours during the Great War.

The Royal African Corps.

The first regiment to bear the title of "African" was a very different body from this fine regiment. From their first inception at the beginning of the seventeenth century the trading companies had maintained bodies of European soldiers to garrison the forts. Most of these were employed as gunners to serve the cannon which were supposed to arm the forts, but both forts and guns were, according to the reports which still exist, generally in such a condition as to be of little use. In nearly every case, when a fort was closely attacked, it was found that the embrasures were so badly designed that the men serving the guns were almost without shelter. Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, headquarters of the English and their keen rivals the Dutch, were really formidable fortifications of the style of the period, impregnable to native attack, and capable of putting up a good resistance to European forces and the artillery of that time. Later on a body was enrolled for service on the West Coast and the Cape which was a mixed collection of white and black soldiers, and known as the Royal African Corps of Light Infantry. This was what was called a "disciplinary force," into which bad characters and "toughs" were drafted from other regiments. The white members were such cast-offs as these, and such poor wretches as could be persuaded to take the risks of service in the West African climate, from the ill effects of which they tried to defend themselves by unbridled indulgence in drink. Their sufferings were increased by the fact that no attempt was made to adapt their uniforms to the climate. The illustrations to Bowdich's and Dupuis' accounts of their missions to Ashanti show the soldiers attached to them doing sentry duty in the broiling sun dressed in the close-fitting coatee with high collar and white cross-belts and the heavy black leather shako of the uniforms of the regular army regiments. This is not surprising, as the British regiments when serving in India wore the same close-fitting, heavy uniforms as when in England. Sir Garnet Wolseley was the first British General to appreciate the suffering which such equipment must inflict upon European soldiers in a tropical climate, and had the troops for the Ashanti War of 1873-74 clothed in a specially designed loose uniform. This was the first time that British troops took the field in a "field-service kit," and it established a precedent which has been followed ever since. The hodden gray, selected for the Ashanti War was changed to khaki for the Boer War. The poor wretches of the Royal African Corps suffered terribly from the combined effects of the climate, bad feeding, and intemperance; it was reckoned that two-thirds of the strength died annually, few living to complete a year's service. In 1824, the year of the battle in which Sir Charles Macarthy was killed, the deaths exceeded the official strength on the roll, although only forty-one men fell in the action. In consequence of its heavy mortality, the regiment had been moved to the Cape, but was brought back at Sir Charles's request. One of his first acts on taking over the forts for the Crown was to enroll the soldiers in the service of the Company of African Merchants into three companies of the Royal African Corps, which shared in his defeat, and later on contributed largely to the victory of Dodowah by its steadiness and regular fire in the crisis of the battle. It continued to exist till July 1, 1840, when it was combined with three supernamarary companies of the 2nd West Indian Regiment to form the 3rd West Indian Regiment.

A Distinguished Officer.

The most distinguished member of the corps was Captain Alexander Gordon Laing, who acquired posthumous fame as the first European to visit the then mysterious city of Timbuktu. The son of a Glasgow schoolmaster, he adopted his father's profession, but after three years he obtained a commission, in 1804, as ensign in the Prince of Wales's Loyal Edinburgh Volunteers, and went to Barbados as clerk to his uncle, who was deputy quartermaster-general there. He attracted the attention of Sir George Beckwith, governor of the island, through whose patronage he was transferred to the York Light Infantry, composed mainly of foreigners, but with British officers, formed for service in the West Indies. He served with this regiment, rising to the rank of lieutenant, until it was disbanded at the peace of 1815, when he was able to exchange into the 2nd West India Regiment, in which he was appointed deputy assistant quartermaster-general. After two years on half-pay (owing to bad health) he returned to his regiment as lieutenant and adjutant. Two years later (1820) he was promoted to a company of the Royal African Corps, and joined it at Sierra Leone. Sir Charles Macarthy took him on his personal staff, and in 1822 despatched him on a mission to Kambia and the hinterland "to ascertain the state of the country; the disposition of the inhabitants to trade and industry; and to know their sentiments and conduct as to the abolition of slavery," during which he collected much useful information. His journey is clearly and pleasantly described in his book, "Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries in Western Africa," published by John Murray in 1825. He accompanied Sir Charles to the Gold Coast, and played an active part in the unfortunate campaign of 1824, and was sent home with Colonel Chisholm's despatches and report. He succeeded in obtaining the support of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, and was commissioned to carry out an expedition, by way of Tripoli and Timbuktu, to ascertain the source and course of the River Niger. It was known that he reached Timbuktu and was killed soon after, but the details of his journey were unknown till nearly ninety years later. The story and evidence were laboriously pieced together by a Frenchman, M. A. Bonnel de Mezier, who collected documents and other relics. The story of his pious search is told in "Le Major A. Gordon Laing (Tomboctou, 1826). Textes et Documents nouveaux découverts à Tomboctou et Araouan" (Emile Larose, Paris, 1912).

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Native Training Institutions.

At a meeting of the Association of Heads of Native Training Institutions in the Cape Province, Transkei and Bechuanaland, held at East London on the 12th March the problem, which is arising, of "Strikes" on the part of the Native boarders at these Institutions was under consideration. The Association decided to issue to the press for public information the following statement which embodies and defines what in general has been the procedure and policy of individual Institutions in the past, and which becomes now the policy of the Association.

(1) If students or apprentices at a Native Training Institution have what they consider a serious grievance in connection with the arrangements or the authorities of that Institution, they shall submit their complaint to the Head of the Institution or to his authorised deputy, in an orderly manner. When a decision has been reached by the Institution authorities, it shall be communicated to the complainants as the Institution's final judgment.

(2) In the event of any students or apprentices disputing this decision and refusing to conform to it, they shall be discharged from the Institution, and a statement of the cause, together with the name and home address of each person so discharged shall be sent to the Heads of all the other Training Institutions and to the Department of Education. Such discharge shall not, however, necessarily debar the students or apprentices concerned from admission to other Institutions, but no admission shall be granted without reference to the Institution from which they have been discharged.

(3) While a matter of grievance is under consideration all students and apprentices are expected to maintain the routine of duty of their Institution.

(4) In the event of any disorder or violence being premeditated or begun in connection with any grievance or complaint, it shall be the responsibility of every student or apprentice to dissociate himself from such disorder or violence by following the ordinary routine of the Institution and obeying such orders as may be issued by authority. Every student or apprentice who does not so dissociate himself is liable to be regarded as participating in the disorder and to be held responsible for whatever consequences follow.

(5) The penalty for participating in any organised disorder or violence directed against the management of an Institution or against any of its individual authorities shall be summary dismissal.

(6) A list of all students and apprentices summarily dismissed shall be sent forthwith to the Department of Education and to the Heads of all the other Native Training Institutions connected with the Association; and at no time thereafter under any plea whatsoever shall any student or apprentice so dismissed be considered eligible for admission into any of these Institutions without his case being referred to the Association and the approval of the Association received.

(7) Parents and guardians in applying for admission of those under their care are expected to note that they become liable for damages in the event of those for whom they are responsible being found guilty of destroying property.

Native Institutions' Discipline.

In this impression will be read what we may term the disciplinary constitution laid down by the newly-formed Association of Heads of Native Training Institutions. It is wisdom for the authorities of these establishments to adopt a *modus operandi* in anticipation of troublous times, which unfortunately, are becoming more frequent in our educational centres. We beg to point out however, to the Association the extreme severity of the method of procedure in dealing with student recalcitrants particularly students in the lower or initial stages of their training. This class of scholar is certainly not sufficiently mentally developed as to understand, far less appreciate, the soundness of these measures when he has cause for complaint. The under-graduate would find no fault with the injunctions laid down, for he has enough ability to comprehend the necessity of strict discipline where the characters of

hundreds of semi-cultured students are in the moulding. It would therefore be apparent that some safeguard should have been provided in the case of the former class of student, and we venture to suggest that parents of Native students should be directly represented on the governing councils of all Native institutions. This additional method of communication between students and the authorities would go a long way in cementing the spirit of confidence between the governing and the governed, and many a strike would be averted.

Paragraph (7) holds the parents responsible for their children's depredations, and we assert that it is severely disregarding the feelings of the parents in mulcting them in damages when, after getting them to pay school fees in advance, they have no opportunity of helping to quell strikes before summary dismissal has been pronounced by the authorities concerned. It should also be remembered that paragraph (4) would involve loyal students who failed to dissociate themselves with strikes by reason of intimidation by the angry mob, and it seems that recognition of their loyalty and past good conduct should save them from inevitable circumstances arising out of a general disorder.

The "ring" into which training institutions form themselves to deal with students expelled for the strike evil, should consider the resultant ruin to the future careers of such students, and should make liberal allowances even at considerable convenience to themselves. It would be a blessing if our missionary training institutions could enjoy the full confidence of Native parents in the matter of settling these disorders with equity, as in the past our people have been seriously affected financially and mentally by the way their children had been dealt with.

"Dr" Wellington in the Dock.

Tale of his Diploma.

(Specially reported for "Inyo")

The little courthouse at Stutterheim, C.P, was the scene of attraction at 10 a.m Thursday, 7th inst, when the celebrated "Dr." Wellington (alias Butelezi) appeared before the local magistrate Mr. C W Crawford to answer a charge of contravening section 94 of the Liquor Act 30, 1928, in that he obtained liquor at the Amabele Hotel on the 4th ult, not being an exempted Native under the Act. Mr. F H Bousfield appeared on behalf of accused.

By the Prosecutor; William Berichievy, proprietor of the hotel at Amabele Station gave evidence to the effect that accused and two other Natives had lunch at his hotel, after which accused came to the bar door and asked for half a bottle of Commando brandy. He (witness) explained to accused that the latter could not be served with liquor under the new act unless he produced an exemption certificate. Accused in reply stated that he could be served and had been served throughout the country Witness continued, and said accused gave his name as Dr. Wellington, and thereafter produced a form of exemption on which was written inter alia "Dr. Wellington, Medical Practitioner etc" It was the first form of its kind witness had ever seen. The certificate stated qualifications of a doctor and other things. Witness could not explain what sort of document it was. He was satisfied that Wellington was entitled to obtain liquor, and thereupon instructed his barman to serve him with half a bottle of Commando brandy at 4/-. Witness made an entry in the sales register He knew accused was a Native.

At this stage the magistrate permitted the accused to be seated during the hearing.

Charles John Easton was the second witness for the prosecution, and he deposed that he was barman at Berichievy's Hotel at Amabele in the Stutterheim district. He gave corroborative evidence, and added that instructions he had from his employer were that he was to serve no Native under any circumstances until ordered by Mr. Berichievy.

Det Segt. De Bruyn, Police Sergeant stationed at Queenstown was the next witness. In reply to the Prosecutor he explained that he knew the accused. He had an interview with him on the 27th ult, at his office, and explained to him that a charge would be preferred against him for wrongfully obtaining liquor at Amabele hotel He asked accused if he had an exemption certificate, to which the latter replied that he had approached the magistrate at East London for an exemption, and was told to call again, but he failed to do so. He had no exemption papers at present. Accused gave witness his name as Dr. Wellington, and witness put in a letter from the Medical Council, Pretoria which was to the effect that the name of Dr. Wellington did not appear in their register.

By the defence. When he extracted evidence from accused he had previously warned him. Witness did not enquire at King William's Town or East London whether an exemption certificate on behalf of accused was under consideration.

Mr. F H Bousfield drew the attention of the Court to the anomaly that no evidence was adduced to prove whether accused was served with brandy or not. He quoted a similar case of recent occurence at Fort Beaufort, and added that an exemption certificate had since been issued in East London. The Court's rejoinder was that the East London certificate does not entitle accused to obtain liquor in the Stutterheim district It was an exemption from the Minister of Justice that would entitle him to obtain liquor anywhere.

WELLINGTON'S EVIDENCE

Accused was put into the witness box for the defence, and gave his name as Butler Harsford Wellington. He could not say whether he was a Zulu or Xosa except that he was a Native born in Natal. He had a professional certificate to practice from August 1924 to August 1927, and also Exemption Certificate No 9 (both produced) granted in East London.

The magistrate read the papers produced and pointed out that the medical certificate or licence lasted for a period of one year i.e. to 1925, but an alteration was made of 1925 to 1927.

Accused in further cross-examination admitted that he prescribed liquor for his patients many times before. The liquor in this case was prescribed for his car driver who suffered from a cold attack. His place of residence was Queenstown, He had applied at Queenstown also for a liquor exemption. Had made no application to the Minister of Justice,

By the Prosecutor: The medical certificate he (accused) had cost him £3 a year. Was in Natal two months ago and was always travelling. Accused stated he had

QUALIFIED AS A DOCTOR

in East Africa but did not have his papers here with him owing to difficulties he encountered on the border on his return It was written on his licence that he was a medical doctor and though he paid £3 for the licence he was not prepared to account for the error, or what it cost to have a medical practitioner's licence.

The Prosecutor at this juncture pointed out to the Court that it cost £10 10s. to obtain a medical practitioner's licence Continuing under cross examination Wellington stated that it was not to his knowledge that he had to get exemptions every where he went. He had a medical licence and so did not worry about getting his name registered in the Union as a doctor. He took it his licence was good enough all over the Union. He applied for exemptions under Liquor Act to satisfy trouble-some barmen throughout the country, not by reason of his professional certificate being insufficient proof

Replying to a question by the Court accused stated he was in East Africa six years, and had passed his Matriculation examination. His vocation was on the licence.

This closed the case for the prosecution and Mr. F. H. Bousfield in addressing the Court applied for the discharge of accused on the grounds that his client was still a medical practitioner even though his licence may have expired. Accused may not be practising, but he is still a practitioner. Although he has not produced a licence for the Cape province there is nothing debarring him. His name still remained on the roll until it was struck off.

The Court: Accused's name does not appear as a registered practitioner in terms of the Act.

The Attorney for defence insisted that evidence should be led by the prosecution as to whether it was liquor that accused was served with at Amabele, for it is possible it was not liquor at all. To this the magistrate replied that Berichievy's word was good enough for the Court to believe.

Judgment.

The Court detailed that accused was charged with obtaining liquor while not in possession of the necessary exemption certificate "You are an educated man," said his worship in addressing accused, "and at East London you tried to get liquor and yet at Amabele you bluffed the hotel-keeper when you knew what was required. I find you guilty, and fine you £10 or 2 weeks hard labour." The fine was paid; but we understand the sentence is sent for review to the Attorney-General. The case lasted 55 minutes.

We make no apology in giving a full report of the evidence led in the above case, as it is an eye opener to the hundreds of "Dr" Wellington's dupes who have followed in his mischievous trail in answer to the call of the so-called American negro deliverance. The case gives the history of his assumed title of "doctor," and seems to point to the fact that Wellington was evidently licensed as a herbalist in 1924, but by some unaccountable means his licence mentions nothing of herbs, but pronounces him a full medical practitioner. Some issuing officer has grossly erred, and in the interim the grantee has lost no

Race Problem- 1929 II

Africa

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

LATEST NEWS BY CABLE.

THE PREMIER'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Ten Planks of Nationalist Platform.

CAPE TOWN, April 18.

General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, delivered an election policy speech at Smith field this evening. He declared that a feeling of social peace and contentment unknown under the Government of General Smuts now prevailed everywhere. He claimed that the settlement of the disputes regarding the status of independence had been a declaration of peace between the Dutch and English-speaking South Africans after a one hundred years years' struggle for liberty.

General Hertzog went on to say that the failings of the Smuts Government, particularly the failure to maintain the National South African doctrine of white civilised labour for State enterprises was due to the old South African party being outgeneralled by the Unionist element. The Government had made every effort to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the native problem. That it had not succeeded had been ascribed to the state of powerlessness to which General Smuts was doomed by the Unionist alliance.

The ten planks in the Nationalist election programme included agricultural development, loans to farmers for improvements, the protection of industries, white labour in State enterprises, the allocation of part of the proceeds from the State diggings for irrigation schemes, power from Union coal, road construction, "the insuring of South Africa's future as a white man's land with white man's civilisation, the rejection of the doctrine proclaimed by General Smuts of the incorporation or federation of the Union with the British native territories in East or North-East Africa," and the solution of native problems on the lines of political and territorial segregation.

General Hertzog then declared that there was no better way for the proper care and interests of the native than the guarantee that South Africa should ever remain the heritage of Europeans with European civilisation, unendangered by the native and his vote. Unless the native vote were separated from the white it would cause the greatest tragedy in the history of South Africa.

General Smuts' policy must result in the downfall of South Africa as a white man's land. The Government had always advocated friendship and co-operation with British territories to the north and east, but the Nationalists objected to either federation or unification with those territories which would never be anything else than native territories.—Reuter.

COL. CRESWELL DEFENDS THE PACT.

Five Years of Wear and Tear.

JOHANNESBURG, April 12.

Colonel Creswell, Minister of Defence, and Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, opened his election campaign by addressing his constituents in Johannesburg and stating the reasons why the Pact and the Pact Government should continue.

How long that may be practicable and beneficial (he said) no one can say. It is a matter which our Party Conference will watch and upon which it will always have a deciding voice, but I know that it is practicable and beneficial to-day, and I believe it will be so for the next few years to come at all events, and that being my conviction, I care not what criticism may be levelled at me because I give that advice to the Labour Party. I have never, in my life, had a more wearing time than this last five years, but I know from my experience of twenty years' Parliamentary life in the Labour Party that never before have we been able to exercise one-tenth as much influence in the Government of this country for the benefit of the wage and salary earners of South Africa. Possibly we might have exerted more if we had been a more united party, and some of us had not imagined that they could at one and the same time enjoy the freedom of being in Opposition and the benefits and responsibilities of being with the Government. I am as certain as I stand here that the interests of those classes of people who are our particular charge will be better served by continuing this arrangement, by which we are able to maintain a more constant influence than by any other way that is to-day within the range of practical politics.

The Pact Government was put into power to open a new chapter. There has been in this five years far closer touch between Government and people and happier and better relations between them than for many a long year before, and this new chapter, which we commenced in 1924, has already replaced the depression, uncertainty, and insecurity which then prevailed by a steadily growing prosperity and quiet confidence in our future which makes it essential that the new chapter shall be continued and that we shall not go back to the unpleasant days of South African party government.

Referring to the native question, Colonel Creswell said:—

I hold that upon the European people rests the responsibility for the maintenance of civilisation in this country, and I am also of opinion that you are shirking that responsibility by the pretence of associating the native with you in your electoral system. It is far better for the natives to vote for their own representatives than to mix up the two in the same electoral system.—The "Times."

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THE GOLD COAST MEDICAL SERVICES.

THE general health policy of the Gold Coast has recently been stated by Sir Ransford Slater in his address to the Legislative Council, but there is still a good deal that is interesting in the annual report on the Medical and Sanitary Departments for 1927-8 (Crown Agents, 4, Millbank, S.W.,—3s.). Apart from sums spent by the Public Works on hospitals and dispensaries, the expenditure of the Department was £165,620 on medical, £93,393 on sanitary, and £12,371 on research, or £271,384 in all. (The report says £261,384.) This represents a ratio to total expenditure, exclusive of special and extraordinary works, of 11.5 per cent. It is satisfactory to see that public confidence in the hospitals is steadily growing, and this accounts in part, no doubt, for an apparent increase in disease. In the case of the new venereal clinic at Accra, however, there is a considerable decrease in the patients for whom it is intended, although sufferers from yaws attend in large numbers. It is to be feared that in this instance, at any rate, the fluctuation is due rather to change in public opinion than in the actual incidence of disease.

Research has been concerned chiefly with yellow fever and trypanosomiasis, but over 10,000 doses of plague vaccine have been kept in stock, as a protective measure. There seems to be evidence that without a fresh human strain at regular intervals the virulence of the vaccine decreases, although this is contrary to the experience of the previous year, but the report does not say whether consideration has been given to a possible variation under "natural" conditions, which might help to explain the annual variation in plague incidence that has been noticeable in Lagos.

The general introduction of vaccination is proving effective, for there has been a steady diminution in smallpox, 1,948 cases being treated in 1925-6, 172 in 1926-7, and five in the year under notice. It is a pity that something similar cannot be done with malaria, but here attention seems chiefly to be directed to the penal effect of anti-larvæ measures, and while we are told that 5,326 prosecutions were instituted for this reason, the only immediate result that appears to be considered worthy of mention is that fines to the tune of £3,378 were imposed.

chance in reaping a rich harvest by the anomaly. It is interesting to note also his birth place which in evidence he gave as Natal, in contrast to the identity he discloses to his followers as an American negro born "right" in New York. "Dr" Wellington is of a dark complexion, about 5 foot 4 inches in height, about 33 years of age, large head with bunch of hair above forehead and very close cut at back of head Wears a heavy black moustache and large spectacles. He is not exquisitely dressed, but attires himself tidily. His Dodge motor car registered C.A.E. 304 awaited him in front of the courthouse during the hearing, its condition relating a pitiful tale of woe No windscreen and tent, half a steering wheel, large slices of duco chipped off the doors and body, cracked mud guards and a general delapidated appearance of the car all round, bore testimony of abnormal adversity in the 18,000 miles the speedometer registered. Our reporter informs us that "Dr" Wellington passed the night before his trial at a Native boarding house at Amabele, and neighbours living in the vicinity were kept awake well into the night with the hectic hilarity indulged in by "Dr" Wellington and his two confederates. Such are thine leaders, Oh Israel!

In view of the facts given in the address already mentioned, it is unnecessary to notice any but the major dangers to public health in the Colony. One of these, cerebro-spinal meningitis, has been practically absent during the year, but there is no evidence that, as with plague, a scheme of defence has been considered, although, judging from the experience of the South African mines, as described in the February "Journal" of the South African Medical Association, forms of serum treatment might prove beneficial. In regard to relapsing fever, too, we are told that it "may be serious wherever drought is likely," but not that steps are being taken to ensure prompt notification of an outbreak, probably because this would demand the employment of a trained African staff that has yet to be created. The significance of this will appear when we come to the section dealing with yellow fever. Fortunately, some effort is being made to examine the incidence of trypanosomiasis, and to trace its local foci, but the report is forced to own that it is at present impossible to give even an approximate figure for its occurrence. It should be possible to take far more energetic steps in regard to this disease, which has shown itself more capable of lasting harm to tropical Africa than has malaria itself.

When we come to yellow fever the case is different, for the disease is described (under "general African health") as the chief cause of anxiety, not because it has recently shown a disposition to attack Africans, but because its "gravity consists chiefly in its danger to the more susceptible elements" of the population,—that is to say, to the non-Africans. There is no difficulty in giving an "approximate figure" here, for 18 areas are listed that showed one or more cases, the sole vagueness being in regard to the town of Asamankese, only 50 miles inland from Accra, where the first outbreak occurred, and where there is reason to believe that 100 *deaths occurred in two months before the health authorities even heard of the matter.* It is hard to see how the suggested rigorous segregation of Europeans in residential areas would have been of benefit to *public* health in this case, although it would undoubtedly have saved several non-African lives. Looked at in its narrowest aspect, segregation in this case would have proved useful, but it is hard to say that non-officials suffer generally, in view of the figures given, for comparative purposes, in the report. In the last six years, for instance, the total annual losses through disease, i.e., by death and invaliding together, expressed as a percentage of the total resident, have been far higher among officials than among non-officials. This does not show, of course, that it is more healthy to live outside the residential areas, but it does suggest that the more frequent invaliding of officials is an important point to be considered in drawing any comparison. But to return to yellow fever. The destruction of the idea that Africans are immune, more or less, to this disease makes it more necessary than ever, even for the preservation of European health, that a good "health intelligence service" should be set up, preferably through the work of trained African health assistants, or, failing that, through the registered teachers who are to be found almost everywhere, for without early knowledge of epidemics, the mobile section proposed by the Medical Department would lose half of its utility.

ABYSSINIA'S NEW KING MODERNIZES STATE

Commercial Appeal

Nation Left Behind During March of Progress.

6-4-'29 Memphis

Westernization has for years been the dominant force in the personality of Ras Taffari Makonnen, prince regent and heir apparent, conquering lion of Judah, emperor of Ethiopia, writes Oliver McKee, Jr., in the Living Age. Ras Taffari's countrymen have recently made him king, a change which does not affect him greatly, for he has been virtually ruler of his country for 12 years. School books tell us that feudalism came to an end with the dawn of the thirteenth century, but they forget Abyssinia, feudal state, whose destinies Ras Taffari guides.

Abyssinia is proud of its history and traditions. It is proud of its 3,000 years of independence and isolation. About the year 1000 B. C., Makeda, queen of Sheba, visited King Solomon at Jerusalem. Out of that meeting came a son, Menelik, who was educated at the court of his father until, at 18, he returned to his mother's country. Abyssinian records attempt to prove that Menelik, through a trick of substitution, brought to Ethiopia the ark of the covenant containing Moses' tablets of the law.

No present day ruler has had greater obstacles with which to contend and few challenge our interest more keenly than does Ras Taffari. He leads the westernization movement in a country that is one of the most backward on earth. Centuries of isolation have kept this people apart from the march of civilization. In his own capital he must meet and overcome the forces of reaction which center around the Empress Zauditu, the church and a group of old and powerful families. Farther afield, he must deal with his feudal lords. Abroad he must deal with Britain, France and Italy, the three powers beside whose territories Abyssinia marches for 3,000 miles of frontier, and who cast a covetous eye upon that unexploited area.

Holds Own With Europe.

All three of these powers have made moves for special rights and spheres of influence. But for over a decade Ras Taffari has proved more than a match for the European diplomats accredited to his capital.

Somewhat below medium height, slight in build, Ras Taffari, in his thirty-fifth year, gives an impression which indicates clearly enough that he is born to the purple. Both in his bearing and in his face, he shows evidence of the intelligence and the political acumen that have featured in his administrative and diplomatic achievements. With clear cut features, he is no darker than many a Spaniard of the upper classes.

It has been remarked, indeed, that in his person he preserves the traditions of the House of David. Dignity and charm and self-control above the ordinary are his—qualities that have stood him in good stead these 12 years past. To his charm of manner, he adds habits of great industry. His hours are long. It is an easy day when he does not work from 7 in the morning to 10 at night. He rarely wears jewels, in marked contrast to the princes and potentates of India, who are often ablaze with diamonds and sapphires. Ras Taffari dresses in the simple white cotton clothes of his people, with a coarse black cape in rainy weather. Though extremely wealthy—he is the feudal master in his own right of one of the biggest provinces in the kingdom—he spends very little upon himself.

Prince Regent at 23.

He was a boy of 23 when he became prince regent, and was crowned with the golden crown as ras of rasses, "chief of chiefs." The powerful rasses had taken the field in revolt against Lij Yasu, who five years previously had succeeded the great emperor, Menelik. Lij Yasu actively supported the cause of the Mad Mullah in British Somaliland, to the irritation of his countrymen. He also tried to Mohammedanize the country. For this reason he was deposed by the combined forces of Ras Taffari and the present Empress Zauditu, daughter of Menelik by a Moslem wife, who now heads the forces of reaction. This was in 1916.

Ras Taffari found trouble awaiting him at the start. He came into power, someone remarked at the time, "with his feet under him, ready for a quick move." First of all he had to fight the great battle of Shano, hardly before he had put away his coronation robes. The dispossessed emperor, Lij Yasu, and his father, Ras Michael, had taken the field against him, but Ras Taffari won the battle. The deposed emperor ran away, and his father was captured. Then year by year Ras Taffari obtained a stronger grip on affairs, appointing, as occasion offered, loyal governors in provinces hitherto ruled by hereditary chieftains. In May, 1921, he was able to march forth with 100,000 men, and without a blow effect the capture of the fugitive emperor Lij Yasu. By so doing he satisfied the oriental's opinion that the test of a great general is his ability to win battles without a blow. In spite of dissatisfied chieftains, and a reactionary priesthood, his efforts since then have won steady success.

The various rasses owe the regent fealty, and are supposed to contribute their share to the expenses of the government. Here has been Ras Taffari's chief difficulty. If one of his chiefs should rebel against the central government, every small chief under him would fall in behind his banner.

Ras Taffari has had to proceed slowly in replacing hereditary chieftains with those of his own selection. Custom is not easily broken, and it is dangerous to stir up new hatreds. But when a vacancy occurs he fills it with a man of his own choosing. The hereditary chieftains naturally are the strongest, for an appointed office-holder is apt to heed the voice of the man who clothed him with the garments of authority. Ras Taffari has been quietly choosing his own men for years. Not long ago he appointed his son-in-law, Dedjasmatch Desta Demtu, an able man, as ruler of the great province of Kaffa. This is typical of his method, and it illustrates the goal he has in view.

Confers With Chiefs.

Even appointed rulers, however, have their temptations. To prevent mischief from brewing, he calls his provincial rules to Addis Abbada from time to time for conference. They are kept waiting a considerable period before they return. This procedure serves to keep the central government in touch with the provincial rules, who live at a distance of two or three weeks' laborious travel from the capital and it breaks the continuity of the local man's control of his province, and, therefore, tends to break him of the habit of thinking that he is monarch over all he surveys. Ras Taffari, who is a practical man, takes a further precaution. The rulers of the provinces maintain troops of their own, from whom the sovereign makes levy in time of war or rebellion. Each ruler is asked to bring with him the flower of his military force. This he does willingly, for in Abyssinia, when you venture forth into the broad highways, in the eyes of the passerby it is the size of your retinue that establishes your relative rank in the world. While the provincial soldiers are billeted in the capital, agents of the central government look into their loyalty. If disaffection exists, these agents are apt to learn of it long before real trouble occurs.

The chieftains are not the only trouble makers. In his own capital, Ras Taffari has had to cope with a reactionary party, headed by the empress, co-ruler with him. Theempress is very devout, and very susceptible to religious influence and to anything which invokes the memory of her father, the late Emperor Menelik. Though not of an aggressive mentality, she is conservative in her point of view. She frowns especially upon the introduction of anything western. Even by Ethiopian standards, she has had little education, and that means very little indeed. The Abyssinian church, which teaches a form of Christianity, is powerful and very wealthy. The Abuna, the Abyssinian pope, is the head of a close organization of 100,000 priests. The priesthood also opposes the westernization movement headed by Ras Taffari, and there are always priests standing at the elbow of the empress.

Authority With Regent.

In theory the empress is the supreme ruler, but actually the real authority has lain with the prince regent. All state business passes through his hands. Yet the approval and authority of the empress are necessary for various formalities, and this causes not only delay, but at times much difficulty. For the ras has to keep on good terms with the empress, while putting into effect a policy which runs counter to her wishes and to those of the reactionary group which she heads. Ras Taffari has need of all the diplomatic weapons in his armory. Thus there are two groups in the capital—the party of the prince, and the party of the empress.

A council of ministers is supposed to assist the empress and Ras Taffari, but its functions are a bit hard to explain. The prince regent, so it is reported, keeps a council of ministers chiefly to maintain the outword forms of government as foreigners know them. The ministers have scant authortiy, and they take little of the burden of government off his shoulders. His highness indeed, has been qouted as saying that there is no one Ethiopian to whom he can safely assign any department of the government without the closest personal supervision and rigid restriction. The parties of the prince and the party of the empress have intrigued against each other. Concession hunters and adventurers have seen an opportunity in the rivalry of the two groups. But in the main, Ras Taffari has prevailed, and though internal factions have caused him a good deal of trouble, he has maintained his authority.

Encounters Many Disputes.

Abroad, Ras Taffari has found much to worry him. Points of potential friction are many—customs disputes, slave raids and what not. As in other parts of the world, Paris, Rome and London are eager for railway, mining and commercial concessions. Abyssinia is one of the greatest unexploited areas in the world. The proposal to erect a dam at Lake Tsana, controlling the headwaters of the Blue Nile, has kept diplomats busy. Italy and Britain made a secret agreement, whereby in return for the Italian support of British plans to build the dam, Italy would receive the backing of Downing Street in its attempt to secure a special sphere of influence in Abyssinia. Ras Taffaria appealed to the League of Nations in behalf of the liberty and freedom of his country, and worlds opinion put a quick end to the pact. Now an American minister is in Addis Abbaba by appointment of President Coolidge, and the United States has todayits own observer in the Abyssinian court.

As did the great Menelik before him, Ras Taffari must cope with all the details of administration of a country greater in area than most European kingdoms. He looks into everything for himself. He has duties of a ruler, legislator, judge and diplomat. Nor must we forget his record as a soldier. He is his own chief justice, for by the immutable laws of Abysinnia, he must personally try all cases which may involve capital punishment. In ecclesiastical matters, he has much the same place to fill as the Tudor monarchs desired in England. He might very truthfully describe himself as "fidei defensor." He has real respect for the church, even though he fights the priesthood for their alliance with the forces of reaction.

Race Problem-1929

Africa. I

NATIVE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A Disastrous Setback.

By Dr. Norman Leys.

The recent history of the Industrial and Commercial Union of South Africa, the first native African trade union, is a painful reminder of the fact that the habits and ideas of barbarism cannot be easily unlearned. When its secretary was in England last year he said frankly that there was no African who was capable of organising efficiently a body that had suddenly grown to a membership of 60,000, most of them quite illiterate, and he asked his friends in England to send to Africa an expert in trade union organisation and finance. The I.C.U., he promised, would pay his passage and salary. Mr. W. G. Ballinger was chosen and sent out, though an Englishwoman had to pay for his passage. But on his arrival he found that the I.C.U. had come near to collapse. In the absence of any auditing of accounts at first a few and then more and more of the Union's officials had helped themselves. Immense sums also had gone in lawyers' fees that were largely fictitious. One branch alone spent £1,500 in litigation in a year. In fact, of the Union's annual income of £12,000, contributed by members most of whom work for a shilling a day or less, very little could honestly be accounted for.

Mr. Ballinger, though boycotted by all but a handful of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa, stuck bravely to his tremendous task, in a strange country and among people of different race, of saving something from the wreck and gathering round him those of the Union's officials who had withstood temptation. His expenses have been met partly by himself and partly by European friends both in South Africa and in this country.



AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN ART: RAS TAFARI, "KING OF THE LION OF JUDAH,"
on His Throne in His Capital City of Addis Ababa, From a Portrait by Ato Belatcheou, the Only Painter in Abyssinia.

URGES SCIENTISTS TO DELVE IN AFRICA

L.. Hofmeyr Describes World-Wide Benefits That Will Come With Research.

LVER LAND OF MYSTERY

Science Must Harness Her Great Resources and Solve Her Problems, He Declares.

What Africa means to the scientific world and what the scientist can do for Africa were set forth in striking words and an abundance of detail by Dr. Jon H. Hofmeyr, president of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, when he addressed the opening meeting in Cape Town recently of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

"What can Africa give to science?" he began. "What can science give to Africa? It is for the South African scientist that the answers to these questions have primary significance because for the solution of many of the problems of South Africa a greater knowledge of Africa as a whole than is at present available is essential, and the extension of that knowledge is his personal responsibility. It is for him that they have significance because he dwells in a land which is strategically placed for attacking the problems of Africa and for drawing forth its hidden resources of scientific discovery for the enrichment of science throughout the world.

Astronomy and Meteorology.

"First, there are the related fields of astronomy and meteorology," he continued. "To astronomy I shall but make a passing reference. This continent of Africa, more especially the highlands of its interior plateau, with its clear skies and its cloudless nights, offers wonderful facilities to the astronomer. As proof of the necessity of utilizing those facilities, especially with a view to the study of the southern heavens, I need but quote the words used by Professor Kapteyn on the occasion of the 1905 visit:

" 'In all researches bearing on the construction of the universe of stars the investigator is hindered by our ignorance of the southern heavens. Work is accumulating in the north, which is to a great extent useless, until similar work is done in the south.' Africa has to its credit considerable achievements in the past in the field of astronomical research. The increased equipment now available should make it possible to increase greatly the amount of sys-

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I

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Dr. Simpson of the Meteorological Office since declared that, save from Egypt, his so long done and to London "no meteor- pend on the ward and south- get the close interrelation of the t ward oscillations of the great atmos- meteorological problems of the lands e pheric system overlying the continent of the Southern Hemisphere. The n as a whole); and quite apart from central position of Africa in relation y problems sub specie Africae (the sea- ments. "In particular, should we not for- s sonal changes in South Africa de- what he can learn from the rest of to those lands gives not only special e Africa, the Antarctic regions have opportunities but also special re- much to teach him. But while the sponsibilities for meteorological ob- development of meteorological servation and research. e search throughout Africa is of In the Field of Geology. e supreme economic importance to n Africa, Africa in its turn has its "Next, I would refer to Africa's

potential contributions to geological science. Africa is a continent portions of which have always had a special interest for the geologist because of the great diversity of the geological phenomena manifested and the vast mineral wealth which, as its ancient working so abundantly prove, has attracted man's industry from the very earliest times. But in our day the opportunities which it offers to the geologist to make contributions to the wider problems of science are coming to be more fully realized than ever before.

"Of special interest in this connection is the light which African geology, more especially in the form of the study of ancient glacial deposits, can throw on the Wegener hypothesis of continental drift. In the past our geologists have thought mainly of the correlation of our formations with those of Europe. It is time that they paid more attention to their possible affiliations with those of the continents to east and west of us. If geology can establish the hypothesis that Africa is the mother continent from which India, Madagascar and Australia on the one side and South America on the other have been dislodged, it will give a new orientation to many branches of scientific activity.

"For that investigation also Africa occupies a central and dterminative position in relation to the other continents, such as we have noted to be the case in the sphere of meteorology. There are many other geological problems on which Africa can probably shed much light. There is, for instance, the constitution of the earth's deeper substrata, in regard to which, as Dr. Wagner has recently pointed out, the study of the volcanic Kimberlite pipes, so numerous throughout Africa south of the Equator, and of the xenoliths they contain, including the determination of their radium and thorium contents, may be of the greatest significance.

"There is the possibility that the exploitation of Africa's great wealth in potentially fossil-bearing rocks of presumably pre-Cambrian age will yet yield us remains of living beings more primitive than any yet discovered; there are the great opportunities which the African deserts offer in the field of desert geology and morphology; and there is the assistance which African geology has rendered to vertebrate and plant paleontology, and can render to African anthropology in the investigation of this great museum of human remains and relics which we call the continent of Africa.

Study of Tropical Diseases.

"I pass on to medical science. I have referred already to the contributions to the study of the problems of industrial medicine and hygiene which the special circumstances of South African gold mining industry have made possible. Those contributions have, we may well hope, but prepared the way for advances of a revolutionary character in the early detection, prevention and treatment of all forms of respiratory disease. But even greater are the opportunities which the continent of Africa offers for the study of tropical diseases, of which it may well be described as the homeland In Africa there have been, and necessarily must be, studied the problems connected with malaria, blackwater fever, sleeping sickness, yellow fever and many other scourges of civilization, and from Africa there may well come hope and healing for mankind.

"There are other problems of medical science for the study of which Africa is uniquely fitted. There are the physiological questions, important also from the political point of view, which bear on the fitness of the white races to maintain a healthy existence in tropical surroundings, at high altitudes and in excessive sunlight. For these investigations the diversity of conditions prevailing in the various regions of the African Continent make it a magnificent natural laboratory. There is the elucidation of the factors which account for the varying susceptibility of white and colored races to acute infectious diseases, tuberculosis and certain types of malignant disease, together with the light which such elucidation may throw on the physical and chemical composition of the human body.

"Lastly, I would mention the exploration of that most interesting borderland between psychiatry and psychological science by an analysis of the mentality of the diverse African peoples. That investigation has an important bearing not only on the limitations and capacities of racial intelligence but also on the methods which the ruling races in Africa should follow in seeking to discharge their obligations toward their uncivilized and unenlightened fellow-Africans.

Studies of Animal Life.

"Closely linked with medical science is the study of animal biology. In some instances the problems of the two branches of science are to be approached along parallel lines; in others biological investigations are fundamental to the growth of medical science; of no less significance is that unity which there is in nature, making it possible for the truths of animal biology to be translated into facts concerning mankind. In the African Continent there is no lack of opportunity to advance science by physiological inquiries into animal structure, by the isolation of the parasites of human and animal diseases and by the tracing of the life histories more especially of the minuter forms of animal life.

"'Nowadays,' in the words of Professor J. A. Thomson, 'the serpent that bites man's heel is in nine cases out of ten microscopic.' But scarcely less important are the extensive facilities which Africa still offers for the study of the habits and behavior of the larger mammals. The naturalistic study of these animals, not as stuffed museum species but in the laboratories of their native environment, has received all too scanty attention from the scientist, and this is a reproach which African science, with its rich dowry of mammal and primate material, may confidently be expected to remove.

"Nor will this study of animal behavior, especially of those animals which approach nearest to the human type, be without its bearings on our investigations of the workings of the human mind. This association of ours has long dreamed of an African marine biological station as broad in its conception and comparably as useful from the wider scientific and the more narrowly economic points of view as those of Plymouth or Naples or Woods Hole, and withal a rallying point for the naturalist, the zoologist, the botanist, the geographer, the anatomist, the physiologist, indeed for all those workers whose diverse problems meet at the margin of the sea.

Field for Anthropologist.

"From animal biology we pass by an easy transition to anthropology, the study of man himself. And here Africa seems full of splendid promise of discovery that may verify Darwin's belief in the probability that somewhere in this land-mass was the scene of nature's greatest creative effort. It would seem to be not without significance that Africa possesses in the chimpanzee and the gorilla those primate types which approach most nearly the form and structure of primitive man. To that must be added that in the bushman, pygmy and negroid races Africa has at least two, and possibly three, early human stocks which are characteristically her own and belong to no other continent.

"No less striking is the fact that in Gibraltar, in Malta and in Palestine, that is, at each and every one of the three portals into Africa from Europe and Asia in Pleistocene times, there have been discovered evidences of the presence of Neanderthal man. In Africa itself there was found at Broken Hill some nine years ago a skull with the most primative or bestial facial form yet seen and—so closely akin to the Neanderthal stock as to establish firmly the expectation of finding further compelling evidence of a long-continued Neanderthaloid occupation of the African Continent.

"The discovery at Taungs, on the one hand, which reaches out toward the unknown past, and the finds at Boskop and in the Tsitsikama, on the other, which assist in linking up the period of Rhodesian man with the coming of the bush folk open up to us, in conjunction with the aforementioned facts, a vista of anthropological continuity in Africa such as no other continent can offer. The recent investigations in the Great Rift Valley, near Elementeita in Kenya, and the fossil discoveries on the Springbok Flats, north of Pretoria, have again fixed the attention of the anthropologist on Africa.

"Nor are the data presently available restricted to these discoveries. The efforts of archaeologists and the application of improved scientific methods in excavation are giving us statigraphical evidence of the succession of stone cultures which is of the utmost importance. I have already mentioned the assistance which geology can render in this work, but there is needed also the cooperation of those who labor in the converging fields of anatomy, archaeology, paleontology and comparative zoology. That cooperation has already commenced.

"In the investigation of the Vaal River gravels it has yielded important results, and we may look forward to its continuance and expansion in the years that lie ahead. Of the importance of African anthropology for the understanding of that of Europe there can be no question. Work of importance has already been done in the study of the relations between Paleolithic art in Europe and Paleolithic art in Africa. The significance of these comparisons is but emblematic of the importance of similar investigations in regard to stone cultures, rock engravings, ancient mining, stone circles and ancient ruins, methods of primitive mining and agriculture, tribal organization, laws and customs, indeed the whole range of the hitherto unexplained or partially explained phenomena of living and extinct cultures.

Linguistic Problems Presented.

"I would speak next of the vast field, as yet almost uncharted, of phonological and philological study. Here in Africa we have great opportunities for the examination of linguistic problems, and some of them have bearings which extend far beyond the limits of Africa. One thinks first of the opportunities which Africa offers for investigating the results of the transplantation of languages, which have a long history of cultural development behind them, to regions inhabited by primitive peoples. Here there are two sets of phenomena, each with its own special interest.

"On the other hand, we have the modification of the languages of those European peoples who have established themselves in Africa as permanent settled communities, under pressure of the new linguistic influences into contact with which they have been brought. Of these phenomena the study of Afrikaans offers perhaps the best examples to be found in the whole field of linguistics—its importance for the student of comparative philology is very far from being adequately appreciated.

"On the other hand, we have those cases where European languages have come to Africa as the languages not of settled communities but of officials and others like them who are but temporarily domiciled in this continent and leave no descendants behind them to carry on the process of evolution of distinctive forms of speech. Here the phenomena which are of interest to the student of linguistics are to be found in the wealth of deformation and adaptation which the native populations have introduced in their endeavors to speak the European languages of their rulers. Work such as has been done by Schuchardt in negro-Portuguese and negro-French opens up a wide area of most attractive investigation.

"But the most important task in the field of African linguistics is the actual recording of the native languages of Africa, our backwardness in respect of which is a reproach to science. Such study is, of course, important in relation to Africa itself, but of even greater significance for my present purpose is its bearing on scientific problems of wider scope. In that connection, I would suggest two points. We are still only at the beginning of the study of comparative Bantu. That in due course should lead to a knowledge of Ur-Bantu.

Value of Bantu Research.

"Such a study and such a knowledge will necessarily be of importance to the comparative philologist, both because of the light shed by the study of one group of languages on the study of other groups and also because it opens the way to the investigation of the relationship of Bantu to other African tongues and its place in the general scheme of the languages of the world. But of even greater interest is the study of African languages as throwing light on the interpenetrations and interactions of primitive peoples.

"Two millennia back Southwest Arabia was the seat of the powerful commercial civilizations of the Mineans, the Sabeans and the Himyarites, radiating eastward to India and southwestward to Africa. The extent of their relationship with Africa it has hitherto been most difficult to trace, but linguistic evidence may prove to be of great value. Professor Maingard has pointed out to me that the Makaranga who live near Zimbabwe call water 'bahri,' a word closely related in form to 'bahr,' the 'sea' of the Arabs, although the Makaranga themselves are not seaboard people, and that 'shava' is their word for 'to sell or barter,' while to the Himyarites 'saba' meant 'to travel for a commercial purpose.'

"Not less suggestive is the study of place-names, and while I do not suggest that I have evidence on which any conclusion can be based, I do contend that these investigations may prove to be of a most fruitful character. It would be interesting indeed to see what evidence linguistics can bring in respect of the relationship of South Africa with Madagascar, and also with Polynesia through Madagascar, where the tribe once dominant politically, the copper-colored Hova, are ethnologically and linguistically Melanesians amid the darker hued Sakalavas and other negroid tribes.

"It may even be that such studies will conjure up to our minds pictures of great migratory movements with Arab dhows and South Sea praos cleaving the waters of the Indian Ocean. Only last year a canoe constructed of wood native to Southeastern Asia was found in Algoa Bay.

A Great Testing Laboratory.

"What I would emphasize is that in Africa, as nowhere else, the factors which constitute these problems can be studied both in isolation and in varying degrees of complexity of interdelationship; that in Africa we have a great laboratory in which today there are going on before our eyes experiments which put to the test diverse social and political theories as to the relations between white and colored races; that in Africa there are racial problems which demand solution, and the solution of which will affect or determine the handling of similar problems throughout the world.

"We hear men speak of the clash of color, and are sometimes told that Africa is the strategic point in that struggle. I think of it rather as the continent which offers the richest opportunities to those who would investigate racial problems in the true spirit of science, and so discover the solutions which may yet enable that clash to be averted and the threat which it implies to our civilization to be dispelled.

"What can science give to Africa? I shall not stop to emphasize the point that the greatness of Africa's potential contributions to science, the key which perhaps she holds to the riddle of human origins, the intriguing vistas opened up in the study of her relationship with South America and Australasia with its suggestion of past continental continuity—that all these and more con-

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Africa.

stitute a challenge to science to actualize those potentialities. Let me seek rather to define the twofold challenge of Africa in another way.

"First, Africa defies science to unravel her past. Throughout history she has ever been the continent of mystery. She was so to that pioneer of geographers, Herodotus, to whom nothing that was told him about Africa was so improbable that he declined to give it credence. She was so to the Romans, who regarded Africa as the natural home and source of what was strange and novel and unaccustomed. She was so to the navigators who did so much to break down the barrier wall between the Middle Ages and the modern world. And though in our day the geographical mysteries of Africa have in large measure been solved, the work of the prober of her scientific secrets is only beginning.

Relics of Roman Greatness.

"It is in Africa that the Greco-Roman civilization won some of its most glorious triumphs in Africa that the spade of the archaeologist has in our day, by uncovering great Roman towns with noble public buildings and efficient irrigation systems, provided impressive evidence of the magnitude of the achievement of Roman imperialism. But Rome failed to conquer Africa for civilization and left the challenge to those who were to follow after. She failed chiefly for two reasons: the might of African barbarism and the defiant resistance of African nature. We in our day, confronted by the same challenge, still have the same enemies, hitherto victorious, to contend against. But we meet them with the advantage of having resources at our disposal which our Roman predecessors lacked. It is to use those resources effectively that Africa challenges science.

"In dealing with African barbarism we have weapons such as Rome could never dream of, and not the least valuable are those provided by the scientific investigation of the native peoples of Africa. The way to the solution of the problems presented by African barbarism is to be sought in an understanding of the character and mentality of primitive peoples, in the exploration of those regions in their social life where are to be found the factors that determine their reactions to diverse methods of administration. The study of African languages and of African anthropology is, therefore, fundamental to the development of the continent. For that work Africa possesses special advantages, and one can but hope that the facilities now being built up in our South African universities will be recognized in Britain and elsewhere and become an important factor in the response of science to the challenge of Africa.

"Three great tasks confront science in the conquest of African nature. First, science must make Africa safe for the white man to live in. Africa has taken heavy toll of science. The recent deaths in Nigeria of Stokes, Young and Noguchi, worthy followers in the tradition of Lazear and Myers, are a reaffirmation of the gravity and insistence of that challenge. The importance for the cause of civilization of a successful response to that challenge cannot be illustrated better than by the story of the construction of the Panama Canal. De Lesseps attempted the task and failed. For every cubic yard of earth excavated by him a human life was sacrificed to yellow fever or malaria. It was the successful attack some twenty years later on the death-dealing mosquito, under the direction of General Gorgas, that made possible the completion of one of the most important engineering enterprises of modern times.

"Secondly, science must combat the foes which have to be contended with in the development of African agriculture. Africa is prodigal indeed in the production of insect and other foes to cattle and to crops. Science is already making an effective response to this part of the challenge. But there is much that remains to be done. All too often in the past settlement schemes have been undertaken and ended in disaster in areas unhealthy to man, beast or crops when, if the scientist had first been called in, precautions might have been taken which would have averted the calamity.

"Finally, science must harness the great resources of Africa. And here there are suggested to us all the varied contributions which the engineer can make in the work of development. The day must come, to give a concrete instance, when the Victoria Falls, with their immense water resources, will mean much more for Africa than Niagara today means for America."

SCIENTIST FINDS ANCIENT EMPIRE RELICS IN AFRICA

Chicago

Race Believed to Have Lived 7,000 Yrs. Ago.

Tribune

BY FRANK BURTON.

[Chicago Tribune Press Service.]

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, July 20.—Prof. Leo Frobenius, German scientist, who has just returned from a study of the ancient civilization of Zimbabwe, in southern Rhodesia, believes that a great race lived 7,000 years ago in the area extending from Lake Nyassa to Basutoland, northeast of Cape Colony.

Religion dominated the life of the people, who, the scientist said, possessed wonderful knowledge of astronomy and worshiped the moon and stars. Their year, based on the planet Venus, corresponded with the Sirius year of the Egyptians.

Believes Empire Collapsed.

Prof. Frobenius thinks that the fabric of the empire which the race built collapsed, and that thousands of inhabitants were expelled, many of them fleeing to the north. Today the relics of this civilization exists in the temples and principal buildings.

The people must have had remarkable knowledge of geology, because there is profo they had discovered three places where there were minerals and had sunk beautifully constructed shafts. One was found at Rooi Berg, Cape of Good Hope. It was forty-five feet deep and proceeded horizontally to a distance of ninety-five feet. How the people managed to work with no light or ventilation is a mystery.

Originated by Indians.

The fact that the type of nickel and bronze only produced in Africa had been found in ancient objects of Egypt and Samaria indicated that the metal had been exported from Africa northward.

There is evidence, according to Prof. Frobenius, that this early civilization in East Africa was originated by Indians. A building, presumably a temple, discovered by Prof. Frobenius, corresponded in style and construction with ruins in India.

Prof. Frobenius could not give the precise date for the civilization, but considered that it flourished about 5,000 years before Christ.

Tamacha L. Council Election

T-24-29

The procedure adopted in the election of councillors to the Tamacha Local Council on Monday, 6th May calls for adverse comment. On the day in question the duly elected representatives elected by the various wards in the Tamacha area were warned to assemble at the Native courtroom for the purpose of the final selection of four councillors. In the first instance, only representatives were allowed admission and the public were kept out. We have once before strongly objected in these columns to the exclusion of the Native public in their administrative affairs; but the officials concerned, backed by the Native Affairs Department we must presume, persist in this habit. Is there any wonder then that so much suspicion among Natives exists when the government fails to carry out its promise of educating the Natives in the control of their own affairs for which purpose Act 23 of 1920 was explicitly put on the statute book?

Coming to the election itself, the representatives reported (for the press was excluded) that a suggestion was made to them and they agreed to the method of voting in a private lobby where they were admitted one at a time, and asked for the candidate they desired to vote for, and such vote was recorded in the hand-writing of the returning officer. Needless to say, a regrettable breach of the regulations laid down by Proclamation 21 of 1927 has been committed, and whether such breach was committed with the consent of the representatives, the fact remains that the procedure violates the law.

To trespass on a government proclamation with immunity would be to create a dangerous precedent for present and future local councils, and would also be an unfavourable augury for the contemplated Ciskei General Council. In our opinion the whole procedure invalidates the election, and a fresh election on the right lines is desirable. The effect on a lonely Native voter casting his vote in a private lobby before a magistrate can be readily imagined, in place of showing his hand among his countrymen in public; hence our hostile references to the system. For the information of our readers we quote hereunder the section in the proclamation that lays down the procedure:—

No 21] [*January 7th 1927.*

General Regulation framed under Section 11 of Act No 23 of 1920 as amended by Act No 27 of 1926

Constitution of Council.

Section 11 (c). At a convenient date the chairman of the Local Council shall summon all the representatives of the various wards and call upon them to nominate from among themselves such number of persons as are in accordance with the Constitution of the Council to be elected as members thereof. Should more than the requisite number of persons be nominated and seconded, the chairman shall immediately proceed to hold an election by submitting the name of such nominee successively in alphabetical order of surnames to the representatives and call upon the representatives in favour of such nominee to vote by a show of *hands*. The nominees to the number required who obtain the highest number of votes shall be declared members of the Council."

THE NATIVE FRANCHISE.

5-28-29

The Committee of the Non Racial Franchise Association desire to draw attention to the report of the Prime Minister's speech at Barberton on Friday, May 10, which appeared in the "Burger" on the following day, having been sent by its own reporter. General Hertzog is reported as follows:

"He was not absolutely determined only to grant three members of Parliament to the natives, and would welcome any proposal from the South African Party. But no extension of the political

rights of the native would be allowed unless the whole people desired it and, he declared, it may be that the time will come within two or three hundred years that the native will be so civilised that the white man will realise that he ought to be treated on a footing of equality with himself. but then that is the business of the people of those days. Today the native of of the Cape has the franchise as a gift not from the people but from a few London negrophilists in 1853 The question is one of life and death, and I shall not take my hand from the plough until I have done my best to obtain a solution in South Africa."

This statement appears to mean that the Prime Minister is in favour of the disfranchisement of natives, not because they are natives, but because, in the mass, they are at a low grade of civilisation. His closing remarks clearly indicate that in his own opinion his Bills will not form a solution for the future but only for the present, while the natives are comparatively undeveloped. He is therefore at one with us in our fundamental principle of making civilisation the essential qualification for the franchise.

On the other hand, he appears to desire that, because the mass of the natives are not civilised, natives who are civilised should be disfranchised as well as those who are not, and, if he can obtain his end, he will call it a solution and leave to posterity the question of what to do with the natives, if and when they are civilised.

Surely it is obvious that, so far from leaving the question to posterity, this plan would inextricably prejudice the case with which posterity would have to do. The individual Bantu, civilised, alert, and deprived of his vote, would be almost forced into being a rebel at heart. As their hundreds become thousands, and tens and hundreds of thousands, and the vote is still refused, as the Prime Minister proposes, we shall be enlisting against our own posterity an army of discontented and angry people, potentially in the majority. If on the other hand we admit individuals to the franchise automatically as they attain a reasonable degree of civilisation, we shall gain their confidence and support.

Should General Hertzog desire co-operation in devising a scheme to distinguish between the civilised and the uncivilised, it will be at once available, and those who think as we do will cordially welcome his apparent desire to co operate.

Meanwhile we feel that he will be at one with us in saying that principles are permanent things, and that in declaring that in the future, if the natives as a whole are civilised, it will be right to treat them as equals—for this is implied in his words above quoted—he has definitely abandoned the principle of the colour bar, come over to the side of those who believe only in civilisation qualification for the franchise, and narrowed the issue down so that it is now not a question of settling the matter at all, but merely a question of what to do while the native is developing to full civilisation. In regard to that he is for a system of changes and jerks. It seems to us that the only path of wisdom and statesmanship is one which slowly leads to the development from stage to stage of national development. This will not be disputed. As General Hertzog's statement reduced his Bills to a mere attempt to deal with present difficulties, leaving the real question to posterity, it follows that they are indefensible. In fact, this utterance of his brings the whole scheme of legislation to the ground in ruins. On the other hand it opens the way for real co-operation in finding a test of civilisation, General Hertzog having declared himself at one with us in regard to civilisation as the only proper qualification for the franchise.

We would add that in our opinion it is not safe to speak, as the Prime Minister does, of centuries as being necessary to bring the native peoples In regard to that we only know that in the last half-century enormous progress has been made among the native peoples of the whole continent, and that the most difficult steps of upward progress are the earliest. It may be that the day of a civilised native population is yet far off in time, as it certainly is in other ways. It may be that it is close upon us. Either way we must either make native civilisation our friend, or imperil that very white civilisation which the Prime Minister and we alike desire to uphold.

(Written to express the views of the Non-Racial Franchise Association by Sir James Rose Innes, Henry Burton, P. Ross Frames, and H. S. Fremantle, 148, St. George's Street, Capetown.)

Happiness, its Procurement and Preservation

[By "Ned of Old."]

[*Continued*]

A philosophy which should enable a man to feel perfectly happy while in agonies of pain would be better than a philosophy which assuages pain; and we know that the ancient sages liked the toothache just as little as their neighbours. A philosophy which would extinguish cupidity would be better than a philosophy which would devise laws for the security of property. But it is possible to make laws which shall, to a very great extent, secure property. And we do not understand how any motives which the ancient philosophy furnished could extinguish cupidity. Of this world's goods the more we have the more we want, poor and content is rich and rich enough; but riches endless is as poor as winter to him that always fears he shall be poor. The contented live in constant fear of the discontented; and, the discontented are not satisfied with the little that they have. How can there be happiness where there is no peace? Peace is essential to happiness. The perfect law of God requires that the poor should be content with the little they have, and that the rich should give to the poor voluntarily, but not compulsorily. Half the discontent in this world arises from men regarding themselves as centres, instead of the infinitesimal segments, of circles. There are minds, says one writer, which can be pleased by honours and preferments, and he can see nothing in them save envy and enmity. Many who are surrounded by all the substantial comforts of life, become discontented because some wealthier neighbour entertains parties, and make more show in the world than they. Like the monkey they attempt to imitate all they see that is deemed fashionable; make a dash at greater contentment, dash out their comfortable store of wealth; and sometimes, determined on quiet at least, close the farce with a tragedy, and dash their brains out with a blue pill.

America is admittedly the wealthiest, and is all hailed as the most privileged country in the world Nowhere else are physical comforts so widely diffused; nowhere else is the necessity list so extended and the luxury list so curtailed; nowhere else, it might be supposed, should the joy of life be so firmly entrenched. Yet in Ireland where poverty stalks everywhere, the suicide rate is 25 per 100,000 against America's 17. What is to be said about it? When the criminals and all the drunkards all the vicious and all those who put their hands to the plough and turn back have been reckoned in, they are found to be only an infinitesimal part of the great host which is marching steadily forward to a fuller and truer understanding of life.

A beggar comes to our door; he tells us a pitiful story of hard luck. We hear him coldly and impatiently, for we have heard so many stories like this before, so many untrue stories, and we know how many men and women earned a living, and a luxurious living in just this way. We get rid of him as quickly as we can. Next morning he is found not far from our house dead living behind him a pitiful note of despair. He had tried and tried and have failed. "Good gracious," we growl to ourselves, "if I had only known it was as bad as that."

Race Problem – 1929

Anrina

Here electric and gas heating apparatus of all kinds including roasting ovens, pastry machines, fish driers, vegetable steamers and machines installed for vegetable peeling, meat chopping, dish washing and bread cutting, a special plant for the manufacture of ice cream is also a great feature. The kitchen premises include storerooms and sculleries as well as accommod tion. There is also a service corridor equipped with suites of grills, hot chests, tea and coffee machines.

The main Refectory is over 200 feet long and 40 feet wide with a high barrel ceiling, beautifully decorated where pale shades and colour scheme is the keynote. The profusion of flowers adds to the charming effect. Directly opposite to the central entrance is the soda fountain, the tables are perfectly rigid but have been fitted with detachable legs so as to allow of easy and compact storage. As the floor has been specially constructed for dancing at Staff socials, there is also a wireless reception apparatus, together with loud speaker amplifiers fitted in the main Refectory, it enables dance and other music to be transmitted, and on occasion large audiences to be addressed.

All the principal stations in England and abroad are within reach of an eight valve wireless receiver. A separate apparatus enables 2 L.O. to be received with the maximum clearness. Another indication of the amount of detailed thought and work that have been necessary in the wonder building is the fact that the design of the amplifiying arrangements entailed a scientific investigation of the acoustic properties of this beautiful Refectory.

On the same floor there are separate dining rooms provided for the Chairman, the Directors, visiting Directors and high officials. As sometimes it is useful to continue business conferences over lunch, eight secluded dining rooms are situated closely where meals can be served in privacy. The colour scheme is a wonderful blending of dark to Petel blue in those magnificent dining rooms. Two snack bars are provided for those who during the rush of business cannot find time for on more leisured luncheon, for those who desire to spend the evening in town for social company the Company have provided smoking rooms and card rooms designed specially for the use of all members of the staff. There is a separate room for ladies.

To work in such palaces, where the keynote is happiness, to realise that every taste has been catered for by the management draws both administration and employees together in a loyal bond of Service.

To work in a room having the advantages of vita glass glazing, this permits the maximum amount of natural ultra violet radiation to penetrate, just as His Majesty the King benefits from during his stay in Craigwell House, must needs make a greater effort socially and commercially. The Chemical Industries have indeed achieved in making Chemical House the most magnificent commercial building in our Empire the epic of architectural design and thought.

Imperial Chemical House.

BY KENNETH T. DUNBAR.

As citizens of the first city in our Empire, we have every reason to be extremely proud of the new home of the chemical industries of Great Britain at Millbank.

Architecturally magnificent: Commercially impressive it has already struck a decisive note in the future development of the Metropolis, for the architecture of the building, a free and original treatment of English Renaissance period, aptly described as reaching the "high level mark" in the biggest wave of modern architectural history of London. The dignity of the exterior with its facade in blue-grey granite, above this the building is entirely white Portland stone, the ingenuity of the layout, the beauty of the exterior and interior decorations, the richness of the equipment, the bold application of the latest discoveries in modern science to lighting, ventilation and heating, and to all other details, have evoked the admiration of the experts as it has the lay citizen. In every respect possible the personal needs of all members of the staff, as well as the wider commercial issues, have throughout been studied, "and achieved." 4-12-29

Lighting.—It is a cheerful building, bright artificial sunlight flows in through the windows of the halls and staircases and thus there is an atmosphere of sunshine, the enthusiasm of all the staff prove the value to the nerves and the timbre of all workers. Similarly the provision of vita glass in the principal windows and of the artificial daylight illumination throughout makes for better health. It is believed to be the first building in the world to make use of artificial daylight in every room. The lights are concealed in glazed recesses in the ceiling, and the building contains approximately three thousand lighting points.

Heating and Cooling.—It is the first building in this country to be fitted with panel heating and panel cooling. This new system of heating adopted distributing the warmth through pipes in the walls, ceilings and floors has many advantages. The floors of the rooms are not cumbered by radiators as in other central heating systems and absolute cleanliness is assured.

Ventilation.—The general system of ventilation is operated by mechanical extract. The used up air is extracted from the clerical offices through gratings into the ducts carried in the false ceilings of the corridors. These ducts are connected to the main rising shafts; there are also separate extract systems to take away contaminated air from the Directorate suites, the Refectories, the main Kitchens. There are in all twenty-three extract fans which are capable of extracting ten million cubic feet of air per hour.

Recreation.—Thought has been given to play as well as to work. In the basement are a range of rooms designed and equipped for recreation, immediately under the south court is the spacious staff gymnasium. This has a gallary at one end, from which the dressing rooms and shower baths are reached on a mezzanine floor. A full equipment of up-to-date gymnasium apparatus replete with all mechanical and electrical devices, horses, cycles, skulling machine. North of the gymnasium is a squash rackets court and a Badminton court. Corridors on either side, fitted with lockers, give access to the courts. beneath the North Court is a second squash rackets court and along the illbank side runs a rifle range twenty-five feet in length, with an armoury adjoining the firing point.

In the main basement are placed the staff cloakroom, every member of the staff has his or her private locker provided with key; here will be found drying rooms capable of dealing simultaneously with eight hundred wet garments. This should help the staff to escape many colds and chills.

Meals.—Those members of the staff who do not wish to leave the building during office hours are able to have lunch or tea served in the main Refectory which, together with the other luncheon rooms contains sufficient places to enable 742 persons to be together at one sitting. The kitchen is the most perfect of its kind, the result of careful study by the architect of the systems fitted in the hotel de luxe both in this country and on the Continent.

It is unsurpassed for labour saving appliances and hygiene and enables a total of 1,500 lunches an hour to be cooked.

List of Names of Councillors for 1929.

MASERU:

1. Paramount Chief Griffith
2. Ramabanda Api
3. Leloko Lerotholi
4. Mapeshoane Moshoeshoe
5. Hlakanelo Moshoeshoe
6. Efraim Lebakeng

7. Tebesi okobocho
8. Philip Molise
9. Lekarapa Lekhafola
0. James Makhobalo
11. Patrick Lehloenya
12. Chief Sekho[illegible]ana
13. Maphike [illegible]alula
14 Sekubute
15. Makhobalo Th[illegible]ko
16. Mpiti Khotso
7. [illegible]otso 'Nena
18. Tikoe Letlatsa
19. Chief Maama Seeiso
20. Molapo Maama
21. Lehloba Moshoeshoe
22. Rampoetsi Mahlaha

LERIBE:

1. Chief Mots'oene
2. Motsarapane Jonathan
3. Setsomi Jonathan
4. Qhekutala Khoho
5. Thasi Moliboea
6. Khojane Molapo
7. Ralehlatsa Ramaisa
8. Josefa Molapo
9. Majara Mopeli
10. Qhobela Joel
11. Talimo Joel
12. Thaabe Matela
13. Dye Moruti
14. Alec Mopeli
15. Lesiamo Molapo
16. Seshophe Lesaoana
17. Potfol Letsoela
18. Chief Boshoane
19. Matseketseke 'Neko

BEREA:

1. Chief Masopha
2. Koali [illegible]asopha
3. Fako Masopha
4. Letlatsa Thebe[illegible]
5. Lereko [illegible]apeshoane
6. Lekhafola Selengoane
7. David [illegible]okhehle
8. Chief Majara
9. Ts'epinare Majara
10. Thomas Tšenoli
11. Nkoebe Peete
12. Sheli Sekhomo

QACHA'S NEK:

1. Chief [illegible]akhaola
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]phahama Mpiti
4. [illegible]oloko Bereng
5. Elias Ra[illegible]latsane
6. Bennett Leshota

AFETENG:

1. Lepolesa Letsie
2. Chief [illegible]oholobela
3. [illegible]akoanyaee Seeiso
4. Nkuoe
5. Azariel Theko
6. Chief Lerotholi Mojela
7. Solomon [illegible]aphathe
8. Abimael Tlale
9. Lagden [illegible]ahao
10. [illegible]ohale 'M[illegible]ko
11. Sechache Molomo
12. Qamako Mafa
13. [illegible]ohlalefi Bereng
14. Sekoto Tsekane

MOHALE'S HOEK:

1. Ntoane Lerotholi
2. [illegible]abilikoe Matete
3. Soko Letsie
4. Nkhetheleng Molomo
5. Moeketsi [illegible]okhele
6. Retšelisitsoe Raboroko
7. Ramathe Monyake
8. David Ramonate
9. Malebanye Potsane
0. Boloko Potsane
1. Folatsane Koelela
2. Phakiso Lebona
3 Thabatšoeu Lebona

QUTHING:

1. Chief Sempe
2. Solomon Nkoebe
3. Lebesele Letsi
4. Matsoepa Sekhonyana
5. Vova Stoxwe
6. Filbert Mosehle
7. Molapo Koali
8. Mahlomo Letsie
9. George Ntho

GOVERNMENT NO INEES:

1. Rev. Edward Motsamai
2. Labane Chokobane
3. Tšepinare Letsie
4. Peete [illegible]olapo.
5. President [illegible]olapo.

BAPALAMI LE LIPAESE KELE.

Ho palama pere le libaesekele ho hlahisa liso, Ao choba le ho hlohlona ha tsona ho ka loantšoa ka setlolo sa Doan's. Lenaneo ke 1/9 le 3/3 Foster-McClellelan Co., P. O Box 1297, Cape Town.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12TH 1929

Star of Basutoland

TRANSPORT.

4-12-29.

THE "Basutoland News" charges us with trying to stop the march of progress, the course which we never intended. For this reason we are inclined to believe that our contemporary is attempting to draw away the attention of the authorities and the public from the right path in order to revive the movement that it has been advocating of introducing tractors to supersede Native ox-wagon transport, to which the Basutoland traders de-servedly turned a deaf ear.

The Basuto general grievance about transport is inter-preted as that "motor transport is superseding ox-wagon transport in certain parts of Basutoland, which," continues the "Basutoland News," it is alleged is depriving the Basuto of a means of livelihood in this direction. The Government is blamed for allowing this, and some of the letters in question contain appeals to the powers that be to stop it.' Further on in their leader they say: "The Basuto cannot stay the march of progress. The world is not going to stand still for the sake of this little Native territory less in size than Belgium, and the Basuto must sooner or later learn to adapt themselves to changing conditions in this as in other matters. Moshesh wore feathers and a kaross, and Letsie a blanket, but that is no reason why Griffith should not wear a frock coat."

The "Basutoland News" continues, that: where ox-wagons were good in times gone by, motor lorries are better to-day. It is all so obvious. The wonder is that motor lorry service has not been much more common in Basutoland than it is, especially considering the great inconvenience to which traders are everywhere put through shortage of Native ox-wagons, which is gradually becoming more and more acute for the simple reason that no new wagons are imported into the territory, and those old ones still in use are continually being patched up. If the traders as a whole could co-operate in anything but obtaining advantages from the government they might already have organised some more satisfactory system of transport to their own, and indirectly, to the Natives benefit."

To start with, the "Basutoland News" do not seem to have followed and understood us clearly on this subject of transport, neither have they followed the contention of the "Mochochonono" correspondent who brought up another aspect of the question which affected the Basuto transport riders in the locality of Maseru mostly, where there was, according to his information, a European forwarding agent that has monopoly of transport there.

In the articles that have appeared in the columns of this newspaper, the Basuto said nothing against the introduction into the territory of these handy lorries nor have they ever hinted a protest against European-owned lorries.

What the Basuto raised a cry against the government for was against its policy of taking upon itself the duty of running its own transport thereby competing with the Native public in this meagre means of livelihood. We alleged that the government were not the right people to snatch bread from the Basuto. Their precedent was ominous to the Native public if the general traders, who surely have means to do so, would follow their example. Further we censured the govern-

Race Problem - 1929

African

ment for purchasing lorries to come and compete with the Basuto lorry-owners. If from the revenue we contribute there is surplus, that the government could use in other ways for our good.

The second matter we protested against, if protest account for anything was against transport contracts given to rich and poor farmers in the Free State, to bring government transport from Railway Stations to Basutoland camps while there were ox-wagons and lorries owned by the Basuto to do that. Were it not that, "Blood was thicker than water" our contemporary would never consider this as fair-play.

The third matter which we thought was not fair was to put lorries and ox-wagons on the same scale of rates of charges, proving that if that should be continued would struggle in vain for existence.

The fourth point of our contention was that where two (European and Native) came forward for a load, preference should be given to a Native. This is the conclusion to which commonsense and law of equity would lead fairly-minded people to. This is the bold action we would expect the good Basutoland traders to do.

We do not know the exact position with regard to transport in the North of Basutoland, but in the South the traders receive offers daily of ox-wagon and lorry transport. As far as the South is concerned the "inconvenience" referred to is baseless.

The organisation of transport by traders desired by the "Basutoland News," would no doubt be detrimental to us the Basuto. To wish that traders should combine to tie our hands at our back is to be heartless. And the inference becomes too painful from one who sojourns you.

The "News" is right no people could stay the march of progress." But the unfortunate part with us the Basuto we are often told to mark time when we attempt practical things. If we asked for permission to do any business that Europeans were much interested in and which appeared to be a paying concern our contemporary would take the lead in an opposition against us.

A CORRECT STUDY OF THE CONGRESS.

ITS AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS.

Weekly News 1-4-29

Sierra Leone

In keeping with the undertaking in our last issue we publish the first of a series of articles on the aims and aspirations of the Congress, in our endeavour to disseminate correct opinion on this all important subject.

The first and principal object of the Congress is to maintain inviolate the connection of the British West African Colonies with the British Empire. The founders of the Congress believe that the future of the Colonies of West Africa under Britain should always continue to be so, and whatever policy is adopted, their actions will be directed towards the preservation of the link. The Hon. CASELY HAYFORD in his supporting speech at the inauguration of the Congress said *inter alia*:—

> "This Conference is not founded as an anti-Government movement but for the purpose of helping the Government in the work of civilization that they are doing in our midst. Sometimes they may make mistakes, but this must be pointed out in a loyal and constitutional manner."

This policy the Congress has always kept to and will never depart from. And the nine years during which the Congress has existed contains no trace of any disloyal act or any departure from this grand aspiration. The Congress undertakes and will always point out in a loyal and constitutional manner, any mistake that the Government of any of these Colonies may make. Passing off to another topic, we may record that the granting of the limited franchise to the West African Colonies is the direct effect of the efforts of the Congress. The Hon. T. HUTTON-MILLS, in his Inaugural Address at Acora, said *inter alia*:—

> "The fact that the Native Unofficial Member is selected by the Governor of the Colony and recommended for appointment is apparently looked upon with suspicion by some of the people who deem him a favourite of the Governor and, it is presumed that when he acts on the Council it is difficult for him to remember that he has been invited there to serve the interests of the people loyally but fearlessly. He has also to bear in mind, at any rate, I am inclined to think so, that in selecting a native to come and serve on the Council was to some extent giving him a chance to support Government measures."

Other leaders of the Congress expressed themselves similarly, and it was decided to take action with a view to the obtaining of the Franchise.

Resolutions were accordingly passed advocating a change in the different constitutions of the Colonies. The Congress did not rest there, but sent a strong and representative delegation to London, which presented a petition to His Majesty the King Emperor in Council. In that petition the following is contained:—

> "From the foregoing it is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutional agitation in the past as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different Colonies."

In this the Congress succeeded, and in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Gold Coast the people have the right to elect their own representatives pledged to put the interest of their constituencies foremost. The value of this has not yet been fully appreciated, but there can be no two opinions that it is a great privilege, and the way and manner in which the elected members have acquitted themselves is creditable to themselves and favourably reflective to the Congress.

It is however true that more representatives are needed, a further stage in elective representation must be reached. The present is only transitory leading up to something higher; but to attain that the Congress must have the full support of every African in West Africa, and this we are appealing for.

Another matter within the ambit of the Congress is the burning question of "Judicial reform."

The first resolutions dealt with such subjects as the appointment of qualified Africans to posts in the legal department and the judiciary, the abolition of the Assessors Ordinance, the Constitution of a Criminal Court of Appeal, the right of Counsel to appear for accused persons in every Court, and several other matters.

The leaders of the Congress have carried out its policy, and in the several Communities actions have been taken on these matters.

A West African Court of Appeal with the right of appeal in Criminal Cases will soon be a reality; the Assessors Ordinance is still on the statute book, and the Congress is determined to do everything constitutional to have it eradicated from the statute book. The elected members of Council of this Colony have attacked it in a full.dress debate, and have adopted the policy yearly of registering their protest against it by witholding their votes to the expenditure of money for the salaries of those Officers who are engaged in administering it. The question of the right of Counsel to appear in every Court has received impetus by the KNOWLES case, and we watch with interest the outcome. In the Protectorate of the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Congress achieved a direct success by getting an amendment of the law to allow "natives" to appeal from the decision of the District Commissioner to the Circuit Court. Before then whilst non natives could appeal, no "natives" had such right. As a result of certain actions taken by the Congress in 1923 an amendment of the law was effected to make the right of appeal universal.

THE AFRICAN BANQUET.

The banquet of the African Society, given last Wednesday evening at the May Fair Hotel, at which the Right Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., and the Right Hon. Major Ormsby-Gore, M.P., were the principal guests, attracted an unusually large attendance. Probably no two men have done better team work at the Colonial Office. Earl Buxton's fine reference to the fact that at the Colonial Office there was continuity in policy regardless of what party was in power, and that the solidarity of that policy was the keynote of modern Colonial Office policy in dealing with nearly fifty colonies, with an immense variety of races, colours, constitutions, languages, and climate, during the last five years was as laudable as it was accurate. The revered President of the African Society, himself a Liberal in politics.

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pointed out the excellence of the recent official publications and the intense desire shown by the heads of the Department to be in personal contact with all the Dominions and Colonies. Mr. Amery, who was in fine form last Wednesday, paid a well-deserved tribute to his colleague, and referred in a splendidly phrased survey, a full summary of which will be found in another page of this issue, to the vast and amazing changes that have transformed the almost blank interior of Africa in 1880 into the throbbing hive of activity, into which European enterprise was penetrating in every direction. Mr. Amery's words should be well weighed and thought over. Do we realise that when Sir Robert Williams opens the Lobito Katanga Railway next month that we are not only in sight of linking up with the great lakes area of Africa, but also by rail and a new river route across S. Angola to the Victoria Falls? Do we realise that the great Rhodes ideal of the Cape to Cairo Railway is within the radius of completion within the next decade by the progressive Congo Belge Railways penetrating to Rejaf, on the Nile, from Stanleyville; that from Rejaf will be ere long found a railway sweeping in a great arch west of the Nile swamps to the Kordofan terminus of El Obeid? El Obeid is within a day of Khartoum, and but for the short river reach of Halfa-Assuan this means a through connection with Cairo. No wonder Mr. Amery was optimistic on the prospects. Mr. Amery deservedly dwelt on the great obligation we owe to Sir Hilton Young and his colleagues for their wonderful recent report, which would not be hastily acted upon. When Mr. Ormsby-Gore said that during the last twenty years he had visited every part of Africa except Somaliland he emphasised there being more British Imperial territory in Africa than on any other continent. His references to the West Coast Colonies, with a population exceeding that of Australia, Canada, and South Africa combined, was significant. His faith in the future, the power of resistance, sterling stock of race, of the Negro people, was gratifying, and his concluding remark that Britain in Africa need not fear the future, but that the efforts of our Empire would tend to the greatest good of humanity as a whole, was a splendid assertion, on which we warmly felicitate our eminent Under-Secretary of State, who is, perhaps, to-day one of the greatest living authorities on African affairs, gained—as few can say—by actual personal contact.

"BICYCLES FOR ENTERPRISING NIGGERS."

When Mr. Baldwin mentioned a week or two ago with satisfaction that African natives were large purchasers of British-made bicycles, which was a tangible factor for the improvement of British trade, it was not anticipated that Mr. Lloyd George would seize the opportunity some days later to refer with a totally unjustifiable sneer to the harmless statement of our Prime Minister by exclaiming, "What a programme! A consignment of push-bikes for niggers!" As Mr. Lloyd George has not denied having made the statement, it seems that we are perfectly justified in taking the strongest exception to the Liberal leader's inexplicable *faux pas*. Sir Rhys Pryce, in a really excellent letter he sent to the "Times" last week, clearly explained how offensive the word "nigger" is when applied to native people in almost any part of Africa. The ex-Prime Minister was surely not in his usually normal frame of mentality when he permitted himself to make such a needless and ill-natured comment on the vast and loyal populations which form the majority in every African part of the Empire. Mr. Lloyd George is a great man who did magnificent work in the war for the Empire. Does he forget how the Bantu of South Africa, the West Coast, and East Africa came eagerly forward to do his bit, and how willingly many thousands of them sacrificed their lives? Do they deserve to be called "niggers" in the manner he selected to do? The eloquent comments made by Mr. Ormsby-Gore and Mr. Snell in the House of Commons fortunately place public opinion in this country on the subject in a very clear light, and Mr. Lloyd George will be well advised in future to thoroughly study the use of the word "*Negro*" when dealing with natives, thus avoiding the lamentable gratuitous insult to those who are probably the greatest potential customers for British-made goods and producers on the same great scale of raw material needed for the Empire. That this particular speech by the leader of the Liberals has left a very painful effect even among some of his greatest admirers can hardly be surprised at, and may we express the hope that the offensive remark—which should never have been made—may yet be promptly and unconditionally withdrawn in apologetic terms.

WANT MORE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

White Labor Bodies Favor the Organization of Colored and Black Workers.

STEP TOWARD AN ALLIANCE

Johannesburg Convention Apparently Not Frightened by Government's Cry About Native Domination.

While the present Nationalist-Labor coalition government of the Union of South Africa, with J. B. Hertzog as Premier, is insisting that the main issue before the voters in the general elections fixed for June 12 is the preservation of a "white South Africa," a step has been taken by the economic organization of the Labor party likely to cause strife within the coalition.

At the annual assembly of the South African Trade Union Congress, held in Johannesburg on March 30 and 31, the following resolution was presented by the National Executive Council and adopted, after considerable discussion:

"The most satisfactory method of organization is to include workers in a given industry or trade in one union. If this is, for various reasons, not practicable at the moment, then branches of unions should be opened to receive non-European workers who are otherwise eligible to join. If neither of these proposals is adopted, then parallel unions for non-European workers should be registered and have representation on the various bodies set up under the Industrial Conciliation and Apprenticeship acts."

Some Unions Already Mix Races.

According to an account of the convention found in a recent bulletin of the Geneva Bureau of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, it was brought out during the discussion that many unions already had colored workers as members and some of the delegates came out for the acceptance of workers of all colors and races in the various affiliated trade unions. In this connection it is to be remembered that in South Africa the word "colored" is used to denote mixed bloods and not 100 per cent natives.

It would seem to be indicated by the action at Johannesburg that the barriers between the white labor organizations and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, a native body about 100,000 strong, are in the process of being leveled, so far as joint action in their common interest is concerned.

The latter part of the convention resolution is apparently aimed at the government's alleged opposition to the organization of native workers in trade unions of their own. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, while the South African Trade Union Congress is not linked with any international body. A British trade unionist named Ballinger is helping the natives in their organization work.

Favor Compulsory Unionism.

After a hot debate on the advisability of asking the State to interfere in union matters, the convention passed a resolution urging that the government be pressed to introduce legislation providing for compulsory membership of trade unions. Other resolutions were adopted demanding the establishment of a State bank, the statutory provision of three weeks' annual leave on full pay for all workers in South Africa, the purchase by the government of the whole of its requirements in South Africa in order to encourage industries, and the total abolition of contract labor, whether European, colored or native.

The convention also came out strongly for adequate old-age pensions, declaring that, while it welcomed the government's adoption of the principle of such pensions, it wanted the age limit lowered from 65 to 60 years and the payments raised to not less than $7.25 a week, irrespective of the applicant's income. Under the law, effective Jan. 1 last, only white persons whose annual incomes are less than $250 and colored persons whose incomes are under $160 are eligible to pensions, on a sliding scale, with respective maximums of $145 and $87 a year.

National Chairman A. A. Moore and Secretary W. H. Andrews were re-elected.

European Bantu Conference.

Rev. N. Y. St. George-Stead pointed out the contrast between the practice of giving suspended sentences in the cases of Europeans convicted of serious offences, and the imposing of severe sentences on Natives. Mr. W. G. Ballinger referred to the extortionate charges made by Attorneys for small services, and to the punishment of Natives for purely technical offences. The discussion was closed.

The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Prof. Edgar G. Brooke, Sir Clarkson Tredgold, Sir James Rose-Innes and Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, for their addresses. The printed motion was referred to the Committee appointed.

At this point the Chairman called upon Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Cape Town, who spoke before Conference the opportunities that exist in the Union for the education of the Non-European blind, and the Non-European deaf and dumb. There was one school for the deaf and dumb in Cape Town under the Roman Catholic Church, and a residental school for Non-European blind at Faure.

PASS-LAWS.—Major J. H. Herbst, C.B.E., the Secretary for Native Affairs opened the discussion. He described the existing pass-laws in the various Provinces. The pass-law had originated because it was considered necessary for the protection of life and property. European opinion in the Northern Provinces was not ready for the entire abolition of pass-laws. The Department was proposing to the Agricultural Union for their consideration, that the poll-tax receipt be regarded as sufficient identification. The objection to this on the part of the farmer was that he feared his servants

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Tembuland Constituency.

EDITOR "IMVO,"

Dear Sir,

I desire to make known to the Native people my willingness to contest the Tembuland Seat at the forthcoming election.

I know of no constituency where it is so essential the candidate should enjoy the confidence of all sections.

In this regard I am given to understand that my public work over a period of years, particulary in the cause of education; my appreciation of the need to improve the commercial condition of this territory by endeavouring to increase the earning capacity of the people and thus bring more money into circulation at home in order to meet the increased need of us all; my fearlessness in the assertion of my opinions; have all earned for me a fair measure of support from the European members of the electorate.

As far as the Native people are concerned, I think there are few public men who have more consistently and publicly opposed the tendency to impose repressive legislation based solely on colour distiction, or who have urged more insistently the right of every man no matter what his colour may be to earn as much as his ability and energy enable him to do. Upon this road I shall continue to travel fearlessly and consistently believing as I do that therein lies the safety and the furtherance of the highest standard of our civilization.

In so far as the Cape Franchise is concerned, I regard the repeated suggestions which Mr Payn has made, to the effect that a change is essential as quite indefensible. He has no mandate from the Native people to make the statement, and in making it not once but repeatedly, he has without doubt betrayed you.

It is your most cherished possession which you have used with moderation and good sense for 75 years—Disfranchisement is the punishment for treason and sedition and the history of the Cape during that long period proves that you have been loyal to your trust and to the Crown; and I for one will never consent to see you treated otherwise than justly. I regard the Rose-Innes manifesto as the irreducable minimum and I hereby solemnly pledge myself to adhere to its terms.

Now at the forthcoming election you have the choice of three candidates Mr. Payn, Mr. Bunting and myself. Mr Payn and I both belong to the Party which beyond all others has worked for and aided the Native of the Cape—Mr. Bunting represents the cult of Communism—in books a fine and desirable thing—in practice a sinister and bloody influence.

It is utopian and therefore impracticable, because it leaves out of consideration the human factor. Men and women are not and never will be the same either in body or in mind—the elements of ability, ambition, avarice, meanness, weakness, laziness, thrift, wastefulness and the like make the realisation of this dream impossible and in practice you find that in Russia the people have but exchanged one form of tyranny for another, whilst in India where a section of the people have listened to the teaching of another Mr. Bunting—the people are lying in the welter of their own blood, tearing themselves to pieces like wild animals, what time the teachers are safely back in their own land beyond the reach of the terror they have wilfully and maliciously created with the deliberate intent of destroying all forms of ordered governance. And so it comes about that lest this insidious danger should undermine the work of the past 50 years, it becomes necessary for the Native people to choose between us three and to say in no uncertain voice which of these you will support.

I came from the shadow of the great place of the Good Queen Victoria to live in Tembuland 26 years ago and I have still within my heart that inborn sense of right and justice; for 26 years I have lived in Tembuland in the closest touch with all its many interests. I am here to serve the people and to represent all sections faithfully, fearlessly and justly abiding as a man of honour by my pledge word.

The offer to serve means material loss to me and domestic inconvenience also, for I have a wife and three children, but if I am needed I am here to obey the call.—Do you want me?

Yours truly,

GORDON K. HEMMING.
(Dubulegeqa.)

Umtata,

April, 1929.

THE NAFTE OUTRAGE.

It will be like flogging a dead horse to re-iterate the lofty moralisings expressed by our well-known contemporaries the "Cape Times" "Star" "Pretoria News," "Daily Dispatch" in Mr. Justice Solomon's equitable sentence on the notorious Nafte. It is quite possible though that the "dead horse" may be restored to life if the Acting Minister of Justice this week may decide in favour of a remission of the paltry ten lashes to a heartless European. A cooling douche has been administered to the burning sensation of revolt felt by the Native population of South Africa by reason of the more sensible section of the Europeans taking up the cudgels of fairplay and equal justice. Almost without exception has the pendulum of unequal justice in the law courts swung in favour of a white man as against the black, that in this isolated case suggesting a fair sentence the Natives had hoped that the swing had at last turned the other way. But alas, no sooner had this change come to pass do we hear of prejudiced, short-sighted protests from Europeans, and even from the Jews whose history we all know. We hope commonsense will prevail, and that in future Natives will not be made to feel that to open the deaf ears of the ruling class it is necessary to adopt extreme measures as preached by the Communists to them and as practised by the Hindus in New Delhi and by the world-famous Ghandi.

True Templars at Cathcart.

At the annual conference of the Eastern Grand Temple held at Cathcart from the 28th ult. it was resolved:

"That this Grand Temple strongly protests against the Government's insistence in passing legislation calculated to encourage the evils of strong drink among Natives, and that this Grand Temple will always pray that parliament legislate for total prohibition in this country."

THE NIGHTMARE IN THE PROTECTORATE.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SIERRA LEONE SETTLERS.

IV.

THIS week we propose to deal with the last effort of the Settlers to have a hearing in the Circuit Court with the hope of getting the heavy and ridiculous damages set aside or varied.

The ground on which this application was refused by the Circuit Judge is to say the least unfortunate, since it is founded on reliance on the memory of the Travelling Commissioner.

The history so far as it is relevant is as follows:—

"Two days after the judgment was given against GREENE, he and others posted a registered letter to the Travelling Commissioner giving notice of appeal and stating dissatisfaction with the judgment.

When the application for leave to appeal came before the Circuit Judge, it became a material point as to whether this notice of appeal was delivered. GREENE, the applicant, swore he delivered it, the Travelling Commissioner denied it; and as it was such an important point, we are informed that Counsel for GREENE asked for an opportunity to prove by a further sworn statement (as we are advised he is entitled to) that the "notice" was in fact received by the Travelling Commissioner as he then produced the receipt of the Post Office for this letter. This opportunity was unfortunately not given him, and the Judge accepted the denial of the Travelling Commissioner, when in fact a simple enquiry would have disclosed that his receipt is now in the Post Office at Bo for the registered letter containing the "*notice*."

Judges are of course immuned from criticism. They are such celestial beings, and, in West Africa, they are even more so; but this will not prevent our expressing regret at the action of the Circuit Judge in accepting the denial of the Travelling Commissioner when already he had sufficient *prima facie* fact to put him on his enquiry, in order to arrive at the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Travelling Commissioners are human beings after all, and are liable to all the frailties of mankind, and as we know now. Major LYON's denial in the face of his receipt in the Post Office at Bo, supports the argument for the fallibility of all mankind however highly placed. It is the assumption, a very errroneous one, that some

individuals are so placed that they can never go wrong, that is responsible for many of the mischiefs in West Africa. And the sooner this fallacy is done away with the better.

If the Travelling Commissioner received the notice (as he must have done by his receipt), why did he deny having received it? The answer to this is to be included in the many mysterious questions which are pregnant in West Africa, and which will be answered later on, by our disclosure of certain irregularities in other high quarters.

So far as the Courts of Justice are concerned, this is the end of any effort by the settlers to ameliorate their lot. We are however loath to believe that the Government is powerless to put an end to this Nightmare —this dreadful dream which has taken hold of the situation at Bo.

We have pressed a case for an enquiry, and we go further and say that now that the means of redress at the Court has been exhausted, the Head of the Executive can certainly again use his good offices to rectify matters.

The Chiefs themselves were satisfied with their position before the new law was passed. It was Government which pushed it through Council, and as the object was to control the tenure of lands in the Protectorate and not to create hardships, it is a position eminently suited for interference. It is in our opinion a sufficient public act, and any Chief who deliberately sets himself to thwart the good intentions of the Governor, and to defy his authority, has infringed the spirit and the letter of the Protectorate Ordinance, and should be dealt with; since his persistence to enforce execution under the present circumstances would seriously prejudice the interest of His Majesty's subjects in the Protectorate.

The position is admissible of proper and satisfactory solution, if only the Provincial Commissioner would sufficiently impress upon the Chief the result of his insistence.

National Congress of British West Africa.

Now that the constitution of a local organisation for the representation of our grievance is being fel , all eyes should be turned towards the Congress.

In order to afford an opportunity to all to enroll as members and to popularise the movement, the Local Committee has arranged to hold a series of meetings in the City as follows:—

CATHEDRAL SCHOOLROOM

On Monday, April 22nd, at 4 p.m.

Chairman - Hon. A. E Tuboku-Metzger, (President Local Section).

Special Speakers—Rev. W. B. Marke, Dr. J. C Pratt

All are invited. Collections in aid of the Fund will be taken at the close of every meeting.

To meet the convenience of the Mohammedans, special meetings are being arranged at the Mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay at 2 p.m., on the 12th and 19th instant.

F. A. MILLER,
Honorary Secretary.

Premier's four bills.

The four bills of the Premier failed to pass through the joint sitting of the Houses of the Union Parliament. The question crops up as to whether or not the famous General Hertzog will not again make another attempt to disfranchise the Natives and coloured people in the Cape Province. There cannot be shred of doubt that the Pact is going to organise the European public opinion to believe that the salvation of Europeans in South Africa lies in the disfranchisement of the black races. The Pact Government believes in the oppression and exploitation of the black inhabitants of this country who must not have equal economic and political opportunities with the white men.

There is no evidence showing that a black man does not exercise his vote with prudence and care. The evidence is very much in abundance that the Pact Government is trying to follow the traditions of the voortrekers, who declared in the manifesto that, there shall not in the eye of the law equality between white and black men in Church or in State. It is up now to the Natives of the Union of South Africa to be tighter and tighter the franchise than have to-day.

One wonders as to whether the Native Voters' Association is a capable and competent institution, a strong body, to combat the present situation. It seems to us that General Hertzog, who is an eminent lawyer during his first and only visit of the Transkei make a vigorous research of the Native political situation and then jumped up to the conclusion that the Natives and Coloureds were not strongly organised to defend their suffrage?

After reading Mr. Pelem's letter that appeared in "Umteteli" of 2nd March, 1929, one gets the impression that Natives of Mr. Pelem's frame of mind are ready to compromise the Native vote. It is quite clear that Mr. Pelem is one of the leaders who think that the Pact Government has power to keep the Natives down for all time: that it possesses wonderful powers to take away the Native vote at any time. The Native population has got no time for men who are ready at the first attack to surrender the Native vote and other constitutional rights. General Hertzog during the last sitting did not conceal the fact that he and his colleagues are working up a revolution in this country against a defenceless people.

It is true that the Natives are not satisfied with the discriminating clause in the South Africa Act of 1909. The string of Anti Native Acts arising from the Act of Union is not only abusive but cruel, wicked and highly condemnable. This is a sign of incompetency on the part of the ruling race to rule a mixed population with a fear to lose power over the classes that are isolated for oppression and exploitation. Is it possible to rule a mixed population or nation by differentiation? Nowhere in the world conquered by Imperial power the premordial and human rights were denied a people as is the case in South Africa.

Our humble advice to the Africans of all colours and shades, is that the surrender of the vote must not be done. If the Africans shall hold the gift of the late Queen Victoria the Good the whole world will appreciate and harmonise with their attitude. We Africans were very loyal to the British Throne and Government, we must continue that loyalty by standing together and defend the late Queen Victoria's word of honour, never mind what Briton and Boer are doing. We must not compromise our valuable rights and privileges which, even those who attempt to take them away from us hold them dear themselves. "Abantu Bathe"

NATIVE FARMERS.

The forty-seventh quarterly meeting of the Keiskama River Valley Native Farmers' Association took place at Rabula (Ngudle's) on the 23rd Feb., last, when there was a good attendance of above eighty men and women. The chairman in his opening remarks commented upon the fact that lack of knowledge must be combated amongst our people. He pointed out that the piece of land a man has is really a mine. It is where he can mine gold and silver. People should be advised not to buy ordinary grain from traders to use as seed.

The meeting was locally welcomed by Mr. P. J. Ncanywa who declared that doors were open to visitors. Mr. E. Shosha thanked the local people on behalf of the Association. Professor Jabavu supported Mr. Shosha in that people in the Transkei are being led astray by a man who calls himself Dr. Wellington and that this was due to their lack of knowledge. He also mentioned that after hearing lectures given at Mnqaba by Mr. J. Henkel (Native Commissioner at Middle Drift) people should adopt swiss goats to solve the problem of milk scarcity, he bought three swiss goats at £13 and out of them he is getting far more milk than he wants.

Minutes.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Business.

An excellent report on what the Association had done in buying and selling mealies was given by Mr. S. J. Peteni (President). It was unanimously agreed that this should be brought to an end now and that the money should be given to the treasurer for investment.

On behalf of the committee appointed Mr. D. Ross gave a disappointing report on the proposal to establish a weaving school in the Ciskei. Owing to the financial position funds will not be available for putting up such expensive buildings and machinery. This matter was placed in the hands of the members of the local councils, as it was regarded as imperative that a weaving school should be established in the Ciskei.

A report of the South African Native Farmers' Congress held a Clarkebury on the 29th December last was given by the delegate. The delegate, among other things, reported that the congress decided to request the Government to organise a central show for the combined competition of the various existing agri-

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cultural shows, and that such a show should be held in the year 1930 in some central place and towards its initial expenditure each branch association be requested to provide financial help up to £5 where possible. He also reported that Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu was appointed to represent the congress at the Cape Town Conference on agricultural affairs, and to oppose the extension of the Glen Grey system of land tenure.

It was announced by Mr. Ross that the next agricultural show will be held at Fort Hare on the 23rd May. It was remarked that Local Councils of the Ciskei should assist Fort Hare in raising funds for the Show.

The next subject was introduced by Mr. J. D. Gulwa. He moved that all members of the Farmers' Association should subscribe to the "Umcebisi" (an Umtata paper). The members agreed that such an instructive paper should be made use of.

Roll and subscriptions.

The roll was called and two new members were registered and the subscriptions paid in amounted to £3/18/6d, and the balance at the bank increased to £50/2/7d excluding the amount withdrawn for the purpose of buying mealies.

Demonstration lectures.

An instructive lecture was delivered by Mr. C. Koti on sheep. He urged his hearers to give up keeping sheep in bush kraals and to make sheds.

Venue for next meeting.

The date of the next meeting was fixed for the 25th May 1929 at Keis Kama Hoek.

Africans As Aliens

Our people must at times wonder at the mentality or psychology of the ruling classes in insisting on passing legislation with the sole object of "hurting the soul" of the Native people by making them aliens in the country of their birth. One sometimes wonders if they look far ahead into the future as to the up-shot of their present policy. Our people have been asking us for some time some very pertinent, we hope not impertinent questions, and we have not been able to answer them. Some of them are: Why are articles which are primarily used by Natives so heavily taxed through the customs? Why are cotton blankets taxed double their original cost? Why should the education of Europeans and Coloured children be paid from the general revenue of the country whilst for Native education the Natives must be specially taxed for the privilege in spite of their being the poorest of the poor? Why should out of the £1 Native poll tax government have the lion's share, by taking 16/- in the pound, a sum estimated to be in the vicinity of a million for the general revenue? These are questions, as we have said, which are hard to answer, but the fact remains that is the true position of affairs. Natives in the northern provinces have, for a long time been clamouring for the abolition of the pass system, but the Europeans in the north are adamant. They are alive to the fact that by abolishing the pass system with its handsome income to the Provincial revenue that maintains the education of their children, it would be suicidal to forego such a lucrative source of income. So our people must bear and grin until light and fairplay break through this darkness. In this gloom of thought and outlook the resolutions passed at the recent S.A.P. Women's Congress held at East London were a ray of light and hope for which our people are abundantly thankful. So read the resolutions :—

The Natives and Poll Tax.

In the afternoon the first resolution dealt with was a proposal from Cradock and Grahamstown to the effect that Natives employed in the Cape Province be exempted from poll tax in view of the heavy taxes paid by them in other directions. In many cases, it was argued, the farmer himself had to foot the bill in order to retain his labourers. It was not considered that the Natives received sufficient return for the taxes paid by them, such as Customs duties on articles used by them.

Miss Tidmarsh (Grahamstown) seconded.

Mrs. Haldane Murray (Graaff-Reinet) pointed out the injustice of taxing Natives (at their own request) to provide for the education of their children, while the same educational facilities were accorded to coloured and poor white children without any taxation. Moreover, after the Native child had got his education he came up against the colour bar, which kept him out of all technical callings. It was taxation without representation, a principle against which they had always fought. She mentioned the exorbitant Customs dues charged on kaffir blankets used by the white man. She suggested a 5/- tax on Natives and Coloured alike.

Miss Tidmarsh commented on the inquitous methods of guessing at a Native's age for poll tax purposes, and the flimsy paper on which receipts were issued, leading to their destruction, when failure to produce them was considered a criminal offence.

The motion was carried.

Native Legislation.

Dr. McPherson (Queenstown) urged that all legislation on Native Affairs be treated with the utmost sympathy and consideration. This was carried without discussion.

The Big Offensive.

The first meeting of the National Congress for the purpose of propagandising the movement was a tremendous success. The resolutions which we publish in this issue testify to the awakening of the people to the requirments of the moment.

The addresses by the special speakers, and the other members of the audience who took part were very telling and inspiring. One of the speakers drew a picture of conditions in America and showed the value of oppression, how that it enabled the Negroes of America to organise and make themselves felt. But as it was pointed out, conditions in America and West Africa are not the same; and if we wait to suffer the same disability as our brethren in America did, before we realise the need for continued co-operation, we might find it impossible to ever make any impression or amelioration of our condition.

It is hoped that the other centres of the City will follow the noble example of the East, and pledge themselves to support the Congress movement.

In every community, there should be an organisation of sufficient popular support to ventilate in a proper manner the grievances of the people. The Congress is already established, and is recognised by Government as a constitutional body for the representation of our grievances. It behoves us therefore to rally round its banner, and make it of sufficient strength to ferret and expose irregularities which are hostile to progress.

A very apt suggestion was made that the best way to achieve our purposes is to have an influential member in the British Parliament to safeguard our interest.

This is one of the aims of the Congress and in order to achieve it, it calls for the support of all. The next meeting will be held at St. John's Sshoolroom, Brookfields on Monday 15th instant at 4 p.m., and at the Mosque, Fourah Bay, on Friday next the 19th instant.

NOTES AT RANDOM

IN our last issue we gave publicity to the list of names of this year's nominated members of the Basutoland National Council. It was, in the course of last year, supposed that the Council would meet this month to consider and discuss the proposed reform laws of the Resident Commissioner, as it was thought every Councillor shall have had time enough to study every clause of the suggested reforms. But for reasons unknown to us, delay was in the nomination of the new members, and members of the Council and the Basuto public have only this month known who is who. Although no change except in one or two cases has been effected, naturally old members must have felt restrained to become too active over the affair until they knew that they were nominated again. So that they can only now discuss matter freely with the public.

The delay to publish the new Councillors names must necessarily lead to a delay in opening this year's session of the Council.

However, we think there is hardly any strong reason to grumble over this delay, since the matter of new laws is the one on which the wise policy is to hasten slowly, The public must digest them properly before they rush to pass or reject them.

THE TRANSVAAL FARMER AND DEAD NATIVE SENSATION.

COURT SENTENCE.

TEN LASHES AND SEVEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT.

TIED HEAD DOWN.

SHOCKING COURT STORY.

The accused man at Bethel Circuit Court was Jack Nafte, a local farmer. With his foreman, Van Niekerk, he was charged with the murder of a native named Sixpence Temba.

Van Niekerk, whose case was heard first, was convicted of a common assault and was fined £25 or two months' hard labour. He subsequently gave evidence against his employer, who was found guilty of culpable homicide (under Roman-Dutch law the equivalent of manslaughter).

The evidence disclosed what the judge, in passing sentence, described as horrifying cruelty. The victim appears to have been of a quarrelsome disposition. But according to Nafte's own statement in court, which consisted mainly of a denial of the facts alleged by the prosecution and an attempt to fasten the responsibility on Van Niekerk, nothing happened on the day of the alleged murder to justify any severity. It was proved by native witnesses—corroborated on material points by Van Niekerk and his wife—that Sixpence, after being bound to a wagon, was dragged with a riem, or leather thong, round his neck into the kitchen, where he was handcuffed and grossly maltreated. He emerged screaming, "Oh! I am dying," and tried to run away but fell. Nafte stoned him as he lay helpless on the ground and then stamped on his chest.

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"It was a wonderful trade for seller and buyer. The profits to the seller, or slave-raider, must have been great, while the purchaser also did very well by securing the services of a labourer for perhaps 30 years or so by the payment of a lump sum down.

"But naturally one's thoughts fly to the slave. Instinctively one jumps to the conclusion that the slave was an abject victim of an abominable system, to be rescued at all costs; and that slavery was a custom that must be suppressed. But that was not always the case. The slave was not being torn from an idyllic home of peace and prosperity to be condemned to a life of hardship and cruelty. Native customs were appalling and his quite possible fate would be to feature as a sacrifice to 'Long Ju-Ju'; to be tortured to death for some fancied crime; to be enslaved by another tribe, or, if he were lucky, to be knocked on the head when he grew old.

"Nor was every cabin 'Uncle Tom's.' In thousands of cases, if he survived the journey, the slave found himself, in due time, a trusted and valued servant on a Virginian plantation, a friend of the family, with his own hut, a wife and piccaninnies, or even his own slaves; to die regretted at an advanced old age; a life quite impossible in his old home.

"I do not wish to figure as an advocate and that slavery still exists in many parts of the there are two sides to every controversy. world. The extinction of the overseas trade

"However, what good points slavery may have had, it was and is quite antagonistic to British ideas; and the public conscience being aroused, slavery was made illegal, with that problem when let loose upon it."

Such suppression is exceedingly difficult and every effort was made to suppress it. of slavery, but merely to point out has not yet been accomplished, for was quite impossible, comparatively easy, however, and the British Navy could be relied on to deal

NOTES AT RANDOM

IN our last issue we gave publicity to the list of names of this year's nominated members of the Basutoland National Council. It was, in the course of last year, supposed that the Council would meet this month to consider and discuss the proposed reform laws of the Resident Commissioner, as it was thought every Councillor shall have had time enough to study every clause of the suggested reforms. But for reasons unknown to us, delay was in the nomination of the new members, and members of the Council and the Basuto public have only this month known who is who. Although no change except in one or two cases has been effected, naturally old members must have felt restrained to become too active over the affair until they knew that they were nominated again. So that they can only now discuss matter freely with the public.

The delay to publish the new Councillors names must necessarily lead to a delay in opening this year's session of the Council.

However, we think there is hardly any strong reason to grumble over this delay, since the matter of new laws is the one on which the wise policy is to hasten slowly, The public must digest them properly before they rush to pass or reject them.

THE TRANSVAAL FARMER AND DEAD NATIVE SENSATION.

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SHOCKING COURT STORY.

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Van Niekerk, whose case was heard first, was convicted of a common assault and fined £25 or two months' hard labour. He subsequently gave evidence against his employer, who was found guilty of culpable homicide (under Roman-Dutch law the equivalent of manslaughter).

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Race Problem - 1929 I

Africa.

This Lawless Nation

WE are, and we have always been, a lawless nation. It is fashionable today to blame lawlessness upon the mixture of races in our population, but that is nonsense which ignores history. Good pure-blooded Anglo-Saxons built up the bloody tradition of the frontier; English stock burned Irish Catholic convents in the Know-Nothing days of the middle of the last century; and while New York and Chicago have their high percentages of crime, it is in the pure-blooded South that the homicide rate runs highest and that the tradition of ignoring inconvenient laws reaches its peak. Prohibition violations are a small matter compared to the wholesale, persistent, unashamed, and official violation of the Constitutional provisions protecting the Negro which are current throughout the South.

It may be disconcerting, but it is eminently fitting, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should present to the President's commission on law enforcement a brief recalling its attention from the recent difficulties about prohibition to the long-continued law-breaking involved in the tradition of lynching, the custom of peonage, the official illegalities of segregation and white primary laws, and the flagrant partiality with which the school and Jim Crow laws are applied. The commission will convict itself of superficiality and of political evasion if it fails thoroughly to study these basic violations of constitutional guaranties and of the nation's legal fabric.

That most bestial of crimes, lynching, is, fortunately, declining. Public opinion in the South itself has turned against this stain upon the name of mankind. But the fact that there were only 11 lynchings in 1928, 21 in 1927, 34 in 1926, and 64 in 1921 should not blind us to the truth that while this worst excrescence of interracial violence is waning, the indecent conditions out of which it grew largely persist. Peonage, which is essentially a form of human slavery, degrading both master and debt-slave and poisoning their human relations, persists in many States. The conditions officially reported by the Governor of Georgia in 1921 have not been wiped out. A federal law exists under which punishment of those responsible for peonage is authorized, but, as the N. A. A. C. P. points out, prosecutions have been infrequent and the illegal system is complacently tolerated.

We commented recently upon the unequal application of the Jim Crow laws which nominally grant separate and equal accommodation to the two races, but in practice give only third-class accommodation to Negroes. The expenditure of the school taxes in all the Southern States is a similar example of flagrant disrespect for the provisions of law. In some States from five to ten times as much in proportion to the number of children of each race is spent on white schools as on Negro schools. Even border States like Maryland and Missouri grossly discriminate against the schools for Negro pupils.

But the disfranchisement of the colored half of the South is, of course, the most appalling violation of law. State after State passes laws intended to circumvent the plain meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and as soon as the Supreme Court declares them unconstitutional the States devise new forms of defiance. The white South does not intend the black South to vote, and it is notorious how election boards contrive to disfranchise Negroes. A white citizen may prove his literacy by merely reading his abc's; a colored man must prove himself a constitutional lawyer before a white board will admit that he is able to read and write. And these white aristocrats will regard such tactics as a joke!

Possibly the most bare-faced recent example of complete disregard for law by gentlemen sworn to uphold it was the contemptuous action of the City Council of Atlanta, Georgia, which, by a vote of 28 to 0, overrode the mayor's veto of a segregation law that was patently and unquestionably unconstitutional, paralleling closely, as it did, another ordinance upon which the courts had already ruled.

Such practices are at their worst in the South. But the recent violence at North Platte, Nebraska, and the only less recent outbreaks in Detroit, Chicago, East St. Louis, and other Northern cities reveal only too clearly that such contempt for law, when race prejudices are concerned, has no geographical limits. It lies deep in American nature. And if President Hoover's commission really wishes to get at the root of American contempt for law, it will do well to begin by poring over the documents attached to the brief of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by studying American attitudes toward race problems.

BANNER
NASHVILLE, TENN.

AUG 4 1929

ANOTHER LIBEL ON THE SOUTH.

The address delivered in New York City by Professor Knight, a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina and of the Columbia University summer session faculty, in which he drew a severe and sweeping indictment of the Southern states in the matter of education, will inevitably evoke widespread discussion.

The more or less distinguished speaker has qualified for membership in that group of Southerners, happily dwindling in both numbers and repute, who conceive that the surest avenue to Northern acclaim lies through super-criticism of the South, suppression of its achievements and magnification of its needs. Here are the chief counts in this indictment, remarkable alike for the severity and inaccuracy of its judgments, and for its complacent challenge, in material aspects, of an open record.

"Not a single Southern state yet has gained the rank of an educationally average state, and to attain this recognition the South must do for its schools twice as much as it does now.

"The schools of the South rank low when measured by national standards.

"The Southern people have a distaste for sustained efforts at educational and intellectual tasks.

"There is a lack of schools in the South and illiteracy is rampant.

"The South is not yet an educationally advanced section of the United States."

The record as to both popular and higher education exposes and demolishes the libel. These states of the South two years ago, with a population of 38,000,000, expended on their public schools twice as much as did the forty-eight states in 1900, with a population of 76,000,000. The expenditures for this purpose in 1900 by the United States were $215,000,000. The South in 1926 spent $426,000,000. In 1900 public school expenditures in the South were 15 per cent of the country's total. They are now close to 25 per cent. The South is spending $100,000,000 annually on new public school buildings, which is as much as the whole nation expended for that purpose the year before the world war began. There are 9,000 consolidated schools in the South, which is over half in all the country. With one-third of the population of the country nearly 40 per cent of its public school buildings are in Southern states. Similarly, in 1900 the appropriations in the South for public schools amounted to $35,000,000, in 1910 $80,000,000, and are now far past the $400,000,000 mark. Are these the evidences of that "lack of schools" charged in the indictment?

Are these hundreds of millions so trifling a sum that they must be doubled in order to convince such critics that the South is really interested?

In 1900 only three states of the South had regained their wealth of 1860. The 86,000 students in the high schools have grown to 700,000, which is 200,000 more than in all the high schools of the United States when it had double the population of the South of today.

He charges that not a single Southern state has "yet gained the rank of an educationally average state." Does he base that assertion on the fact that of the twelve states which, according to the federal survey of 1926, had the largest percentage of their population enrolled in the public schools no less than nine were Southern, and that not a single commonwealth north of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi was on that roll of honor?

Here are those states with their respective percentages: Mississippi 32, North Carolina 28.6; Oklahoma 27.7, Utah 27.6, North Dakota 27, South Carolina 26.5; Tennessee 26.5, Arkansas 26.1, Florida 26, South Dakota 23.9, California 23.6, Nebraska 23.6.

The percentage of the population in the Southern states is larger than for any part of the United States. The average for the country is 21.1; that for the South 24.1; that for New England 17.8. The percentage of the Empire state, where this remarkable speech was delivered, is only 17.4; that of the state where the speaker lieves, it is seen, is 10 per cent higher. Those of other great Northern and Eastern states, like Pennsylvania, 19.2; Ohio, 19; Illinois, 18.5; Indiana, 20.3; Massachusetts. 18. May such proof of popular interest in education in the South be properly denied recital?

What of the South and higher education? Perhaps, in that domain will be found basis for the reproach which this Southerner so glibly utters. The record of advance of education in the South is a story of sacrifice as well as of achievement. It evidently affords this critic no satisfaction to recall the one nor to record the other. How different his attitude from that of Dr. R. E. Blackwell, president of Randolph-Macon college, Virginia, who, in the course of a notable address delivered at the semi-centennial of Vanderbilt university, in commenting upon the historic interest of the South in the education of its youth, recalled that "so bent on getting an education were the young people of the South that in 1875, only a decade after Appomattox, the United States commissioner of education found almost as many students in Southern colleges in proportion to white population as he found in the rest of the country—sometimes more. For instance, Virginia, with fewer white people than Massachusetts, had 1,359 students in college and Massachusetts had 1,558, only 200 more." And the one state had been enriched by civil war and the other wrecked and ravished, the flower of its youth and leadership slain, its labor revolutionized, its bank vaults empty, and multiplied millions of debt added to an already crushing burden, with its citizenship disfranchised.

With increasing wealth has come expansion of the South's colleges and universities. The number of its higher institutions has grown from 128, when reconstruction ended and "the South was left free to begin that long, uphill climb" to which the New York World recently referred, to over 300 today.

Is the fact that the number of students in attendance upon the universities, colleges and professional schools of the South has reached 200,000, which is many thousands more than were matriculated in all the institutions of higher learning in the United States in 1890 and nearly as many as the number in the nation in 1900, evidence of that aversion to education which the North Carolinian finds so strongly intrenched below the Ohio? Is it to be counted for naught that the annual receipts of the institutions of higher learning of the South have passed $100,000,000, a sum greater by $10,000,000 than the revenues of all such institutions in the United States only nineteen years ago?

Is the fact that over 25 per cent of all the college and university students of the United States are enrolled in Southern institutions evidence to sustain the assertion that "not yet is the South an educationally advanced section of the United States?"

It is charged that "not a single Southern state yet has gained the rank of an educationally average commonwealth." It might have been supposed that state pride, if not justice to the South, would have prompted that an exception in favor of North Carolina, at least, might have been made by the speaker. Did he forget that the institution where he is an instructor is the oldest state university in America, that it numbers among its alumni a President and a vice-

president of the United States, seven cabinet officers, nine senators, over two-score members of the national house of representatives and twenty governors; that its student body of 69 in 1875 has become 3,000, with a faculty of 200, and that it has given instruction to over 75,000? What state in all the Union in the last ten-year period has displayed more enlightened, progressive and liberal spirit in the interest of education, popular and higher, than North Carolina? It would, indeed, seem that his resolute purpose to withhold justice from all the South might at least have failed him when he surveyed his own state and have permitted him to render some small amount of praise for the commonwealth of his residence.

The progress of North Carolina in highway building and educational expansion has attracted national attention. Have not its multiplied scores of millions eagerly contributed for its schools lifted it above the dead level of Southern mediocrity so offensive to this errant son?
ern audience?

In the face of this record of unparalleled advance which the South has made in both popular and higher education, this eager and even sacrificial devotion to the cause, how flimsy becomes the charge that "illiteracy is rampant" in this section. If this critic had desired to do justice to the South, why did he not record the truth of history that illiteracy was but another, though severe one, of the burdens imposed on it by the civil war; that the section has been addressing itself with steadfast purpose to its removal and with such success that there every assurance of its disappearance at least so far as the younger generation is concerned, within the next decade? Why did he not point out that the relatively high percentage of illiteracy in the South is mainly due to the heavy proportion of Negroes and that the Southern people today are giving the benefits of popular education to over 2,000,000 of this race? Why did not this son of the South, speaking through the New York press to the North and East and charging upon it complacency toward illiteracy, tell his auditors that, according to an authoritative and published statement, the percentage of illiteracy in the city of New York is greater than that in Asheville or in the mountain districts of his state of North Carolina?

The South in no respect, past or present, demands or needs aught except fidelity to the record, which surely it has a right to expect of its own sons.

Educational Matters.

Basutoland Teachers

We have read with the greatest interest the speech of the Resident Commissioner in the "Comet." We all found that he spoke to make one and all vote with confidence. We have to analyse with carefulness whether he is really interested in the work or not.

It was when he arrived that a levy on the tax of 3/- was levied for education. It is during his time that all over was organised what was called the Intermediate Schools. But we have watched the issues and so far we are able to scan. In the first place I want to cast no bad remarks on anybody. In the second let us face the issuee and not run away from them.

Since his system have we seen any improvement? Certainly none. Why? Because the staff which taught before the Intermediate schools were introduced were to continue under the supposed reformed system, this was like harnessing a tired horse with new harness with the hope that it may pull, what does that help? Certainly nothing.

I do not put the blame on the old fashioned teachers, not at all, because they have worked all in vain for years, as a result got tired, What discourage most of them has been their salaries for years now. Readers will agree with me when I say £40 per annum is no wage for any working man such as a teacher. Read papers, if you will, and find where forty-pounds per annum puts a man. For this sum one has to go to school all the days of the year, finally he gets disheartened. He has no pleasure in his work it becomes a burden. Do you expect good results out of this? Absolutely not. Again the budget is so made to suit unqualified "day-school competitors" who make such rodden foundations as themselves. The result of which children who leave these day school instructors have a great difficulty to prove and stand the test of the Institutions.

How many children from Basutoland who have been sent to the Institutions have passed with credit the test given them there? Fifteen per cent have been able to cross the bar, what does eighty-five per cent teach us?

This does not mean that I have no gratitude to the men and women who have toiled for years trying to Educate the youth of the state. Time has come troubled water must be taken out by the fresh one. By this I do not want to be misunderstood by the critics, I only hate the disencouragement done to unqualified children of P. T. I or standard VI, who instead of completing, see an advertisment of £40 per annum to any applicant of such qualification. A student suffering from the school sick will no more go back to school but take a chance of the vacancy. Does that encourage Education? What does the Resident Commissioner say to that? Get rid of the std. VI and P.T.I teachers and mistresses and you will have no imitation of Education, but Education in itself. Some people will not educate their children because educated children wander too far from their place of birth. The saying is true, that, "a minister has no respect in his home town," and is encouraged by salaries offered by the Authorities of education to teachers who are qualified. What is the use of thousand school dotted all over the country without teachers? Why can you not have five hundred schools with well paid staff as well as qualified? It is true some quarters will not be reached, but why should they be fed with rotten egg while they can share a good one with their brothers until time comes when it shall be possible to have school every where. Some houses with no furniture but still all called schools. We have an example of one discribed in the "Comet" sometime back. I hope the Plea for teachers has been heard and if possible receiving attention of those in authority. Where are the children of Basutoland who complete their Teachers' Certificates' Junior Certificates, Matriculations, with credit to their different school instructors and the Institutions which have been responsible of their moulding, in Morija Masite, Lovedale, Healdtown, Wilberforce Institute, and many others? They are divided into two sections. (1) They got posts in the Union are leading men there such men as Mr Mohapela, Clerk of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, Mr Moikangoa, the Supervisor of the Native Education in Bloemfontein or Native Inspector Mr Macfarlan Lepolesa who has been appointed against his will by the Education Department as a Supervisor there are a host of others. (2) Have got under a blanket and stayed home.

People speak of great interest in Education by those in authority, can they examplify their statements? If you want to go a fishery you take the bate which fish like most Let the idea go along with. living proves, then we shall be saved,

MCNIEL. B. MONYAKE.

[We don't hold ourselves responsible for Mr Monyake's views nor do we share the same opinion as his. —Ed.]

THE WISDOM OF THE YORUBA.

What I wish to lay open to you is the attitude of a tribe in West Africa towards life and if as a result of my effort a broader sense of racialism is generated—a sense that takes into consideration, and respects, the characteristics of each race, the effort has not been in vain.

The West African peoples whose wisdom I wish to unfold to you are the Yoruba peoples of Southern Nigeria. After examining their works of art—stone statues, wood carvings, terra-cotta, bronze and ivory works—Frobenius, the investigator, could not help saying that the Yoruba civilisation is about 3,000 years old and that the present West African is much below his former status.

Here, then, is the background to the Yoruba philosophy —a civilisation which is about 3,000 years old; beyond the date of the founding of Rome! During these years it appears that the elders had been storing up wisdom and passing it down orally from one generation to another in the condensed form which we call Owe maxims.

Whenever there is dispute between two parties in our country a third party usually comes in and asks one of the quarrelling parties—se agba (i.e. make yourself an elder). Indeed, it is this ideal of the elder that every member of the tribe aspires after.

What then is the content of this word Agba? I will show by "cracking" some of the maxims.

"Nse ni agba ma ngba, agba ki iko"—"an Agba *accepts* but does not refuse insults."

Not aggressiveness, but the greatest tolerance is the badge of the Agba—"Agbe ni ije egbin omi, agba ni ijiya oro," "as the water-bottle 'eats' the dregs in the water, so the Agba, or elder, must swallow wrongs in a quarrel."

Not the bully or tyrant is the type of our manhood: "Afeju toto ko mo okunrin"—"the bully does not know what it is to be manly."

The Agba tolerates not only insults but difference of opinion—"Oro olorun ki imu ija wa," "dispute about God's affairs need not create a quarrel." In the old days, when there was difference of opinion in politics or religion, the minor party was advised to migrate. Dispute about how the country should be governed or about the nature of God need not create quarrels. We force our religion on no one; nor induce anyone to adopt it, because such conduct might

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NIGERIAN CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—I am directed by the committee, including parents interested in secondary education in this Colony to forward herewith a signed copy of the minutes of proceedings of an interview between a deputation sent by the committee and the Director of Education on the 13th instant. The committee are particularly anxious that their own account of the interview should reach you by this mail because through some inadvertence an unauthorised and incorrect draft of the minutes was published in the "Nigerian Daily Times" of to-day.

Yours faithfully,
E. M. E. AGBEBI,
Secretary to the Committee.

Lagos, May 21.

The copy of minutes states :—

A deputation (appointed by a committee of gentlemen interested in higher education) attended at the office of the Director of Education on 13th May, to know the Government's proposals for local secondary school certificates. The Principal, King's College (Rev. W. M. Peacock), was also present.

The members of the deputation were : The Hon. E. O. Moore, Rev. E. T. Johnson, Mr. A. Alakija, Mr. P. J. C. Thomas and Mr. E. M. E. Agbebi.

Mr. Moore said the deputation represented a large body of Lagos opinion and parents interested in secondary education who were opposed to the proposal to introduce such Nigerian examinations with a a view eventually to supersede the Oxford and Cambridge locals. The reasons for their opposition were mainly (1) it would limit the education of children in Nigeria, (2) it substituted something which was unknown, and would carry no weight in the scholastic world, for a certificate of world-wide repute, (3) it was, therefore, a retrograde step. Mr. Moore went on to say that the deputation wanted to know all the details and particulars of the new proposals before formulating their opposition thereto.

The Acting Director of Education replied that he would have been better pleased if the deputation had called on him before the general meeting on May 3 was summoned. He then read minutes and extracts from replies from certain persons and bodies outside Nigeria copies of which he agreed to supply to the deputation at the end of the interview. He stated that the Nigerian Senior Certificate would be intermediate between the Oxford and Cambridge Junior and the school certificates, and the reason for introducing it was the desire to meet the case of boys who leave school in Form III at the end of their third year and are not able to take the school certificate examination, so that such boys can have a certificate to show for their three years in the secondary department.

Mr. Thomas pointed out that this appeared to be a rather sudden and strange desire, since boys who were admitted into King's College from January, 1928, were not above 16 years of age and upon a signed agreement with parents to keep them at school for four years leading definitely to the external school certificate.

Mr. Agbebi, in objecting, stated that the same interest was not shown to boys seeking admission to King's College who are just over 16 and who would have at least three years' education there.

The deputation as a whole considered that the reason given confirmed their apprehension that the standard of education would be greatly lowered by this new movement. Boys would no longer have any incentive for remaining in school after Form III and to take the school certificate, especially as certain advantages such as exemption from the senior clerical examination, etc., were to be granted to the holder of Nigerian certificates.

The Acting Director of Education stated that the advantages were just to serve as inducement to the boys, and because it was a part of the proposals to abolish the present Civil Service clerical examination when the scheme is in full working.

The deputation urged that the same advantages should be attached to the Oxford or Cambridge school certificates, because at present the holder of such a school certificate was required to pass the entrance examination whereas the Nigerian senior certificate, which was admittedly below the standard of the Oxford or Cambridge school certificate, was to exempt the holder from the senior clerical examination, besides other advantages.

Mr. Thomas added that with this effort to lower the standard of education at which a boy may leave school, and attaching to it privileges denied to a higher standard examination, it becomes impossible for the boys to fulfil the conditions for the Government assurance that "European" posts would be given to qualified Africans. The deputation felt that no boy would be thereby induced to spend four years in a secondary school for the Oxford and Cambridge school certificate.

At this stage of the discussion the desirability of retaining the school certificate examination appeared to be agreed upon.

The Acting Director of Education and the Principal of King's College referred to the Oxford and Cambridge junior and preliminary examinations as not affording a good test, and being narrow in their range, and said that they did not lead to the school certificate. The Acting Director of Education also read passages from letters from educationists abroad in support of this. The deputation were of opinion that the remedy was largely in the hands of the Education Department, by recognising only the Oxford or Cambridge School Certificate and attaching exemptions to it. They would not object to King's College not sending up boys for either the preliminary or the junior examination, but such boys might go up as private students if they desired to do so. Parents could be trusted to see that their boys' studies for the school certificate were not interrupted or hindered if the Government recognised the latter only.

The Acting Director of Education pointed out that the mission schools would prove a hindrance to, and would lag behind, in any scheme for aiming only at the school certificate, because the highest class in any of these schools is Form II (the junior standard), and King's College and St. Gregory's College could not take in all the pupils from these schools who had passed Form II.

Mr. Thomas and the deputation felt that these schools would quickly raise their standard or other schools would be founded, with higher classes. The case of St. Gregory's College proves that the boys are willing to remain in school if higher classes are provided, and already the C.M.S. Grammar School had opened a Form III. The deputation urged that the standard of education should not be lowered because of the Missions.

Lastly, the Acting Director of Education suggested that the deputation could only speak for Lagos and not for all Nigeria. Mr. Thomas replied that that was so, but claimed that the deputation had more right to speak for their people in the interior than an alien people, and that, after all, outside Lagos and other large towns, Oxford or Cambridge school certificate examinations are not taken.

[The copy of minutes is signed by all the members of the deputation, whose names are given above.]

THE BENGUELA RAILWAY OPENED

Special Cable to "The African World" from Our Special

TO CONGO BELGE FRONTIER.

Commissioner, Mr. OWEN LETCHER, F.R.G.S.

LOBITO (Angola), Friday, June 14.

The opening ceremony of the Benguela Railway, which marked the dawn of a new era in African transportation, was performed on the 10th inst. by Senhor Bebiano Bacelar, Portuguese Minister of Colonies, in the presence of a distinguished gathering which included H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught, K.G., His Excellency the High Commissioner of Angola (General Filomeno Da Camara), His Excellency Colonel Heenens (Governor of Katanga), and Sir Robert and Lady Williams.

On the arrival of the R.M.S. "Carnarvon Castle" at Lobito there was much shipping in the harbour, including British and Portuguese gunboats. A royal salute was accorded to Prince Arthur and the distinguished party from Europe. The special train to the Angola-Katanga border, drawn by a Beyer-Garatt engine, passed through Cala township, now renamed "Robert Williams," in honour of the founder of the railway, and Huambo, now renamed "Nova Lisboa," the official new capital of Angola. The first section of the line for 120 miles was built by Messrs. Norton Griffiths and Co., who were succeeded in 1908 by Messrs. Pauling and Co., who have constructed the remainder.

BRITISH HONOURS FOR DISTINGUISHED PORTUGUESE.

Before reaching the frontier H.R.H. Prince Arthur presented the Portuguese Minister of Colonies with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the British Empire and the High Commissioner of Angola with the Knight Commandership of the same Order on behalf of His Majesty King George.

The train arrived at Luao frontier station at eleven o'clock. After the opening ceremony a banquet was given by the Benguela Railway Company to 120 guests. Impressive speeches were made by Dr. Borges de Sousa, the chairman of the Benguela Railway Board; the President of the Geographical Society of Lisbon; the Mayor of "Vila Robert Williams"; the President of the Benguela Chamber of Commerce; the Governor of Katanga; Sir Robert Williams, Bart., who described the Benguela Railway as a new route of the Central African Railway system, and paid a glowing tribute to the Portuguese co-operation in the great task just completed. The final speeches were made by the High Commissioner of Angola, the Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, and H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught.

PRINCE ARTHUR ON A HUNTING TOUR.

The Portuguese visitors from Lisbon are now crossing Africa by motor-car and railway to Lourenco Marques, whilst Sir Robert Williams's party and visitors from the south are returning to Lobito, en route for Europe. They will inspect the new capital and the railway workshops at Huambo on the way to the sea. H.R.H. Prince Arthur will leave the train to have a brief hunting tour in search of the famous local giant sables. Prince Arthur will be accompanied by Mr. Varian (chief resident engineer, construction and maintenance, of the Benguela Railway), who discovered this rare and magnificent antelope.

For this commemoration representatives of Governments, railways, finance, and Press have gathered from all over Southern Africa, attended in addition by guests brought from oversea by the "Carnarvon Castle."

VISITORS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The Hon. H. U. Moffat, C.M.G., Premier of Southern Rhodesia, attended by his private secretary, arrived at Tshilongo from Rhodesia by railway; also the Hon. Kuit, member, and Mr. Loffe, the secretary of the South African Union Railway Board. Mr. Hewitt, tourist manager of the South African Railways, travelled by Union railway coach. Major Pinto Teixeira, manager of the Lourenco Marques Port and Railways, and his wife travelled from Lourenco Marques in a Portuguese railway coach.

Among other well-known visitors present were Mr. A. Robertson, deputy general manager of the Standard Bank, Cape Town; also Mr. Owen Letcher, representing THE AFRICAN WORLD, the "Rhodesian Mining Journal," and Argus, South African newspapers, all travelling up from the south.

Before the starting tour a luncheon was given at Elizabethville by Mr. Bayne, representing Sir Robert Williams's companies and the Benguela Railway. The party, including the Baroness von Bliken, sister of Major Ulick Alexander, the publicity director of the Benguela Railway, and Mr. Bayne proceeded to Tshilongo by rail. This train was of quite international importance, comprising coaches, sleeping and restaurant cars, of the Portuguese Railway, signifying the widespread ramifications and reaction which the new railway from Lobito will have on the whole transport problem of the sub-continent. The whole party from the south then travelled by a convoy of Dodge motor-cars of the Angola-Katanga service over the intervening stretch of 300 miles, where the railway has not yet been completed between Tshilongo and the Angola-Congo frontier, lorries transporting their luggage. The party crossed the Lualaba River, which is the huge western stream of the Congo, at the point where it camped for the first night, and stopped the second night at Luashi.

INTO AFRICA FROM LOBITO BAY.

("TIMES" LEADING ARTICLE JUNE 11.)

The construction of the Benguela Railway is an achievement worthy of the magnificent spirit of enterprise which British pioneers and builders have shown all over Africa. The line was formally opened at Luao yesterday by the Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, in the presence of Prince Arthur of Connaught. Luao, the last point on the line, is just within the Portuguese border on the frontier of Angola and the Belgian Congo Colony. Benguela and Lobito Bay on the coast, where the railway starts, are over 800 miles away. When the Belgians have completed the line they are building across their territory from Luao to the existing railway from the Cape, there will be direct communication between the Katanga area, with its immeasurable mineral treasures, and the sea—and the outer world. By rail Lobito Bay is six hundred miles nearer to Katanga than Beira, the port through which Katanga copper is now exported, and the port on the west is 2,600 miles nearer Southampton than the port on the east. Very soon the Belgian line will be ready. In the meantime the British-built railway across Angola is open. It has cost £12,000,000 to build, and the work of laying the line, along a route that climbs up 6,000 feet, has taken nearly thirty years. These figures give some indication of the energy and persistence required by its authors. Sir Robert Williams and his associates may well be proud of what they have done.

The story of the project is a stimulating one. After he had investigated the mineral prospects of Southern and then of Northern Rhodesia at the request of Rhodes, Mr. Williams went on into the Belgian Congo, and in 1900 he obtained from King Leopold prospecting rights in Katanga. He saw at once the importance of direct access to the sea through Angola, and by 1902 he had a concession from the Portuguese Government to build a railway across the province. His indomitable optimism had also inspired sufficient confidence to enable him to get the necessary British financial support, and in 1903 the work was begun. Every difficulty was in turn overcome. More and more millions were obtained—not always easily—and the War imposed nothing worse than delay. Finally the line was finished last November. The formal ceremony yesterday at the little outpost far in the wilds of Africa rounds off this exploit of pioneering. Of the value of the new line there can be no question. It is not only the copper of Katanga that is brought very much nearer to its buyers; the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia will also be served. Moreover the builders are counting on the pastoral and agricultural development of the Angola plateau, where a network of motor roads already exists to feed the railway. Even now, before the transport of copper has begun, there is an annual traffic worth £200,000. To Angola itself the railway is obviously of the greatest importance. The Portuguese Government intend to devote a large loan to various improvements in the province, and they also hope to establish shortly a regular air service between Angola and Portugal. In South-West Africa, as in every quarter of that continent which but yesterday lay remote in age-long isolation, the influences of civilisation increase; and, even if Angola is not British territory, British engineers may at least claim that they have contributed to the progress of their Portuguese neighbours.

THE FAMINE IN RUANDA.

Measures of Belgian Government.

According to the "Essor du Congo" the authorities of the Belgian Congo are continuing their active measures to cope with the famine in the districts of Ruanda and Urundi which resulted from recent conditions of drought. The Belgian Government has given the local administration a free hand to take all steps that are necessary. Motor trolleys have been bought and are being used to speed up the transport of food, large quantities of which have been bought in the neighbouring British territories.

Various companies have put their staffs at the disposal of the Congo Government to develop the cultivation of food crops, particularly manioc, and for the improvement of the transport routes.

An old colonist of Urundi states that the conditions which bring about periodic famine will be slowly overcome—not by wholesale evacuation, which is impossible, but by organisation on the spot and by the selection of a variety of crops. The rainfall, he points out, is larger than in Belgium, but is badly distributed. It is, however, sufficient for a suitable cultivation, which would furnish the people with the food supplies that they need.

Nothing, he says, should be done to discourage those who have this task in hand, the strain of which is not realised by people in Europe. Another writer protests against attention being exclusively called to the famine in Ruanda, when similar conditions prevail in the neighbouring parts of Uganda.

bring dispute and quarrel, and spoil friendship—"Iyan jija ni iba ore je."

But there is a limit to man's endurance, and tolerance in the end may mean biding one's time or resigning one's self to the inevitable: "Abati alapa, bi a ba ti a, ba re"—"this wall is shaky, but if you have nowhere else to hide yourself you draw near and make friends with it."

He who wields influence enjoys the right of smacking one's face with lordly hand—"eni ju eni lo ni ifi owo ola gba ni loju." The best thing that the sufferer can do is to pray the gods to endow the tyrant with patience—"Ki olorum bun alagbara ni suru."

But let it be known that the tyrant only teaches you to arm yourself—"a da ni loro ti agbara ko ni." When the sufferer has armed himself let him be wary and not rash: "Bi owo eni ko te eku ida a ki bere iku to ni baba eni," "if your hand is not firm on the hilt of your sword, do not ask who has killed your father."

I said tolerance is an essential quality of the Agba. This tolerance is in a way conservation of energy. A man may be indifferent to little inconveniences in order to spend his energy on valuable pursuits: "Alagbara ma mo ero, baba ole,"—"the man who has strength but uses it in senseless activities is worse than lazy."

"Bi a dagba a ye ogun ija," "when a man reaches the agba stage he must cease going to war" (i.e., he should forgo unnecessary but exacting activities, such as the rush for money-making, etc., and conserve his energy for better things).

"Girigiri ko mola," "Rush and worry do not 'catch' wealth."

An elder must conserve his energy for better things. He must hand over all these youthful activities to his offspring—"fi le omo lowo."

"Gereje ni a nba agba": "an agba or elder should always be found in quiet composure."

He should know the full measure of his own capacity and worth—"mo iwon ara re."

"Agbalagba ki sere kibayiwa": "An Agba should not engage in such activities as make people remark—'What has brought a man of your age to this?'"

Herein at once you can see the philosophy at the back of the Yoruba mind, which philosophy some people have interpreted as laziness. We Yorubas are disinclined to engage in certain things which other peoples engage in, because we cannot see any sense in these things. It is in sense of values that we differ from other peoples. As an instance in the difference between the sense of values of two different races I may say that the diamond was in South Africa but the Natives thought it useless, not as useful, for instance, as copper or iron.

Have we not placed false values on things and worried our minds and killed one another and wasted human energy and deprived ourselves of the joys of living—all because of worthless things? If a man has enough to eat and to shelter himself from inclement weather, what more does he need but to see to the perfection of his soul? To seek the peace and leisure in which atmosphere alone the soul unfolds itself? To seek the quietude which draws the gods to come down and whisper their wisdom to men? What more?

"Gbongbon kan ko si afi eni nti ara re": "There is no need for rush and worry unless a person desires to hurry himself along."

Is life no more than rush and material pursuits, no higher purpose? The Agba or elder ruminates, possessed in patience and conserves his energy waiting to see the path which his natural genius points to.

He waits in silence: "Ete ko mo ete ni iko oran ba ereke": "It is when your lips do not rest on each other that you bring trouble to your jaws."

"Boju ri enu a pa mo"—"let the eyes see but let the lips be locked."

Does anyone offend the Agba?—"Fi ija fun Olorun ja, fi owo le eran": "let God do the fighting for you; rest your chin on your hand and look on."

"Omode bu Iroko, o boju wo ehin": "a child insulted the spirit of the oak-tree and looked back to see whether the spirit was going to avenge himself there and then." No! There is the long arm of Him Who speaks not, and sleeps not that shall reach the wrongdoer in due time. That is what the Agba believes.

The elder lets insults pass unnoticed: "adon dori kodo o nwo ise eye". That's the posture of an Agba: like the bat he hangs his head down, observing the doings of other birds.

"Ologbon gbon, aguntan mo oran se sogun ogbon inu re pe egbeje": "the wise and methodical one, he knows all, but looks on as dull as the sheep. Do not be misled by his appearance, for the ideas 'inside' him are thousands."

The Agba waits and suffers in silence: "iwo iba ri iwo ko wi ni ipa akoni"—"alas! suffering but not complaining has done to death many a hardy one."

I have thus in a cursory manner shown from our everyday sayings that the Yoruba conception of manhood is the Agba, i.e., one who accepts but not refuses insults; who suffers in silence; who knows all, tolerates all, and reserves his energy, awaiting the call of higher things. It is self-suppression, conquest of self, rule over self, not a rule over others. It is a wrestling—the Agba cult—in which the greatest sufferer and the most tolerant carries off the biggest prize. A harmony, a reconciliation! There is a superiority in the Agba, but it is a spiritual superiority.

Well have we said—the bully or tyrant does not know what manhood is!

We who have been favoured with a more genial climate, where people have the patience and the leisure to wait and select what they shall engage in—we have evolved a philosophy of our own. We have no problems perpetually re-

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curring. Those who have studied our customs and institutions consider them almost perfect. Read Mary Kingsley. And why have we evolved such political and social systems? It is because we wait to select. We may appear to be too long waiting, but we see no need to hurry, for in the end whatever we evolve will be based on everlasting human principles. We do not manufacture makeshifts, hence we have no problems perpetually recurring.

We do not live to work, we work to live, to "enjoy the mirth of heaven," as an epic says, to assimilate or gather the souls of other creatures by tolerance in order that we may realise ourselves.

One race or nation is *not* the repository of wisdom. Every race has its peculiar genius which no other race can usurp or fulfil—"A ki igbon ti enikeji kun teni; kaluku lo gbon tire."

JULIUS OJO-COLE.

THE LANGUAGE WORKS OF CAPTAINS RATTRAY AND TAYLOR.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Captain Taylor's excellent Hausa grammar provided a full analysis of many points of which the study had only been begun by his predecessors. He was, as far as I am aware, the first to distinguish carefully the interesting phenomenon of the "plurals of paucity and abundance"; and his analysis of the variations in the final vowels of verbs goes far beyond anything done by former writers. One of these vowel changes is actually exemplified in an exercise in Canon Robinson's grammar, but is nowhere explained in the text.

These and the many other excellencies in Captain Taylor's book impressed me so much that I had no hesitation in following the advice given in his grammar to "use Rattray to learn Ajami." In this advice, as well as in the body of his own work, Captain Taylor demonstrates the soundness of his linguistic judgment; and one's respect for that judgment is increased when one reads in his letter published in your issue of April 13 that he was advised, on arriving in Kano, to "leave Rattray alone." The same letter contains, however, certain criticisms of various points in Captain Rattray's work. These criticisms deal entirely with the introductory pages on the alphabet, which form by no means the most valuable, nor really a very important part of the work. A similar table of consonants occurs, not only in other works on Hausa, but, *mutatis mutandis,* in most elementary books on Arabic and Persian, and presumably in primers of other languages using a modified Arabic script. The original author of such tables would probably have to be sought amongst the *literati* of Baghdad in the early centuries of the Hegira.

The great merit and great utility of Rattray's work is in the actual manuscript, and one may say that with full consciousness of the value of the notes, in which Captain Rattray used the text to elucidate certain difficult points of grammar which had defeated some of his able predecessors. Those who have studied Ajami specimens of any length published prior to Rattray's "Hausa Folk-lore" will realise what an enormous improvement there is here. In some of these earlier specimens there is not a single line which is not obscure to the most competent mallam. There is, of course, considerable variation amongst authorities about the best way to spell various words in the Ajami; but mistakes in Rattray's text which might cause obscurity or misinterpretation are so rare as to be almost non-existent; I believe I have found one such in the two long volumes.

It is, sir, perhaps almost an impertinence on my part to praise the Ajami of a book already recommended by such an authority as Captain Taylor; and it is with diffidence that I approach the discussion of the more strictly literary aspect of a work of which Sir Harry Johnston has written that it "does more to open to us the minds of the folk who dwell in the Nigerian Sudan" than any of its famous precursors had achieved. Captain Rattray was fortunate to find a genuine literary artist in the writer of his manuscript. The stories, while retaining the essential features of folk-tales, are told with a power of dramatic characterisation and a judicious sense of humour which almost raise them to the level of the Decameron. Where other versions of the same tales have been published in other collections, the superior skill of Rattray's scribe stands out at once. There is, for example, a version of Rattray's No. 28 in Edgar's collection (a collection in which many of the stories show no mean degree of literary ability). What is merely a gratuitous piece of obscurity for Edgar's scribe becomes genuine humour for Rattray's—humour which depends, not on external circumstances, but on the selection of every word spoken by the spider-hero in such a way as to draw, better than any description could, the character of the greedy and sophistical old hypocrite.

It matters little what alphabet Captain Rattray borrowed or invented. The solid merits of his work stand on much firmer ground than those minor questions of philological priority or typographical patents.

Yours faithfully,

Wa, Gold Coast, May 14. G. SAUNDERS (M.D.)

NATIVE OPINION

OF SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

ESTABLISHED IN 1884

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, JUNE 18, '29

CAPE NATIVE APPEAL COURT

A very exhaustive report of the proceedings of the opening of the Cape Province and Free State Native Appeal Court at King William's Town on Wednesday 5th inst. appears in the columns of our local contemporary of the following day, and to reproduce the four columns it consists of here would be unnecessary. The premises situate off Reserve Road used as a court-house are tastefully renovated, suggesting to the visitor an air of modernity and worthiness of the dignity of a court of appeal. The president (Mr. J. M. Young) and the two assessors Messrs C. P. Alport, and E. D. Beale, Native Commissioners of Peddie and Kieskama Hoek respectively were empanelled in their seats, presiding over a courthouse occupied to its fullest capacity by representatives of the legal fraternity, the two local Native Commissioners, several other notabilities and a sprinkling of leading Natives. The Registrar of the Appeal Court Mr. C. J. Uys formally read the proclamation constituting the Court, after which the President delivered an eloquent, appropriate and well—considered address consisting of a resume of the judicial administration of Native law and customs in the Transkeian Territories, and the old-established Native Court in King William's Town.

Mr. F. C. Barnes, speaking on behalf of the local members of the side-bar recounted in an eloquent speech the good purpose the Native Court in King William's Town had served for many years past, the importance of it in meeting the Native races in the laws and customs they so highly prized. A forceful appeal was entered for the retention of the Native Appeal Court in this town by reason of historical tradition built up in the old capital of British Kaffraria.

In our opinion the Native Appeal Court should prove a blessing to the Natives if properly conducted. We see no reason why success should not be attained, particularly when the government's choice of the President and his first two assessors seems to be such a popular one from the Natives' point of view. The Court with the full support promised by the side-bar, should be in a position to deliver sound popular decisions which will command the respect and admiration of the people it was intended to serve. The proceedings in the opening ceremony could however have been made more impressive if some leading Natives from the town and district were invited, and given an opportunity to ventilate their feelings of gratitude for the recognition shown by government in meeting their aspirations. We understand that in the opening of the Native Appeal Court for the Transvaal and Natal in Pretoria elaborate arrangements have been made on these lines. These courts are prominent landmarks in Native policy, and while they go a long way in meeting the wishes of the backward element of the Natives, we may be pardoned for suggesting that the progressive element among Natives will of necessity be afforded full scope of development. This class has certainly out-grown the environment of a court managed according to Native law and custom, and though we are averse to legislation being passed to meet the contingency of a transitory stage in development we whole-heartedly advocate the opening of all avenues leading to civilised standards of life.

Motor Transport Controversy.

Sir,—Further to my article of the 24th May 1929 headed "Motor Transport Controversy" I still agitate that transport must be reserved solely for Natives in Basutoland as far as the country is concerned since it is the only work Basutos can do in the line of business in the country. In this district of Mafeteng the last two weeks have been pitiful ones the fact being that Basuto trucks were standing and all the work absorbed by the European trucks that are so large to take from 35 to 45 at a time leaving nothing for the Native trucks and wagons at the Railway stations and from the trading stations in Basutoland and these merchant truck owners take the loads for less than the usual prices and actually and deliberately say that they are doing this in order that these trucks owned by Basutos may be taken away by the Garages where the Basutos buy them from, so that they can raise their transport rates afterwards. In my last article I said I have no objection to Traders having trucks to do their own work I must admit I was wrong, where shall the wagons and trucks belonging to Basutos get the work from when a trader does his own transport? As one who trades amongst the Basutos and gets his bread buttered both sides from the Basutos why wont he give the loads for transport in return for gratitude but, instead by his own truck in order to ruin the Basuto truck owners? Is that not selfish Mr. Editor? It shall please me very much to see the Free State trucks as well as the Traders and Forwarding agents trucks stopped by the Basutoland Government from doing transport immediately as for the forwarding agents they can do the Camps delivery where they are working as forwarding agents only not at the outside stations. We have about ninteen million wagons and 6 native motor trucks between Butha-Buthe and Mohales-Hoek belonging to Natives and I am sure they have no work to do since traders and forwarding agents and Free State truck owners have a fleet of huge and small trucks running it to and fro, Basuto trucks are standing still and wagons too. Why and what for Mr Editor? Are we not going to die from starvation? Oh no the Government must put an immediate stop to this, this is our destruction.

Thanks for the space Mr Editor.

Yours faithfully,

LOOK OUT.

[Though wer publishing this article as we received it from "Look Out," have had the pleasure of receiving official information to the effect that, as far as the Government transport is concerned, the Resident Commissioner has ordered that it should be reserved for the Basuto alone; and forwarding agents at Railway Stations and Assistant Commissioners have these instructions. As officers may not know always if the instructions are carried out, it is for "Look Out" and his colleagues to guard their privileges by reporting at once when they come upon an agent that goes contrary to His Honours valuable orders.—Ed.]

COLOUR LINE IN CHURCHES.

[Continued.]

There is, in our opinion, one factor that would brighten up matters which would make the constitution work as is destined to, and that is a higher standard of education. Our type of pastors is getting behind the times. To illustrate our contention, it will be fresh news to many christians adherent to the Basutoland Church to hear that the stations relinquished by Paris Evangelical Society are gifts to it, and that it is regarded in the light of a child to the latter. We have, generally understood the two names, viz: P. E. M. S. and Basutoland Church to mean one and same thing one as the substitute of the other. They have not been held in the relations now expounded by the revered oldest minister of this mother church. The impression that is broadcasted is that native pastors take up this stations to fill up offices for which European ministers are not available. Therefore if we have not been grateful to the P. E. M. S. is not our fault. The fault lies with our representatives who never bring reports home to us. Through want of proper education and reasonable culture they take their responsibility as representatives of their church adherents lightly, as councillors of our state do; and we need not repeat that education alone will raise them above this reproachable level.

We must express our gratefulness to "Spectator," for although his contribution has mostly been misleading. has evoked a contribution from the one who has now left us refreshed and enlightened on many facts which we dont know how long we were going to remain ignorant of.

This is where on the main the Roman Catholic beat our denomination. It keeps her adherents well-informed of every detail of her movements. In conclusion we must thank Rev. Germond for the fresh food with which he has fed us.

A Cry to the Native South African Tribes.

BY THEODORE M. KAKAZA

(A South African In America.)

(Continued.)

The American Negro of that time did not seem to regard himself as in any way connected with the African negro. Africa to him was a land of heathens, cannibals and wild animals. The native African was an object of pity and a subject for the missionary to christianize and civilize. They had lost nothing in Africa. Their duty to the native African ceased with the sending of monies to the missionaries who through a zealous religious life had offered themselves as sacrifices in the missionary fields of this benighted continent. Thus we see that the African Negro Students who found their way into American Negro Colleges were looked upon as intruders and not as brothers and sisters. But the advent of the African Negro into the life of the American Negro was a significant fact, and we doubt even now that the Negro in America has awakened to the realization of his relationship with the African Negro that he can trace the beginning of this awakening to the entrance of the African negro into American negro life. These African students were the first to disseminate the spirit of brotherhood between these hitherto isolated children of the same mother. Their periodical visits into the cities, giving lectures in churches and coming in contact with the people in their homes, did more to prepare the soil for that great awakening, which was ushered in by the appearance of the Universal Improvement Association under the brilliant leadership of Marcus Garvey. The African students were the John the Baptists of the Negro Universal Improvement Association. Africa abroad began to look to Africa at home from a new angle and realized that the African at home was his brother from whom he had been separated by the most vicious propaganda, for lo these many years.

It was in the years 1917-1918 that there appeared for the first time a definite program, that was to go a long way towards cementing the interests that had been aroused by the previously recounted events, and strange to say, the great apostle of this program, came neither from Africa nor from America.

THE BIRTH OF THE UNIVERSAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

In slavery days, when British ships, laden with their degrading human freights; plied their trade between Africa and American colonies, there was a kind of stopping place, where the first human cargo from Africa was deposited. This was in the British West Indies These Africans who were thus separated from their kin, who went further into American colonies, were later called West Indian Negroes Thus the African mother finds her children, by this nefarious traffic, scattered, some domiciled in Africa, some in the West Indies and the others in the American colonies.

It was from the children of Africa who had found Jamaica their foster home, that the Apostle of African freedom and racial unity came. He came to preach to black men and black women, the doctrine of the confraternity of the negro peoples of the world. He came to arouse the negroes in the western world, to the realization of the fact, that the Africa which is bleeding, ravished and exploited was indeed their mother, from whose breasts they have been snatched by an ungodly people. He came to announce to Negroes, that whether they are domiciled in the United States of America, whether they are to be found in South America, or whether they have learnt to know the Islands of the Caribbean Sea as their home, Africa was their mother land, and that they must unite their forces, to wrest her from alien domination. Marcus has aroused slumbering sons of Africa in this Western Hemisphere and when before the advent of this great apostle they had lost nothing in Africa, "Africa for the Africans those at home and abroad," has become their rallying battle cry.

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Africa.

would not be available when needed. Major Herbst assured the Conference that the Department was sympathetic and would go as far as public opinion would permit toward the amelioration of the present difficulties.

Rev. Z. R. Mahabane related the serious steps that had been taken by various Native organisations to protest against the pass-laws, some of which had led to public breaches of the peace. Pass-bearing Natives were precluded from striking and from the operation of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Africans resented the pass as a symbol of inferiority.

Mr. R. V. Selope Thema read from the report of the Interdepartments Commission of 1919 to show that the pass-law, originally intended for the protection of stock, had gradually enlarged its scope to include the enforcement of labour contracts and general public purposes. He described vividly the annoyance caused by the multiplicity of passes. He objected to the tax-recipt as an identification certificate because it would include the Cape Province. He urged full consultation of the Natives.

Sir Clarkson Tredgold described the system in S. Rhodesia, which provided a passport with registration of contact. Mrs. Maxeke laid upon the pass-law the responsibility for the continuance of dances in Johannesburg throughout the night.

Mr. Ballinger explained that on the diggings employers took on Natives without getting a labour pass, and at the end of the week got the Native arrested for being without a pass and so escaped payment of wages.

Rev. Peter Williams advocated a common law for the Union. Mr. R. M. Tladi contended that the pass-law was prevention of crime.

Dr. Dexter Taylor felt that we should accept any immediate step that offered amelioration of the evils of the pass-law till such time as public opinion could be brought to the point of abolition: and that the Native Affairs Department should consult Native opinion in the framing of its proposals.

Mr. Doyle Madiakgotla denied that the pass system was any protection to property or contract and stated that in the Grasfontein strike the Native Affairs Department did nothing to assist the Natives.

Others who took part in the discussion were Messrs. J. D. Ngojo, S. M. B. Ncwana, Revs. J. Calata, J. S. Licking, Messrs. Mashole, J. B. S. Masoli, A. A. Sello. For the most part these speakers related incidents of the hardships suffered under the pass-laws.

Major Herbst replied to the debate pointing out in answer to Mr. Madiakgotla that Major Cooke had been sent to Grasfontein at the very beginning of the strike and that a settlement was brought about which all parties accepted. He pointed out that relations between master and servant were determined by the Masters and Servants Act, and not by pass-law. Major Herbst reminded the Conference again that it was impossible to run ahead of public opinion, which must be educated on the subject.

On the motion of the Chairman a hearty vote of thanks to Major Herbst was passed by acclamation. Adjourned at 12.45

Friday afternoon. The Conference resumed at 2.30 p.m.

Mr. Mapikela continued the discussion on the pass-laws, which was then concluded; the printed motions and several other motions being referred to the Committee on Justice.

The Cape Town Joint Council, having given notice of motion on the Native Franchise, Sir Clarkson Tredgold was called upon to speak to the motion. Dr. Loram, however, first obtained the leave of the Conference to address it on the question whether or not the matter should be discussed by the Conference. He urged that the introduction of the subject would vitiate the excellent results already obtained in the discussions. A vote on the Native Franchise would divide the Conference which was otherwise in agreement. The matter was not on the printed agenda and delegates had had no opportunity of securing mandates. It was urgently necessary to carry all sections together on the economic and social questions and Dr. Loram quoted the late Dr. Aggrey as saying "It is better to take all the people a little way than to take a few people a long way." The Prime Minister's revised Bills were not yet published and these the Prime Minister had said would be different from previous drafts. Shouldn't the Conference await these.

Mr. Mushet opposed this view. He referred to his own position at a previous sitting when he was alone in opposing discussion of industrial questions. He hoped Dr. Loram would find himself in a similar position. The Franchise had been enshrined in the Constitution and they could not stand by while this right was being taken away. Dr. Loram then moved "that the Franchise question be not discussed by this Conference of Joint Council." Rev: A. E. Jennings seconded pro forma.

Professor du Pleesis pleaded for a free talk on the point. He reminded the meeting of a similar situation at the Conference convened by the Federal Council of D. R. Churches in 1927, when it felt that a vote on the Native Franchise would not be an interpretation of the mind of the Conference. He added, "We are all agreed that there shall be no infringement of existing rights, but there is room for discussion on the larger issues."

Sir James Rose-Innes suggested that the motion be put. After a considerable discussion as to procedure during which certain amendments were submitted, but either ruled out or defeated. Dr. Loram amended his motion to meet a proposal by Professor Brookes, the amended motion reading:—"That this Conference of Joint Councils do not discuss the franchise question and adjourn until 8 p.m."

Rev. E. W. Grant moved, "That the motion be now put." Rev. J. A. Calata seconded, This was carrred by 37 votes to 6. The motion was now put and defeated by 39 votes to 14. Sir Clarkson Tredgold then addressed the Conference on the main question. He said that he spoke for the Cape Town Joint Council. He considered that civilised governments should encourage all persons capable of taking part in the government to share in the responsibilities and privileges. There should be no bar on grounds of colour. There were three different schools of thought on this question, (1) Those who would deny the vote to the Native, (2) those who would grant the franchise to every qualified Native, and 3) those who were in favour of a differentiated franchise.

Star 6 April 1929

MR. R. W. THORNTON.

4-13-29.

We are reliably informed that the Secretary for Native Affairs (Major Herbst) will officially introduce Mr. R. W. Thornton, the newly-appointed Director of Agriculture for the Native Territories of the Union at the office of the Chief Native Commissioner (King Williams Town) at 10.30 a.m. on Saturday 27th. April. We hasten to bid hearty welcome to the new officer in our districts. The utilisation of the Native Development Fund towards the economic upliftment of our people by way of advanced and scientific methods of farming is highly commended. Thorough organisation in agricultural training and demonstration is sorely needed, to rid the Natives of their erstwhile conservative tendencies to cling to antiquated methods of farming. An official of such sterling ability and wide experience as Mr. R. W. Thornton should be capable of supplying what is lacking in organisation. We have quite a number of agricultural supervisors and their subordinates, but the work of application of new methods is far from being adopted universally by the pastoral Natives. It is quite easy for the government to commit the error of employing a redundant number of officials as supervisors when a relative output of the necessary work is not in evidence. In our opinion, local councils should receive a larger amount of the poll tax than is at present alloted to them. With the meagre resources at their disposal such work as the making of dams, fencing, improvement of stock, is seriously handicapped, and this happens to be the initial work required to be carried out in order to enable the Natives to adopt the advanced methods of tilling the soil and improving their breed of stock. Heavy expenditure in the latter direction would be of more direct benefit to our people than a multitude of supervisors or even demonstrators, and we hope government would appreciate our humble argument in view of the facts enumerated. Substantial subsidies to the various Native shows would be an incentive to better co operation between the Natives and the government agricultural officers. We hope that the new chief officer in Native Agriculture will succeed in marshalling his forces to attain these objects, and our support will always be at his disposal.

SIR THOMAS SMARTT.

Natives of South Africa and of the Cape Province in particular are no less grieved at the demise of a true and faithful defender, Sir Thomas Smartt than any other section of the European population. The late Sir Thomas came into eminence among Natives when he became the backbone of the South African Party, a party that has endeavoured to uphold the scales of political equity and justice irrespective of colour. The memorable defence by the deceased politician when the rights of the Cape Native Voters were insidiously assailed by parliamentary negrophobes in the Native Administration Act, the Liquor Act and the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill will live untarnished in the memories of our people. We feel that the sterling qualities of an honourable politician and a parliamentarian of refined culture and absorbing witticism that Sir Thomas possessed will be almost impossible to replace in the Assembly. The respect he commanded with all parties never failed to carry weight by reason of his consistent method of maintaining an unimpeachable standard of political rectitude throughout his parliamentary career. On behalf of the Natives we tender heart-felt sympathy with the relatives of the departed gentleman.

NATIVES' LAND TENURE.

A representative special conference composed of delegates from the nine Ciskei native reserves held under individual tenure met at Peelton, King Williamstown on the 18th. April, in an all-night sitting. Some 270 men were present, who, after full deliberation resolved nem. con. to disapprove of the draft regulations under which the Sir George Grey titles to their holdings were to be converted into the system introduced under Act 38 of 1927.

Holders of titles that had since been converted into the Glen Grey system unequivocally stated their desire to revert to the original form of Sir George Grey titles. The reasons advanced for the dislike of the new form of title were:

(1) Certain Natives' land rights were being taken away and no quid pro quo substituted.

(2) Satisfaction had been felt for the last 70 years with the working of the old Sir George Grey titles.

(3 The privilege of consultation in legislation affecting them provided in Act 23 of 1920 had been disregarded.

(4 In Act 38 of 1927 certain rights enjoyed by Natives under Act 39 of 1887 were infringed.

Prizes for Books in African Languages.

There are men and women among many African peoples who enjoy books in their own language and who are also capable of writing books in their own tongue. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures desires to help and encourage such people in their efforts as it is the pride of every nation to possess a literature in its own language.

The Institute has therefore decided to offer prizes for the best books in African languages.

The prizes will be awarded on the following conditions:—

1 The book must be written by an African in an African language,

2. Each book should contain as a rule not less than 40,000 and not more than 60,000 words.

3. The contents must be of general interest so that it is likely that many people will buy and read the book. We recommend especially:—

a. Fiction (novels, stories).

b. Description of native life,

c Stories from native history; biographies. The prize may all also be awarded to translations of such European books which are of generally recognized value.

4. Five separate prizes will be given every year in five different African languages. The languages chosen will vary each year.

5. One prize only will be awarded in each of the chosen languages either a first prize of £20 or a second prize of £10. The prize winner will also receive the medal of the Institute

6 The Institute will appoint a board of judges in Africa for each language, i.e. a group of Africans and Europeans who are able and willing to judge the work.

7. Manuscripts must be sent to the Institute in London and all manuscripts received will be forwarded for examination to the board of judges in Africa. The judges will report on the manuscripts submitted to them, recommending the selected manuscript for a first prize of £20 or a second prize of £10 according to the standard reached. The award of the Institute will be based on the report received from the judges.

8. The manuscript remains the property of the author. The Institute does not undertake to publish the manuscript; arrangements for this must be made by the author, who would be able on request to obtain the help of a mission or educational authority.

9. For the year 1930 prizes are offered for manuscripts in the following five languages:—

Xosa
Swahili
Hova
Kongo
Akan (Twi or Fante)

10. All work in these five languages much reach the office of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 22, Craven Street, London, W.C 2., by October 1st. 1930.

11. The prizes will be awarded and distributed every January. The names of the prize winners will be published in *Africa*.

NATIVE SCHOOLS SINGING COMPETITION.

Many of our readers will remember the Choir Competition which was held in April 1928 at Fort Hare when Native children from all the schools in the Fort Beaufort, Stockenstroom and Victoria East districts travelled to Alice to sing in competition for the *i kaka* (shield).

This year there are to be preliminary district competitions to avoid the expense and labour entailed in bringing so many children to Fort Hare and also to give parents and others interested in school music an opportunity of attending the contests nearer home. The choirs are divided into two sections: those with a roll of over 75 being in the senior class and those with a smaller enrolment in the junior. There is a separate shield for each section, that for the seniors having been presented for competition by members of the Lovedale Staff, the Healdtown Institution having presented the shield to be competed for by the smaller schools.

Each choir is given (a) a sight test i.e. a piece of unseen music which they must read and sing at sight, b) a song prescribed by the Department (c) and a song selected by the conductor of the choir himself. This year the prescribed song for the junior section is "A Canadian Boat Song" arranged for a three part choir, while the seniors will sing *As Eriskay Love Lilt* one of the "Songs of the Hebrides."

The first of the district competitions will be held at Gaga, near Aloe, for the Victoria East schools, on Saturday April 20th. Mr. Chalmers and Miss Parker of Lovedale will be the adjudicators. Then at Holy Trinity Mission (Boundary Hill) will be held, on Saturday April 27th, the competition for the Fort Beaufort schools. Mr. J W Woodward, Principal Teacher of the Healdtown Practising School, has kindly consented to act as judge on this occasion. The Stockenstroom competition will be held at Philipton on Monday May 6th, the second day of the annual gathering of the Independent Church in that district.

On May 23rd, at Fort Hare the two winners at Gaga, Holy Trinity and Stockenstroom respectively—together with the present shield holders, Adelaide Native School and Adelaide Coloured School—will meet for the final contest, when Mr. J W Newns, the Departmental Instructor in Music, assisted by Messrs. Woodward and Chalmers, will be the adjudicator.

On this occasion also the Courtesy Shield, held for one year by the school where, in the opinion of the circuit inspector, the pupils have the best manners, will be presented The present holder is the Auckland School, Upper Tyumie, and as the shield cannot be retained for more than one year there will be much speculation among teachers and pupils as to the winners this year.

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Asia

TO PROTEST MOVIES OF CHINESE LIFE

Miss T. G. Ho Will Bring Up the Subject at Women's Peace Parley in Prague.

LIVELY PAPERS PROMISED

Jane Addams Expresses Hope That Kellogg Pact Will Be More Than a "Scrap of Paper."

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PRAGUE, Aug. 23.—Miss Jane Addams, head of Hull House at Chicago; Professor Emily Balch of Wellesley College and Dorothy Detzer of Washington, who was allowed a European passport by the State Department only after protests by American patriotic organizations, arrived here today to attend the International Women's Congress for Peace and Freedom. There is every indication that it will be a lively meeting.

Miss Addams met local newspaper men and expressed the hope that the Kellogg pact will not be allowed to remain "a scrap of paper" which does not prevent war and killing.

Laura Gruffer Morgan will read a paper announcing that the American section of the Women's International League plans to ask permission of the American Postoffice Department to post an outline of the Kellogg pact in every postoffice in the United States.

Miss Agnes MacPhail, a member of the Canadian Parliament, will contend that liquor smuggling from Canada are corroding the century-long friendly relations of the two peoples, as shown in the recent I'm Alone incident.

Miss T. G. Ho, who is attending the congress with other Chinese women, will praise the opportunities offered international students in New York, but will protest against the depraved picture of Chinese life shown in the moving picture theatres of America and England.

Two American negresses, Mabelle Bird and Addie Hunton, will attend the congress. Miss Bird, speaking on domestic problems as a cause of war, will refer to the disfranchisement of the negro in the Southern States, the treatment of the Japanese in America and the race problem in South Africa.

During the Congress President Masaryk will send a special message from Topplicansky Castle in Slovakia containing some interesting statements. Miss Addams and Miss Balch are old friends of President Masaryk and will be his guests at Topplicansky after the Congress.

INSISTS SELF-RULE FOR INDIA IS NEAR

Mme. Naidu, at Foreign Policy Luncheon, Defends Spirit and Traditions of Race.

Times 3/3/29

GANDHI'S PROGRAM UPHELD

S. K. Ratcliffe Takes Issue With the Feminist, Declaring Western Movement Is "Irresistible."

India's culture and its desire for freedom and self-rule, as it stands "against the irresistible movement of the Western world," found defense and criticism yesterday at a luncheon sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor. The opinions of speakers culminated in a lively discussion that brought cheers and some expressions of disapproval from the gathering of 1,200 persons.

Mme. Sarojini Naidu, Indian feminist, former president of the National Congress of Indian, and as such successor to Mahatma Gandhi in defense of the spiritual thought, the mysticism and the traditiotnal customs of her race, presented to the audience a picture of India's struggle for "self-redemption and self-respect" under British control, declaring that the National Congress of India had "made affirmation of its own intention" to be free.

She questioned the right of other nations to interfere with her country's desire to follow its own traditions and condemned "the propaganda in headlines" of strife, sectionalism and riots in India, the existence of which she denied. Mme. Naidu reiterated, as in former addresses, her dislike for the Simon Commission, which includes no Indian representation.

"It had the effect," she said, "of shattering the last remnants of faith of the moderates. We belong to divers schools of thought, but we succeeded in affirming the faith within us and the right to choose our own friends. The National Congress is the one authentic voice, and nothing can stop the ultimate liberation of India.

"If England could understand us we would be ready to adjust our differences by friendly means, as equal comrades in the progress of civilization. But there is not enough statesmanship in England to understand. We will yet see the day of India's birthright to send her envoys to London and other capitals. Time and God alone will prove whether we are idle dreamers and visionaries or phophets indeed."

Mme. Naidu said there could be no peace in the world while one-fifth of the population in India were not allowed to control their own future and make their own laws.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, resident of Santiniketan, a missionary and friend of Gandhi, declared that India was well capable of governing herself. He siad that the country had for generations, revered the moral leader Gandhi and gave five points in the latter's program of work in India, as follows:

"Settlement of the terrible religious differences; prohibition of all drinks and drugs from the native soil of India; women's equality with man; removal of untouchability, or, establishment of equal rights for all classes, and encouragement of home spinning and weaving, the last in order that the agriculture class might be employed during periods of drought."

The motive for the program, he said, was the "soul and moral pulse of Gandhi" and not violence.

Following an address by S. K. Ratcliffe, formerly editor of The Statesman at Calcutta and now a free-lance journalist and lecturer, who defended the English policy in India, yet admitted mistakes of the Simon commission which the British Government had sent to study the Indian situation with a view to writing a new Constitution for India, Mme. Naidu, in one of her numerous replies, shouted:

"We will not suffer exploitation any longer. India is out for self-redemption."

Mr. Ratcliffe said that India's problem was graver and more difficult than any other political problem in the world. He thought that if the Simon commission had been mixed in personnel, mixed results would have obtained. He argued that Indian desire to return to ancient ways stands "against the irresistible movement of the Western world—the roads are swarming with the cars of Henry Ford." India is insisting, he said, upon accepting Western industrial methods and cannot return to methods used during ancient times.

James G. McDonald, executive board members of the association, presided. The discussions were broadcast over WEAF.

Race Problem - 1929

Canada.

ARE WEST INDIAN NEGROES BRITISH SUBJECTS?

Judging from the many reports and complaints which are pouring into our office, the colored people from the West Indies are finding it extremely difficult to enter Canada. It is said that white persons from the islands experience no difficulty whatever in gaining free entrance. On the other hand, they are welcomed here and are shown every consideration and great courtesy. This of course is as it should be since the people from the West Indies Islands are British subjects. But the mere act, by the immigration authorities, of making it difficult for colored people and glad receiving whites from the same country naturally raises the question in our minds: "Are West Indian Negroes British subjects?" For the kind of justice which we boast of here in Canada knows no color, has no favorites. British justice knows all of its subjects as members of one great family—The British family of nations. With such lofty thoughts ever in our minds we have felt a keen delight in priding ourselves LOYAL British subjects. It is why we always doff our hats and stand at attention when "God Save our Precious King" is played or sung. Of course we know that Australia has been bold enough to make laws which practically bar all colored people from that country. But Australia is Australia, and ig norant and superstitious and God-for saken. When Canada begins to shape her destiny after the pattern of Aus tralia, God forbid that we remain here thereafter.

And still we were shown a letter recently which was written by the immigration authorities to a private citizen. The letter was the answer to a request to the government that a West Indian Colored girl be allowed to enter Canada. Among other things the letter stated; "We are not encouraging the colored races to come to Canada," and why? Why are not Canada's future citizens picked on the basis of intelligence, physical fitness, a tendency to work, less likelihood of becoming public charges and anarchists, rather than on the basis of color, Why are the West Indian Negroes who are loyal British subjects and are both intelligent and industrious—Why are they refused when hordes of the trash and scum of Central Europe and thousands of bums even from England are entering each year? Is it because they are not loyal to Canada? No. The war record of the Negro men who responded to the Canadian call to arms during the World War shows that the majority of them was from the Islands. Their loyalty to the King was well illustrated at a ball game which we were once privileged to witness. As the game proceeded a citizen of the States who was present, in jest. made a remark concerning the King which, to say the least, was not complimentary. A colored West Indian, on hearing the remark, resented the "insult" as he styled it. Although instant and fitting apology was made, it required much physical force to restrain the irrate son of the tropics from doing violence to the offender. Perhaps it is such blind and fanatic loyalty which causes him to be an undesirable.

Among Negro business, in the professions, among the number of Negro men and women entering colleges and professional schools and business schools, the West Indians have almost a monopoly. Among the efficient porters and cooks in the employ of the Canadian railroads, the West Indians form fully 50 per cent.

If Canada is proud of the upward strivings of her citizens, of their honest achievements, however small, then surely she is proud of her adopted brown sons of the enchanted islands.

But still the unanswered question is, why deny the colored people of the islands free entrance? Surely it is not the bug-bear of social equality which frightens the immigration authorities. If this is so we are glad to make the following observation for their especial benefit. The West Indian colored man, not only invariably marries in his own race, seeks the society of his own people, but he very rarely marries a girl from any country except his own.

As loyal Canadians we call upon our government to come out into the open and state its reasons, if it has any, why colored West Indians are not allowed free entrance into Canada when white men from that country are accorded such privileges.

A Little "Dixie" In Oro Township

A colored refugee settlement in Oro township to the north of the present town of Barrie, is interestingly described in the article below which appeared in a leading Ontario newspaper a few years ago. We are indebted to Prof. Fred Landon of the University of Western Ontario for bringing the article to our attention. It is as follows:—

Early in the thirties a negro settlement was formed in the upper part of the Township of Oro, north of Lake Simcoe. This settlement was made up of run-away slaves, and Rev. Mr. Raymond, a brother of the Raymond of sewing machine fame, appears to have been mainly instrumental in the formation of the settlement. The Government furnished free land.

"Some of the best land in the township was," says James Smith of Edgar, "allotted to these negroes. What is now the Village of Edgar was the centre of their settlement. The farm at the northwest corner of Edgar belonged to Nelson Morrison, and the farm at the northeast corner to a negro named Munro. All told there were three families of Morrisons, and big families they were. There were also four families of the Bushes, besides the Jennings, Cases, Barbers, Smoots, St. Doneys, Thompsons (two families), Turners, Jacksons, Banks, Johnsons, Hawkins, Eddies, and others. Turner was an exceptionally big man, and Jackson was a preacher."

Good Only to Work for Others.

But the attempt to found a negro settlement in the bush proved a failure. "The Negroes were," says Mr Smith, "splendid choppers, but their energy was exhausted in chopping down bush, and in a few years their little clearings were as thickly wooded as ever. The huts they built in starting remained to the end. The only effect of the formation of this Negro settlement was to delay the development of the township."

"How, then, did the negroes make their living?" I asked.

"They lived cheap," was the reply "A little corn and the proceeds of the hunt went a long way. Then, while poor workers on their own places, they did well when working on farms belonging to others. They were excellent choppers, and made good hands at loggings and in the harvest field."

Still the settlement did not prosper. Of the 30 or 40 families that were granted farms, only four held on until this spring, and one of these has since sold out. The great majority got their farms under mortgage to a Barrie capitalist, and then the descent was easy. To-day, outside of three families still on the old homesteads, little remains of a settlement from which so mhch was expected by well-meaning philanthropists. Here and there may be found a white-washed hut in which lives the family of a negro laborer.

They Went to the Towns.

"The great majority of those who left," says Mr. Smith, "went to the towns—Barrie, Collingwood, Chatham and Toronto. Few tried farming again."

Some intermarried with whites, but the offspring of these mixed marriages does not appear to be any improvement on the original black stock. The Negroes seem, too, after their removal to the bush, to have experienced a revival of something of the fierce spirit of their savage ancestry. In the early days it was a very unsafe thing to insult one of the negroes, and they were particularly touchy in the matter of their color.

An Old Negro Church.

A short distance west of Edgar there is a frame building that has been there for a generation. This is the old Negro church. Services are still regularly held in that building.

"That church has witnessed some strange scenes," said Mr. Smith, "The first preacher among the negroes was a man named Sorrooks—a runaway slave. During the old-time revivals the colored congregations went fairly crazy under the spell of this man's passionate eloquence. Some of the people even tried to climb up the church walls on the way to heaven. The last night of the old year was a time of special importance with them. On that night the service was kept up all night long."

Did Not Put Him Out.

White people occasionally attended these watch-night services, and sometimes they did not behave any too well. On one occasion three young men from Crown Hill, who had been celebrating the new year in advance, appeared at the service and caused annoyance by their conduct.

"Bro. Eddy," said the preacher, a negro from Toronto, "since these men do not know how to conduct themselves, you had better put them out."

Bro. Eddy marched boldly toward the three whites for the purpose of carrying out the preacher's orders. But when he got within a few feet of them, one of the disturbers, a man of powerful frame, rose up to his full height.

"Going to put me out," said the intruder.

"No," said the dusky brother, as he took in the full size of his challenger, "I don't think I am. Give me a chew of tobacco."

The weed settled it, and there was peace for the rest of the night.

One Lone Baptist.

The negroes were mainly "British Methodists," as they called themselves, but one was a Baptist. This was a man named Jackson. But he had no followers among the people of his own color, his congregation—a very small one—being made up of whites. An old graveyard surrounds the place where he used to preach.

"When there was sickness in one of the negro families," says Mr. Smith "visitors of their own color came from miles around. Mrs. Eddy, the last of the ex-slaves, died this spring Before her death as many as 20 people were there at one time. The visitors had a double object in their visit—to wait on the sick and share in the provisions they knew the whites would furnish on such occasions. In the early days one old woman, a Mrs. Banks, was exceedingly skilful in the use of herbs; she was the doctor for the settlement."

Anglican Minister—Methodist Flock

The Rev. J. H. Harris, now of Brooklin, Ont., was in the early days

so I was informed by G. H. Hale, of the Orillia Packet, a missionary to these negroes. He was, it appears sent there by the New England Missionary Society, a society with headquarters in England, and which was organized before the revolution, for the spiritual care of negroes and Indians. Mr. Harris, although an Anglican clergyman, thus had the spiritual charge of a Methodist body. The reverend gentleman is, unfortunately, very ill just now, or I should have had some particuars from him relative to his charge.

"Although Orillia was so near this old negro settlement," said Mr. Hale, "a negro was a curiosity with us in the early days. Most of them did their business in Barrie."

There are more negroes in Orillia now. Some 300 people from the Southern States—200 of them from New Orleans alone—are spending the summer there, and many have brought their negro servants along. This, by the way, is another thing that an energetic Board of Trade has done for Orillia—it has developed the tourist trade.

Race Problem — 1929

Central America and Mexico.

RACE PROBLEM AFFECTS MEXICO

Speaker Tells Vassar College Students and Faculty That There Are Four or Five Crucial Race Problems.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. Feb. 28 —Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, lectured at Vassar College here recently at the regular monthly lecture course sponsored by the Vassar College Community Church. A responsive audience of students and faculty heard his discussion of "Religion and Race Relations."

Pointing out that there were four or five crucial race problems such as those between Japanese and Americans on the Pacific Coast, the Mexicans in the southwest and American Indians, he stressed the fact that the problems between white and Negro races were the most important because of the long history of the past, the increasing numbers of the two races and the effect the presence of the Negro has had on life and government in the United States. He said in part:

"The relations of the white and Negro people in agriculture, industry and commercial life, in schools, in housing neighborhoods and in political and civic life call for renewed attitudes dominated by the ideals of brotherhood to control the economic and political motives and feelings of racial superiority. The Negro race has been rising in intelligence, gaining economic foothold and growing in consciousness of its own worth and native-born Americanism. The white world has been developing in wealth, expanding in international power and growing in its sense of invincible superiority. The leaders of the two races have therefore drawn away from each other. Some cohesive force is needed to draw them together.

"There is a great need of applying the ideals of the Christian religion as was done during the anti-slavery period and the early days of emancipation when the schools for the freedom were provided liberally by the church mission societies. Conditions have changed with the migration of Negroes from the rural districts to the industrial and commercial centers and into the North and West. The Negro has proven his ability to master modern learning in the mission schools. The demand now is to apply religious and humanitarian ideals to the end that Negroes may have an equal opportunity to use the knowledge which the schools have given them opportunity to acquire. Race prejudice must be conquered by interracial goodwill."

The lecture was enthusiastically received by rounds of applause. Dr. Haynes was the guest of the college and it is believed that his visit marks and advance in interracial sentiment at Vassar College.

COLORED TROOPER SHOT IN MEXICAN SKIRMISH

Naco, Sonora, Mexico, April 6.—Attacking this Mexican Federal stronghold in force today, the rebel troops of General [illegible] failed to defeat the defending forces of General Lucas Gonzalez and were driven back with apparently considerable losses. Although the casualties on neither side could be [illegible], the Federals were reported to have suffered the least.

Preceding the opening of the battle early in the day, an American trooper Private John Finezee, Negro, of the Tenth Cavalry, was shot in the chest in a brief encounter between a United States patrol and Mexicans believed to have been rebels at the border, eight miles east of here. Other casualties on the American side of the line during the battle were listed as two Mexicans, a girl and a woman were slightly wounded by rifle bullets.

Race Problem - 1929

Europe

WE HAVE RISEN

When Congressman-elect Oscar DePriest of Chicago told a Kansas City audience last week that he lost every white precinct in his district by two to one, and won his victory because the black precincts rolled up an overwhelming majority, he brought tangible proof of the end the old era of treachery to race. "The black voters stood nobly" said he, and his words are echoed by a Missouri legislator in Kansas City and two more in St. Louis. State after state bears witness to the same truth. In short the day has come when we ourselves pay tribute to achievement of our own, the same tribute which we ask the world to give us instead of the scorn begotten of race prejudices.

It is hard to measure the progress on one's own time, and still harder to judge a group of which we are a part. Scientists measure the movement of glaciers, those great rivers of ice which move only a few feet each year. They do it by placing rocks both on shore and on the glacier. The deviation from the straight line is the amount of advance. But when we try to guage our own achievements, we are ourselves being carried forward so that to us the race seems to stand still. It takes incidents like this of Congressman DePriest to prove the tremendous change for the better which has come. He was fought with every trick of politics, from the honest opposition of the other party to the bought and paid for treachery by men of his own race and party. Yet he won because "The black voters stood nobly."

On every side this same progress can be seen. The number of young men and women who have caught the vision of service, as something apart from merely making a living, is increasing. There is still a rear division, dragging along, but even it is far in advance of the hindermost of a generation ago. Negroes have come to the point where they have self-respect and therefore do not have to be truculent and trouble-seeking to prove their manhood. Many have come to see that the job is the thing, not who does it. Teachers are multiplying who love the child and give it their best. Nobler characters are going into the ministry. Education in the pulpit is expected by the least forward congregations and demanded by the best, where there used to be an abiding conviction that the call to preach carried with it all the preparation needed. Negro business men can be heard talking about competition for their people's patronage, an end to the foolish notion that they were entitled to the trade simply because of race relationship. Home buying is common. We are piling up dollars in banks. We are advancing into the investment stage.

Home life among Negroes developed to the point where we find culture and the furnishings of refinement on every hand, pays a tribute to the Negro woman. Whenever observers of the other race see Negro life intimately these days, they marvel, and well they may. The Negro woman, sharing as no other the struggle for the family living, still has pushed ahead until she is the mistress of a home with carpets on the floor, every window pane in, a musical instrument of some kind, clean table linen, well-balanced meals, and her children go to school d[illegible] manner that would have [illegible] Sunday best" of a generation ago.

What if a few still cling to the flesh pots of the past? What if some still face backward? We are rising, thank God! The banner of our hope waves on high with so many acclaiming it that our progress in every line can be measured from the shore in great leaps, and even from our line of march itself on occasions. A Negro boy down in the deep South, now banker R. R. Wright of Philadelphia, gave a northern visitor during the reconstruction as his message to the people of the north, "Tell them we are rising." Verily, we have risen.

BARS HAITIAN OFFICAL FROM NIGHT CLUB

French Officials May Punish Owner

Paris, France.—The capital of France, long respected throughout the world for its uncompromising stand for racial equality, has succumbed to white America's prejudice and discrimination for the darker races. The deference of the proprietor of one of the largest cafes in Paris to the race prejudices of his American customers resulted in a diplomatic episode last week when Stephen Alexis, Haitian charge d'affaires at Addis Ababa complained to Premier Poincare and Foreign Minister Briand that he had been prevented from entering La Coupole, famous Montparnasse night club, in company with Princess Mansour Daoud, wife of the crown prince of Egypt.

AMERICAN TOURISTS CAUSE BARRIER

Following a quiet dinner in La Coupole grill room, the princess and her escort decided to stop in for a few minutes at the recently opened cabaret in the basement of the cafe. They were politely but firmly stopped at the door by a gaudily uniformed attendant.

"I am very sorry, but we have strict orders not to let Negroes enter because their presence is displeasing to our American clients," the attendant stated.

Drawing himself up to his full height the diplomat left establishment without argument, escorting his royal guest to his luxurious car awaiting them at the curb. As soon he reached his hotel he wrote a long letter to the French premier and foreign minister.

"Such treatment goes farther than my humble person," he said, "for France has some 100,000,000 loyal Colored subjects. If all proprietors of all public establishments in Paris took a similar course the situation would be a call for royal attention.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

The owner of the cafe and night club, which is noted for is cosmopolitanism, admitted he had issued the order, but declared he had meant it to apply only to rowdies of the darker race. However, the affair had a loud repercussion in the Paris press, which is unanimous in declaring that things have come to a pretty pass when Americans with their racial hatred and lots of money are going to dictate who is to be permitted to enter and who is to be excluded from French cafes and night clubs.

French government authorities have dealt severely in the past with cafe and night club owners who have drawn a color line in their establishments. Several last year for carrying out the prejudiced orders of American tourists lost their licenses to run public places. Recently Countee Cullen, well known American poet, was prevented from entering one of the popular Parisian cafes.

ROBERTS. ABBOTT AND WIFE REFUSED ROOMS BY HOTELS IN LONDON

LONDON, Eng., Aug. 28.—Fresh evidence of the rapid spread of American race prejudice to European capitals was furnished here recently by the refusal of more than thirty London hotels to grant accomodations to Robert S. Abbott, publisher of the Chicago Defender, and his wife.

The Abbotts, who have been touring Europe for several months, have been met with every courtesy on the continent, but have found London a stronghold of race prejudice. The hote authorities made various excuses to cloak their refusal, but were adamant in their determination to exclude the couple.

Following their embarrassing experience, the Abbotts are said to have been accomodated by friends, who provided them with rooms in the fashionable Forest Hills district.

R. S. Abbott Refused Hotel Accommodations

LONDON, Aug. 27.—Refused admission at thirty London hotels because of his race, Robert S. Abbott, owner and editor of The Chicago Defender, who arrived here with his wife from Paris, has given up the search for accommodations as a bad job.

"I expected different treatment in England, which has millions of colored people under her flag," he said tonight.

A report on the alleged discrimination has been submitted to Prime Minister MacDonald by James Marley, a Labor Member of Parliament.

Marley conducted a personal inquiry, visiting two hotels from which Abbott asserts he was requested to leave the morning after his arrival.

George Lansbury, First Commissioner of Works in the Labor Government, also interested himself in the case and expressed strong disapproval of such alleged discrimination.

Color Line Flares Up Again in Paris

Haitian Charge d'Affaires Denied Admission to Ballroom

According to cabled dispatch to the New York Times the color line flared up again in Paris last Wednesday when Stephane Alexis, charge d'affaires of the Republic of Haiti, after dining at the Coupole restaurant company with Princess Marnouri Daouli, wife of the Crown Prince of Egypt, started to enter the downstairs ballroom.

"Sorry, but I cannot let you in. Formal orders from the manager. Americans won't tolerate colored people here."

The Haitian diplomat did not insist on himself and the Egyptian Princess being admitted to the dance floor, but he straightway indited a protest, addressed to Premier Raymond Poincare, relating all the facts in the case and reminding the Premier that 500,000 of France's Negro citizens are liable to similar treatment in their own country.

Negro Rights Question Is Argued In England

LONDON, Oct. 22.—(AP)—The question of the color bar against negroes in England is being raised for the first time in acute form, and several public bodies have protested against such racial discrimination. The annual invasion of American tourists is blamed by many persons for the exclusion of negroes from some restaurants and hotels recently.

"A sensation was caused today at a meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) by the receipt of a letter from the celebrated American negro singer and actor, Paul Robeson, stating that he and his wife recently had been refused admittance to the dining hall and grill room of a leading London hotel despite the fact that they were being entertained by white friends.

Robeson has been singing in London and playing in "Show Boat" for nearly two years.

The meeting, which had been specially called to consider the refusal of some London hotels to admit negroes, was addressed by James Marley, Labor member of Parliament, who protested against the tendency to draw the color line against negroes in England.

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Hotel's Exclusion of American Singer May Be Discussed in Parliament.

By the United Press.

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James Marley, member of Parliament and a Laborite, said that he intended to raise the question in the House of Commons.

"I hope that Prime Minister MacDonald will not return with the American prejudice against colored people," said Marley. "There are ways whereby even a Prime Minister can be made to act on this question."

The barring of Robeson, who departed for New York last Saturday, was revealed in a letter he wrote to the Society of Friends. The letter, read at a meeting, said that despite the fact he was well known to the management of a well known but unidentified London hotel and previously had dined in the grill, the management caused him great embarrassment by refusing the entry when he went there to dine.

Robeson said that he had been invited to dinner by an Englishman. He was accompanied by his wife.

The English friend argued heatedly but without avail with the management, the singer said in his letter.

McMillan Finds German People Very Friendly

By LEWIS K. McMILLAN
[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

Berlin, Germany, Oct. 4.—There are not many of our Race in Berlin. My first night in a Paris theater one of the most prominently seated persons there was a French colonial soldier as black as the proverbial "ace of spades." He wore the French army uniform and was quite a natural part of the audience-scene.

Negroes drive taxis in Paris, hold government positions and, of course, they travel in large numbers.

Germany has no colonies now; but even when she had colonies her attitude toward colonials was purely paternalistic—something of the attitude of the master toward the slave. The Negro was not part and parcel of her; he was merely a hopeless subject; a mere segment. That is also, from all events, the attitude of England, and, to be sure, the attitude of America. It is strange that Anglo-Saxons seem to have so many portions of the Race of race superiority.

In Berlin those of our group are counted by the ones; in Paris they are counted by the hundreds and thousands. There are hardly more than 60 or 80 in the entire city of Berlin.

The following types visit Berlin: Show folks, artists, students, tourists and representatives of organizations.

Each week finds new and old faces in cabarets and on the more jazzy stages. A number of cabarets, as well as the theaters, make money by using brown-skin performers, if advertising display means anything.

A number of Race people have actually put up in Berlin, using this as their center, paying rent for their quarters upon leaving temporarily to work other cities. The comparative nearness of everywhere makes such an arrangements all the more possible.

I am convinced that Roland Hayes deserves a good measure of the acclaim he has received over the last few years. It is not an easy matter to learn enough German to tell what kind of meat and beer one does not want. But Hales renders German songs in the voice and spirit of the Germans.

The superiority of Germans over Americans—whatever points it embraces—includes the quality of recognizing meri

The Negro student comes to Germany largely and almost wholly from America. They, like the tourists, are few in number, but a well received.

The Negro is a welcomed guest in Berlin. The people are evidently glad to see him. One student was remarking recently "how different the looks on the faces of Germans are from those of whites into whose faces we are accustomed to looking."

Excepting a goodly number of children and uncultivated men, the Berliner has much self-restraint, even on seeing for the first time a Negro. He will steal a look at him but he will not stand up and stare him in the face. Naturally, to the rural German, as with German children, a dark-skinned individual is a novelty.

Every public place in Berlin is wide open to Negroes. They can go anywhere that they are able to go, from the best hotels down to the wildest of the night clubs.

That our men should socialize with German women is taken as a matter of course. The element of prejudice does not enter whatever on that point. With them it is still another couple—man and woman—spending some time together.

A group of 10 or 11 natives from the Congo frequented a lunchroom in a business district recently. One of them speaks English fluently.

He befriended me my first days in the city. One night we were having some beer together when suddenly a well-dressed woman came to our table and gracefully made my acquaintance. He thereupon introduced her to me as his wife. The manager of the store was quite at home in the mixed presence.

The strangest thing that I have seen yet was two little woolly-haired children playing in a park under the direction of their white nurse.

When I say that the Germans have many doses of race superiority mean official Germany—the Germans who have ruled and guided the country through the past.

Their teachings and efforts were not against the Negro in particular; they were directed against all non-Germanic peoples, and especially those who appeared dangerous.

In Germany itself the people had no wills of their own; they were big, fat children, as it were, provided for by the big fathers.

The fact remains, however, that Germany will never become a haven for great numbers of Negroes.

The country is overcrowded as it now stands. Individual German business men are running down every possible thread of fancy to seek quarters or expansion. The foreigner is allowed one main privilege, and that is spending money.

The presence—the known presence—of a foreigner in the capacity of making money, doing work that Germans can do, making money that they want and need, constitutes a cause for many forms of outbursts. In fact, the law prohibits the practice of employing foreigners to do other than temporary contract work. The Negro is almost wholly excluded because of the hair and skin that he possesses.

Despite the interruption of the war, Berlin is still a great cosmopolitan center. One sees and has opportunities to know people from everywhere.

Possibly one of the few real impressions which I have so far received is the ready spirit of friendliness which obtains between youths of the darker races studying in the University of Berlin or sojourning. I never knew the friendship of an East Indian in America. The Chinese and Japanese students are also fine. Whether it is the freedom from "American Negro prejudice" or a new spirit, it is hard to tell.

Whatever the cause is, it is worth a stay in Berlin to form relations with coming rulers and men of guiding and determining influence in the great virgin and becoming quarter of the world.

Defender's Publisher Keeps Up Fight on "Color Line"

WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 23, 1929.

Hon. James Marley, M. P.,
London, England.

Dear Sir: Americans of color are deeply grateful for your effort to eradicate racial prejudice over there so that we may come to England and enjoy our visits without humiliation. My wife and I recently, but were forced to the grill room on our of London refused accommodation in the hotels return, Oct. 12 on the Aquitania, against our will, where we were deprived of any and all music and other entertainment although we were first-class passengers. We hope the good work and save England from the clutches of racial prejudice

ROBERT S. ABBOTT,
Editor and Publisher of The Chicago Defender.

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James Marley, member of Parliament and a Laborite, said that he intended to raise the question in the House of Commons.

"I hope that Prime Minister MacDonald will not return with the American prejudice against colored people," said Marley. "There are ways whereby even a Prime Minister can be made to act on this question."

The barring of Robeson, who departed for New York last Saturday, was revealed in a letter he wrote to the Society of Friends. The letter, read at a meeting, said that despite the fact he was well known to the management of a well known but unidentified London hotel and previously had dined in the grill, the management caused him great embarrassment by refusing the entry when he went there to dine.

Robeson said that he had been invited to dinner by an Englishman He was accompanied by his wife.

The English friend argued heatedly but without avail with the management, the singer said in his letter.

McMillan Finds German People Very Friendly

By LEWIS K. McMILLAN
[Chicago Defender Foreign News Service]

Berlin, Germany, Oct. 4.—There are not many of our Race in Berlin. My first night in a Paris theater one of the most prominently seated persons there was a French colonial soldier as black as the proverbial "ace of spades." He wore the French army uniform and was quite a natural part of the audience-scene.

Negroes drive taxis in Paris, hold government positions and, of course, they crawl in large numbers.

Germany has no colonies now; but even when she had colonies her attitude toward colonials was purely paternalistic—something of the attitude of the master toward the slave. The Negro was not part and parcel of her; he was merely a hopeless subject; a mere segment. That is also, from all events, the attitude of England, and, to be sure, the attitude of America. It is strange that Anglo-Saxons seem to have so many portions of the Race of race superiority.

In Berlin those of our group are counted by the ones; in Paris they are counted by the hundreds and thousands. There are hardly more than 60 or 80 in the entire city of Berlin.

The following types visit Berlin: Show folks, artists, students, tourists and representatives of organizations.

Each week finds new and old faces in cabarets and on the more jazzy stages. A number of cabarets, as well as the theaters, make money by using brown-skin performers, if advertising display means anything.

A number of Race people have actually put up in Berlin, using this as their center, paying rent for their quarters upon leaving temporarily to work other cities. The comparative nearness of everywhere makes such an arrangements all the more possible.

I am convinced that Roland Hayes deserves a good measure of the acclaim he has received over the last few years. It is not an easy matter to learn enough German to tell what kind of meat and beer one does not want. But Hales renders German songs in the voice and spirit of the Germans.

The superiority of Germans over Americans—whatever points it embraces—includes the quality of recognizing merit.

The Negro student comes to Germany largely and almost wholly from America. They, like the tourists, are few in number, but well received.

The Negro is a welcomed guest in Berlin. The people are evidently glad to see him. One student was remarking recently "how different the looks on the faces of Germans are from those of whites into whose faces we are accustomed to looking."

Excepting a goodly number of children and uncultivated men, the Berliner has much self-restraint, even on seeing for the first time a Negro. He will steal a look at him but he will not stand up and stare him in the face. Naturally, to the rural German, as with German children, a dark-skinned individual is a novelty.

Every public place in Berlin is wide open to Negroes. They can go anywhere that they are able to go, from the best hotels down to the wildest of the night clubs.

That our men should socialize with German women is taken as a matter of course. The element of prejudice does not enter whatever on that point. With them it is still another couple—man and woman—spending some time together.

A group of 10 or 11 natives from the Congo frequented a lunchroom in a business district recently. One of them speaks English fluently.

He befriended me my first days in the city. One night we were having some beer together when suddenly a well-dressed woman came to our table and gracefully made my acquaintance. He thereupon introduced her to me as his wife. The manager of the store was quite at home in the mixed presence.

The strangest thing that I have seen yet was two little woolly-haired children playing in a park under the direction of their white nurse.

When I say that the Germans have many doses of race superiority mean official Germany—the Germans who have ruled and guided the country through the past.

Their teachings and efforts were not against the Negro in particular they were directed against all non-Germanic peoples, and especially those who appeared dangerous.

In Germany itself the people had no wills of their own; they were big, fat children, as it were, provided for by the big fathers.

The fact remains, however, that Germany will never become a haven for great numbers of Negroes.

The country is overcrowded as it now stands. Individual German business men are running down every possible thread of fancy to seek quarters or expansion. The foreigner is allowed one main privilege, and that is spending money.

The presence—the known presence—of a foreigner in the capacity of making money, doing work that Germans can do, making money that they want and need, constitutes a cause for many forms of outbursts. In fact, the law prohibits the practice of employing foreigners to do other than temporary contract work. The Negro is almost wholly excluded because of the hair and skin that he possesses.

Despite the interruption of the war, Berlin is still a great cosmopolitan center. One sees and has opportunities to know people from everywhere.

Possibly one of the few real impressions which I have so far received is the ready spirit of friendli-

Defender's Publisher Keeps Up Fight on "Color Line"

WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM
Chicago, Ill., Oct. 23, 1929.

Hon. James Marley, M. P.,
London, England.
Dear Sir: Americans of color are deeply grateful for your effort to eradicate racial prejudice over there so that we may come to England and enjoy our visits without humiliation. My wife and I were not only refused accommodation in the hotels of London recently, but were forced to the grill room on our return, Oct. 12 on the Aquitania, against our will, where we were deprived of any and all music and other entertainment although we were first-class passengers. Keep up the good work and save England from the clutches of racial prejudice

ROBERT S. ABBOTT,
Editor and Publisher of The Chicago Defender.

Race Problem – Europe: 1929
Discrimination 1919

RACE PREJUDICE INVADES PARIS; TWO WELL KNOWN NEGROES INVOLVED IN DEMONSTRATION

(By J. A. Rogers)

Josephine Baker

PARIS—Two incidents involving two prominent Negroes are being discussed here—incidents that will sound insane to European ears but which will have a very familiar ring to American ones.

Indeed as a result of it one individual is now behind the bars in an insane asylum.

The two Negroes concerned are Josephine Baker, well-known music-hall star; the second is Claude McKay, noted poet and recent winner of the Harmon Award. Neither incident has any immediate relation with the other.

To deal with that concerning Miss Baker first.

In 1927, while Miss Baker was starring at the Moulin Rouge she occupied a luxurious apartment at the Champs Elysees. As neighbor she had in the same building one Mme. Duminy, who objected strenuously to Miss Baker's complexion and wished her ejected from the building. Right here it may be stated, though it is needless to do so, that in spite of her French name, Mme. Duminy is American-born. She hails from San Francisco, and was formerly Vera Schultz.

Very wealthy—she has an income of $40,000 a year—she came to Paris and married M. Duminy, a former garage-keeper.

When Miss Baker refused to budge from her apartment, Mme. Duminy bought a clarinet and marched up and down the hallway serenading Miss Baker with shrill notes each time she came in. When Miss Baker still stood her ground Mme. Duminy decided to go in for still a little more entertaining. She stripped herself until she was even a bit nuder than the famous music-hall star and with her clariet did an act for Miss Baker's benefit that would have brought her a fortune on the stage.

Of course, the neighbors all joined in the treat that was intended for Miss Baker, and the result of it all was that Mme. Duminy was sent to an insane asylum at Vanves. Now a year later her lawyers are arguing for her release.

"Mme. Duminy is not insane," they declare. "Her drinking and eating in copions quantities brought on an unusually gay and nervous state, which prompted her to act as she did. She did not make a noise in the hallways. At most she stuck her head out of the doorway and ran off a few notes to vex Miss Baker."

On the other hand M. Duminy alleges that his wife is completely irresponsible; that she did annoy Miss Baker, and tried to have her ejected from the building. He will have many witnesses on hand when the case comes up in the First Chamber of the Palace of Justice this week.

Mme. Duminy came to France but her color prejudice evidently did not fade with time.

* * *

Claude McKay

The incident concerning McKay is as follows: A few months ago La Coupole, most popular of the Paris cafes, opened a cabaret in a basement, which has since become one of the most popular in the city.

La Coupole is in Montparnasse, which in the past three years, has had such an influx of Americans, that it has become Little America. Across from it is the Dome Cafe and Bar, in which French is rarely spoken.

On Saturday night McKay attempted to enter this cabaret. With him were M. Pierre Vogein, white; M. Alexis, colored, of Guadelope; and three ladies, one of whom is Miss Rappoport, of the U. S. A. At the door the party was stopped by an attendant, who said that no Negroes were admitted; that McKay and Alexis must remain out but that the rest of the party could go in.

Seeking out the manager McKay protested to him. "Oh," the latter declared, according to McKay, "what are you kicking about. We treat you people here in France better than in America. I have orders not to let in any Negroes as we are not looking for trouble."

McKay, who used to be one of the best known bohemian figures in Montparnasse up to a few years ago. and before the present American invasion, says that that is the second time he has been refused service in France. The other place was in Nice when he and a white Southerner were barred from a place frequented by American sailors. He is accustomed to like incidents in England, he said.

But the incident will perhaps not end there. M. Alexis, who is a French citizen, says that he intends taking up the matter with his representative in parliament, M. Candace, deputy from Guadeloupe.

Some years ago when Prince Kojo Touvalou-Houenou of ahomey was ejected from a Montmartre cabaret at the request of American tourists, the place was padlocked for one year.

Following this came the protest of American tourists against the presence of some black officers in a sight-seeing bus. The matter was brought to attention of the colored deputies and came up in the chamber. As a result, Premier Poincare, who is a firm friends of the black man, issued an order that foreign visitors who draw the color line were subject to punishment. The order read:

"Foreign guests, forgetting that they are our guests, and bound to respect our laws and customs, recently on several occasions have forcibly manifested their aversion to seeing colored men born in French colonies sit by their side in public places. They have even gone to the length of demanding their expulsion in insulting terms.

"If such incidents are repeated, the offenders will be punished."

M. Alexis is indignant over the affair. He says that it is the first time he has been so insulted in France. He called the writer's attention to a sign that is posted at the door of cabaret, reading: "No Dogs Allowed.'

On the following evening the writer sought entrance to the cabaret and was welcomed by the doorman with that eagerness which is characteristic of employes in such places in France. But he is light in complexion, and the European eye possesses less skill than the American one for detecting persons of color. Moreover, many of the French from the South of France are very dark in color.

In France and even in England it is only obviously dark persons who are deemed Negroes, generally speaking.

The Wolf Eats, But Hates, Lamb

By J. A. ROGERS

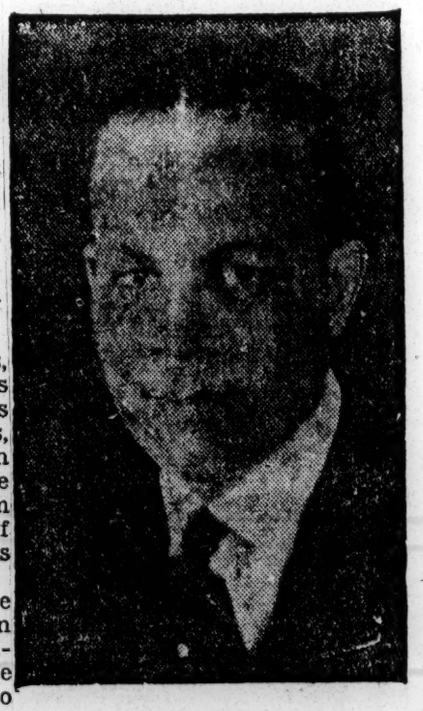
WHY is color prejudice so much stronger among English-speaking peoples than among the peoples of other tongues?

Recently "The News of the World" (English), the world's most sensational journal, and consequently the best circulated in a lengthy article, wanted to know what England is going to do with the large and increasing number of mulatto children which are being born in the British Isles, especially in such centers as Cardiff, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow and the East End of London.

All of these places are seaports, and even before the war Negroes from Africa and the West Indies came in large numbers as sailors, and many of them, for one reason or another, remained. With the war they came in still larger numbers, until in places like Cardiff and Liverpool the Negro colonies number several thousand souls.

What has happened in these places? Just as the white man in Africa, or Asia, or Oceanica, largely because of the absence of white women took the native women, so the Negro in the British Isles, because of the absence of colored women, has had to take the white woman. Perhaps, some will add that this is indeed a pleasant necessity for the Negro, but that is a retort that cuts with equal force either way. In America, for instance, even with an abundance of for Americans.

never heard of a single or met with a single re- myself. Not so in England. The lighter Negro in England may go almost anywhere, but I have seen and heard of instances of dark Negroes being barred in England. In France and on the Continent that same Negro may go anywhere his money can take him.



— J. A. Rogers —

If we turn back into history we find the same record about the English speaking peoples. The number of really great Negroes produced in English speaking lands has been very few. Perhaps three or four like Booker T. Washington

and Frederick Douglass in America, and Ira Aldridge in England. The pressure against them has been too great.

Turn to the Continent, however, with its far smaller percentage of Negroes and one finds figures like the three Dumases, the Chevalier de St. Georges, Pushkin, Leo Africanus, Amo, Juan Latino, General Hannibalov, St. Maurice, General Dodd and others.

The same holds true in parts of the New World where English is not spoken. The great Negroes of the New World have sprung not out of the land in which they have been most abundant, that is the United States, but out of the Latin lands. A Negro like Vincente Guerrero, who was at once the George Washington and the Abraham Lincoln of Mexico, would not have been possible in an English-speaking land.

Recently I had brought home to me in a very striking manner the very great difference between the attitude of the French and that of the white American in this matter of color.

I happened to be in a high-class bar very much patronized by white Americans with some foreign friends of mine when a party of white Americans came in and sat down at the table next to us.

One of them in very smooth and polite language addressed himself to me, and soon we were in conversation. Presently he gave me his business card and invited me to call on him at his bank. He was one of the officials of a French bank with an American department of which he was the director.

Next he gave me his personal card and again urging me to call on him said that whenever I came I was to send in my name and he would be sure to welcome me in person. After such pressing and apparently cordial invitation, I said to myself that the least I could do would be to drop in on him when I happened to be in the neighborhood.

Some weeks later I happened to be in the neighborhood. The fact is that I had been to the home of a titled French lady, one of the big social figures of Paris—one whose social position it would be impossible for me to exaggerate. I had visited her on an invitation by telephone, asking me to drop in and see her at any time. Receiving me as she would any other of her guests, we chatted on various topics for some time and on leaving I thought I would drop in to see the bank director.

Arriving there the French doorman ushered me into a luxurious office fitted up as a miniature Stock Exchange, and went off to call my host. Presently he arrived, and after looking very keenly at me I saw a faint gleam of recognition on his face and he offered me a limp hand. Perhaps it may have been I who offered my hand first. But I could not but be struck by the coldness of his manner. I stood there with my hat and coat and a couple of books in my arms, and he stood beside me, and although there were chairs aplenty he did not invite me to sit. Quite the opposite of the reception I had just had at the home of the titled lady.

My first thought now was how to beat a graceful retreat in the quickest time, while wondering why he had ever invited me. In order not to show my embarrassment I began to chat about what I knew of the banking business in America, then I suggested that he might be very busy and that I might be taking up his time.

But he assured me that he wasn't busy, then passed a few more minutes of forced conversation, after which he asked to be excused.

Americans Start Trouble Again

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

TWO incidents involving two prominent Negroes are being discussed here—incidents that sound insane to European ears, but which will have very familiar ring to American ones.

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Wealthy American Woman Sent to Asylum.

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Claude McKay Meets Up With Mr. "Crow."

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Prince Kojo Case Recalled.

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Rogers Admitted.

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Race Problem - 1929
Europe.

ALEXANDER *the* GREATEST



"General Dumas cut them down as they came up."

The story of France's renowned Black General

by

J. A. ROGERS

afro-American
2-16-29

HERE is the story of a Negro who lived a life so exciting and full of wonderful adventure that it stirs the blood like a tale of one of the brave knights of old. Yet it is true in every detail.

Alexander the Greatest is what they called him!

England's great hero is still Richard of the Lion Heart who fought the Turks in Palestine for the tomb of Christ. Yet this Negro equals the great Richard in every way. Like him, too, he was a giant in size and strength. And the bravest of the brave.

Coming into the world at one of the most exciting periods of its history this Negro played a man's part. Entering the army he rose from the rank of sergeant-major to that of general in command of a great army in less than two years.

To learn who he was and what he did let us dip into history. Not so deeply, either, for it happened less than one hundred and fifty years ago, while his fellow Negroes were still slaves in America.

One day one of the great nobles at the court of Louis XV, getting tired of the gay life, made up his mind to get as far away from it as possible. Selecting the island of San Domingo in the West Indies he decided to make that his home.

Arriving there, he was warmly welcomed by the rich planters who were eager to have a great a personage in their midst. But the Marquis de la Pailleterie, as the nobleman was called, had meant just what he said. He was tired of society, and wanted to live a simple life. So shunning them, he went to live among the Negroes.

But in doing that the marquis little guessed that he was to add a thousand greater glories to his name; that in quitting Europe with all his wealth, he was to return some day with far greater treasure.

All of which sounds like a fairy tale, doesn't it? But you'll soon see it isn't.

THE MARQUIS MARRIES

But the marquis was thorough if anything. Deciding to bury his past still deeper, he took another step. Among his neighbors was one whose bright flashing eyes, supple figure and laughing ways had captivated him. She was Marie Dumas. Proposing marriage, he was accepted, and the humble Marie became the Marquise de la Pailleterie.

A year later a son, Alexander, was born; in color, dark, very dark. For eleven years the couple lived happily, and then the marquise died. Her husband, grief-stricken, remained in the West Indies eight years longer, then he returned to France.

With him was his son, the Count de la Pailleterie. And what a son was that colored lad! Three years later he had become the talk of Paris. Six feet six in his stocking feet and endowed with strength to match he could do feats that none could equal.

And he possessed a nimbleness and activity of brain to match. As a swordsman he eclipsed all in France but one, and that one was another Negro, the Chevalier de St. Georges.

Lifting his right foot the young count would have two men stand on his calf, and then hop off with them on it. He would place four fingers of his right hand in the muzzles of as many muskets and lift them all with arm extended. Once, while on horseback, he saw a soldier misbehaving himself, and swooping down on him he caught him by the back of his coat and holding him at arm's length as he would a dirty package, rode with him all the way to the guard house. Later he was to become a warrior so formidable and spectacular that had he lived in an earlier age he would without great difficulty be accepted as a real personage.

Generous and kind-hearted but hot-headed and quick to resent insult, the young count got into many qurarrels. At twenty-two he fought a duel in which he was the victor. A year later he fought three duels in the same day. In one of these he received a wound in the forehead that gave him trouble enough later. One of these quarrels was with his own father, over the latter's taking another wife. In a fit of anger he decided to leave his father forever, whereupon the latter replied:

"I have but one request, young man. My name is an honorable one. Do not take it around with you to soil it."

And the young man to show his scorn rejected title and name, taking another that was to become illustrious for three generations, that of his mother. Dumas.

Enlisting in the army, the dashing Dumas at once began to distinguish himself. His first exploit was to capture thirteen of the enemy single-handed and tying them all on a single string, led them back to camp. For this he was at once promoted sergeant-major and invited to dinner by his commander-in-chief.

This was the period of the great French Revolution. A number of free Negroes had come from the West Indies to offer their services to the people against the aristocrats. At their head was the noted swordsman, St. Georges.

Hearing of the exploits of Dumas, St. Georges sent for him and offered him a second lieutenancy. But the colonel of a white regiment named Boyer also had his eyes on Dumas and offered to make him lieutenant. St. Georges responded by offering a captaincy; Boyer then offered to make him major; and so the bidding went on until he ended by being a lieutenant-colonel under St. Georges.

Three weeks later Dumas and St. Georges won considerable distinction by saving Lille from the Royalists, for which exploit he was made a brigadier-general a few months later. Two months later, on Sept. 3, he was made a general. Five days later he was given command of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees; two months later he was given a superior command, and early in the following year he was given the third command of importance in the French Army.

Only twenty-two months, and he had reached a position where only two men were above him! All on the strength of merit, for an attempt had been made to bar him from the army because of his title. Surely no list of military geniuses would be complete without mention of General Dumas.

It would be impossible to treat of the life of this adventurous giant in less than a book, and so a few bare details must suffice here.

FOOLING THE AUSTRIANS

Here is a story as told by D'Hautrive, his biographer: One day, while in the Alps with only fourteen men, news came that two squadrons of Austrian cavalry were approaching. Instead of sharing the alarm of his men, Dumas bade them hide behind a hedge. "You'll laugh," he said. "It is up to you to amuse the Austrians. Hide! I am going to look for them. When I return let me pass, and then shoot all who follow me!"

Then this is what happened in the words of D'Hautrive:

"Taking his sword in hand he spurred his horse to a gallop and went alone after the Austrians. At the turning he met the advance guard in the narrow path. With three sweeps of his great sword he felled the first three. Four others behind him instinctively stopped their horses. He did not give them time to turn. In a second he was on them, stabbing, sabring, overturning them.

"Sabre strokes to the right! Sabre strokes to the left! With a blow of his fist he smashed a head. Three more strokes, three more corpses! The survivors fly before this madman who seems invulnerable. Now they meet their companions and return. On the ground they see the corpses, and before them a single man for all that slaughter. This man awaits them a moment, allows them to come within speaking distance, and shouts: 'Good day, gentlemen,' and, turning his horse's head, is off.

"'Now it's your turn,' he calls to his men, as he dashes by.

"After him come the Austrians. A volley and the first comers drop from their saddles . . . . . Another volley, and others fell. . . . Before this invisible enemy the Austrian commander gives the order to retreat."

Dumas' greatest exploit was the holding of the bridge at Brixen, single-handed, against a troop of Austrian cavalry. Dermancourt, later a general, and an eyewitness, says: "Gen. Dumas had stopped at the bridge and was holding it alone against the whole squadron. Because of the narrowness of the bridge the men could come upon him only by two and threes, and these he cut down as they came up."

"This affair," says D'Hautrive, "resounded through the nation. The combat worthy of the heroic age brought him the title of Horatius Cocles of the Tyrol. The popular imagination was keenly stirred and medals were struck reproducing the marvelous action of a single man stopping a whole troop of cavalry."

After several other exploits, among them the routing of twenty-five Austrians single-handed, he was sent by Napoleon to capture Treviso, one of the richest of the Italian provinces. This he did, and made such a successful governor that the Italians pleaded with Napoleon to let him remain when he was about to be transferred.

MIGHT HAVE BEEN KING

Dumas was plain-spoken and impulsive. But for this he might have been made a king, as some of the less competent generals of Napoleon were. But a republican at heart, he opposed Napoleon's ambition to mount the throne. While in Egypt the two quarrled bitterly after the victory of the Battle of the Pyramids, and Dumas decided to return to France.

Before leaving, however, he succeeded in putting down an insurrection among the natives, winning Napoleon's praise. But he had made up his mind to return and did.

He and Napoleon had been firm friends, and Napoleon never forgave him. In the earlier days each had made a pledge that the other was to act as godfather of the first son the other had. On the way back Dumas was captured at Naples and held a prisoner for two years, where attempts were made to poison him.

Four years later, still very young, he died a heart-broken man, seeing some that had fought under him being made kings and princes by Napoleon. But he was to get his revenge. He left a son, the great novelist, whose fame was destined for a time to eclipse even that of the great conqueror.

France has raised a monument to him, which stands in the fashionable Place Malsherves, Paris.

Race Problem - 1929

Europe

ABBOT EPISODE AIRED

M. P.'s Begin Rigid Investigation

From the London "Daily Express."

LONDON, England, Sept. 12.—Mr. George Lansbury, first commissioner of works, has interested himself in the question of a color bar in London hotels.

He expressed his strong disapproval of such discrimination when he read the account published in Tuesday's "Daily Express" of the experience of Mr. Abbott, a wealthy American Negro, who was refused admittance at thirty hotels.

Mr. Lansbury had arranged to leave London for Aberdeen, and he requested Mr. James Marley, a private Socialist member of Parliament, who sits for North St. Pancras, to make an investigation. Mr Marley had an interview with Mr Abbott, and later visited two hotels at which Mr. Abbott was permitted to stay for one night, and which he was asked to leave next morning.

Report to Premier

The "Daily Express" understands that the Prime Minister has been informed of the investigation, and that a report has been sent to him.

Mr. Marley gave the following account to a "Daily Express" representative of his visits to the hotels and his interview with Mr. Abbott.

"I met with entire evasion at ——," naming the first hotel at which Mr. and Mrs. Abbott stayed in London.

"I am informed that they were booked by a tourist agency as 'two American citizens' and that the agency were informed that the case was different when one of them proved to be colored.

Only Information

"The management of the hotel refused to make any appointment with me to discuss the question, and would give me no idea when a manager would be available. The only information they would give was that Mr. Abbott had a room for one night, and that he might have expressed a desire to stay longer, but they were not prepared to state whether he had left of his own accord or not.

"I interviewed the manageress, the telephone clerk, the hotel porter and other persons at the second hotel. They all gave different versions of Mr. Abbott's departure after staying one night, but I learned that here, also, he had been booked with his wife as 'two American citizens.'

"When I could not obtain a definite answer I endeavored finally to book a room at the hotel for a colored man. I gave his name, and asked the hotel to give him a room for the night. They refused at once, saying, 'We will not book any colored man in this establishment.'"

From the London "Daily Express."

LONDON, England, Sept. 12.—Mr. Robert S. Abbott, a wealthy American Negro, reputed by his friends to be a dollar millionaire, has been refused admission at so many London hotels that he has given up trying to find hotel accommodation in London. He is on a three months' holiday tour of Europe with his wife, and he declares that he met no color bar until he reached England.

Mr. Abbott is owner and editor of the "Chicago Defender," the largest "colored" newspaper in the United States.

His treatment in London, he says, has been as follows:

Refused admission to thirty hotels;

Compelled to leave one hotel at half an hour's notice; and

Requested to leave another after having booked rooms for a fortnight.

Welcome In Paris

"I went first to Paris," said Mr. Abbott to a "Daily Express" representative yesterday, "where I was accorded the highest treatment a man could have. I was received heartily at the first hotel I entered. In the cafe everything was open to me; nothing denied to me.

"We went on to Antwerp, Brussels, and The Hague. The treatment was the same. It was the same at Amsterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, Wiesbaden and Cologne."

Mr. Abbott shook his head reminiscently. His eyes shone and his teeth flashed. Then London was reached.

"I am not talking against the English people," he interposed with sudden seriousness. "I have found them to be quite as broadminded as the people of the Continent. I have met in England some of the finest people to whom God ever gave breath. London is magnificent. I like the public spirit of the people, how graciously they direct you anywhere you don't know. The people in the streets are as fine as any I met anywhere."

Room Required

Mr. Abbott, after this caution, described his struggles to find accommodation.

"I was booked through by the tourist agents to spend one night at ——," he said, naming a noted hotel in a fashionable district. "I was out early next morning, and when I returned at 11:30 a. m. a porter asked if I was going to stay or not. I replied that I would probably stay twelve or fourteen days. When he reported this one of the managers came and told me he was sorry, but he had a party of seventy-five arriving, and as the party did not wish to be separated, he would require my room, and I must leave by 1 o'clock. That gave me half-an-hour's notice.

"My wife and I then went to the ——," naming another hotel in the West of London. "I went there saying we should stay for nearly a fortnight, and the woman in charge said that would be all right. We felt we were settled, but next morning we received a note from the management saying they required our room at midday that day.

Problem Solved

"We must have tried thirty hotels that day. We called at some and were at once told that they were full. Some friends tried others, but it was no use. None would take us in.

"My problem was solved at last when I remembered the name of a professional colored man, and ran him up to tell him my predicament. He told me to come right out to his and we are staying with him in Forest Hill."

M'MILLAN THOT TURK SIAMESE IN GERMANY

Whites Hazard Guess tha He Is Egyptian and Eas Indian, Too.

NO BLACK UNION

Colored Races Vary as Much as Whites.

By L. K. McMILLAN

BERLIN, Germany.—Before leaving America in July I was definitely classified as a Negro. Not once in the whole of thirty-two years did a single individual mistake me for anything else.

Since being in Germany I have been called by so many racial and national names that it is hard sometimes to determine who I really am. One sunny afternoon in August three of us, all American Negroes, were rowing down the Spree, Berlin's historic river, when a party of joy-makers hailed us, saying, "We are sailing down the Nile." In other words they were calling us Egyptians. Their certainty of our being Egyptians was interesting.



McMillan

Turk

I went to a fruit-stand not long ago to purchase some pears. The clerk had served in the war as a soldier in Asia. "Are you a Turk?" he asked. In speaking further he remarked that he had been a soldier along with Turks and that I resembled some Turks whom he had known. A German student, who formed a close friendship with an East Indian, thought I was an Indian.

When I say to a German that I am from America, the reply that almost always comes back is, "You are from South America?"

The best yet was a recent experience with an Indian. We had talked about half hour. When we were in the act of parting I said something to indicate to him where I was from. He said, "All the while I have taken for granted that you came from Siam." A day or two later the picture of the Siamese minister to Germany appeared in the newspaper. And I must confess that there was a degree of general likeness.

Classifying Negroes

On the other hand I have made some interesting mistakes in classifying Negroes and other colored peoples within the same period. I ran upon a man in the American Express Company's office. He looked so much like types of persons whom I had seen that I was definitely sure that he was an American Negro. And still more definite was I that he belonged to the Southern section of the country. To my query he replied, "I am a Frenchman." A more careful look at him gave convincing proof that he was a Frenchman — although a Frenchman in black.

In a restaurant I had a similar experience in meeting a German-speaking man and his wife. They were from Northern Africa. In the earlier stages of my sojourn I made many more blunders than I have since. I have come to expect to find Chinese who resemble Japanese more than Chinese, Indians who look more like Negroes than do most Negroes. I have also come to realize that all Negroes do not live in the United States, and that Negroes differ according to the regions from which they come.

Union of Races

There are people who preach the union of the darker races. They tell us that all darker races must unite as a means of offsetting the oppressions of the white races. They tell us that there are just two races in the world—white and black. On paper and in assembly halls that ranting sounds both practical and good.

Many men of standing and men who possess a grasp upon great principles, give Marcus Garvey credit with having had a great idea in advocating the union of Negroes in all parts of the world.

Negro Peoples Differ

The fact remains, however, that Negroes, the world over, have too many points of difference ever to be made into an effective union. The one thing that the Negro has in common is outward appearance—skin. Yet even there one finds many differences.

Like all other people, and in cases to a greater extent than other peoples, the Negro takes on the character of his environment. A French colonial is a Frenchman, a British colonial is an Englishman, a Negro who lives in America for a good long period becomes indeed an American whether he is fully recognized as such or not.

Human Race First

Despite the teachings of race leaders to the contrary, to say nothing of the great section of the white American opinion, the Negro is first and last human—a member of the race of men. His difference is not on the score of his being a Negro but rather on the score of the place of his birth and habitation. And the great problem now is that of removing the barriers which stand in the way of a natural and orderly course of the Negro's living in and becoming a natural part of his present environment.

We have learned from the recent Palestine explosion, not even a race with strong sentimental, historical mythical and religious ties can possibly be transported from sections of the globe into one common quarter with real success. We are also learning from the Jews daily that there are differences between them which are as fundamental as differences between races themselves.

The greatest friend to the Negro is he who helps him to enjoy his present surroundings as a normal part of them. The greatest enemy of the Negro is he who constantly calls to his attention the fact that he is a Negro and thereby causes him to live in a narrow limited Negro world.

WEST INDIAN IS MEMBER OF NEW FRENCH CABINET

(Afro Bureau)

PARIS.—M. Alcide Delmont, colored deputy from Martinique, French West Indies, is a member of the newly-formed French Cabinet, of which M. Andre Tardieu is premier.

D. Delmont is General Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

M. Delmont has been a leading figure in French politics for the past twenty years, and is one of the leading lawyers in the French capital. He served with distinction during the last war and was awarded both the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor for his services. The latter is the highest distinction that can be given to a soldier and is the equivalent of the Congressional Medal of Honor of the United States.

M. Tardieu was former Minnster of the Interior, and his first assistant was also a Negro, M. Isaac, son of the late Senator Isaac of Guadeloupe.

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LONDON, Oct. 27.—(AP)—The question of the color bar against negroes in England will be raised in Parliament by James Marley, Labor member of Parliament at the earliest opportunity, he announced today. Protests by two widely known American negroes against alleged discrimination because of their race has raised the question in an acute form in England for the first time.

Marley has assured Robert S. Abbott of Chicago, of his intention of pushing the matter in Parliament. Abbott, who was a member of Gov. Frank O. Lowden's race relations commission in 1919 and president of the Hampton Institute Alumni Association, has complained of discrimination against him on the British liner Aquitana.

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Managers of Cafes Quizzed On Attitude Toward Colored Patrons

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The manager of the Ritz replied: 'If the Negro was a gentleman it would be unfair to refuse him. We have never done so."

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The director of the Park Lane said: "I think it not right for people to take exception to the presence of a colored man in a hotel restaurant. It would be bad manners. We have always entertained colored men."

It was said at both Claridge's and the Bergeley, two of the most fashionable London establishments that admittance would not be refused to Negroes.

As James Marley, Labor M. P., indicates, the effects of this racial discrimination, which is apparently something new here, would be far reaching indeed and involve people from the British dominions. It is customary to see hudreds of turbaned men of dark complexion from India, many of whom have the highest social and political standing, and the color ban, it seems, would effect them as much as it would the visiting American Negro or West Indian Negro.

This attitude is astonishing to Europeans, who have always freely admitted colored people almost everywhere.

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Many Leading Restaurant Managers Oppose Discrimination—M. P. Champions Negroes.

By THURSTON MACAULEY.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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Race Problem - 1929

Europe

BRITISH SHIPS AND HOTELS PRACTICE LOW DIPLOMACY OF LIES TO INSULT NEGROES WHO ARE GOING TO EUROPE

Catering To American Dollars Was Chief Cause Of Discrimination Against Abbotts in London Hotels—Pickens

New York City, (ANP)—Catering to American dollars was the chief cause of the discrimination by London hotels against Robert S. Abbott, editor of the Chicago Defender, according to a statement issued by William Pickens, contributing editor of the Associated Negro Press.

Mr. Pickens, who has recently returned from a tour of European countries, in his statement, pointed out the difference of the attitude of Germans toward American Negroes and that of the Britishers, whom he declares are the nearest kin of the American white man. The text of the statement was as follows:

"The recent experiences of Robert S Abbott of the Defender, with the hotels of London deserve comment, although they were not unexpected. Mr Abbott and I talked over the matter with some German friends in Berlin where a black man is treated free. Abbott was staying at one of the finest hotels in Berlin. The contrast between London and Berlin was very great,—and even Paris was found to be slightly infected in spots at least, with the American color-poison. The American dollar is the hypodermic needle that is injecting this poison.

Unkindest Cut Of All

"There it is again! The black and other dark races of the world fought on the side of England and against Germany during the World War. England had more "colored troops" than any other nation. Now London at least is threatening to rank next to the dear old United States in "color" discrimination,—barring only that dirty little corner of the earth called [illegible] The two great Anglo-Saxon powers may fail in common on this principle. And strangely enough, next to Britain, if the war had lasted longer for America, the United States would have been able to muster perhaps the greatest force of colored fighters against the Germans and Austrians. And by way, Vienna, in Austria, is another place where there are no color-maniacs. It seems that colored people are destined to be kicked hardest by those whom they have served most loyally and effectively.

"When a black man gets off the train at the great railway station in Frankfort, Germany, he looks across a great circling plaza, ringed about by 25 or 30 hotels. He simply picks out the one which seems to fit his pocket-book best and goes on in, registers, and goes to bed. When a black man reaches London today, he telephones a friend and asks what hotel, if any, he may apply at. It is somewhat like arriving in New York. There will be no need for American Negroes to go to London, if that condition obtains,—for they already know all about such things without travelling overseas to learn them. Every American Negro has heard over and over again the old lie about "all space taken," "very sorry, but there is some mistake," etc., etc. These hackneyed lies fall very ungracefully from the lips of the proud Britisher, who boasts of his superiority of Americans and to all things American. After all it seems, his lies are no better than American lies.

Some Typical Excuses

"British ship officers are also practicing this same low diplomacy of lies They have "switched" colored passengers' cabin rooms, after the ship had left port and all were on the high seas saying that "the office had made some mistake," and that said stateroom was already occupied. It is noticeable that such colored people are always sent to a room less desirable than the one about which the "mistake" was made.

"If such a lie was ever told by a ship steward on a French or German or Swedish ship, it has not come to our attention. Perhaps colored people will find it better to spend their money on the ships of other nations, and let the British haul white folks. If a consumer concentrates his buying, he has a better chance to influence service anyway. It may seem that a great ship company will not miss a two hundred or three hundred dollar fare. That is a mistake: everything is missed. In the rush season, June, July, and August, they may not seem to miss it, but in other lean months of travel, when all ships are carrying many empty cabins, every dollar will be missed. And colored people, of different races, are traveling all the time. People from India and other dark-skinned travelers are accorded the same unfair treatment by British ships and hotels. It looks ridiculous to see the steward maneuvering to get all the dark skins at the same table,—often an aggregation of people who have nothing in common except skin-color. When you see colored and white at the same table in a British ship dining salon, they are of the same party and demanded to be seated together, as often happens.

Transferred Psychosis

"What wonder? The British were among the most active slaves of the world, and among the first of their time to enslave people,—and these people were mostly dark-skinned. We always despise those from whom we steal and whom we cheat. It is at first economic snobbery, which easily attaches itself to any other characteristic of the oppressed and robbed class however irrelevant such characteristic may be. Everybody knows that color of skin has no relation to any other important thing: to brains, or character, or courage, or strength, or worth But we always scorn those whom we rob economically, and the British and the Americans have done their share of robbery against Africans and East Indians and Asiatics,—and have transferred their psychosis to the "racial characteristics' 'of these people.

"This feeling is less keen in the British than in the Americans,—but the British are largely catering to American traveling dollars. That makes British color-prejudice even more contemptible than the American, as it is more immediately commercial.

"I am a black man, and I have been treated as friend and brother in the homes of the best people in England But that does not alter the fact that British sentimnet is going downward in this particular, and those few exceptional people have not been able to stop the trend. Few of them try to do so. Almost every colored man of any public career, has also stayed as an intimate in the homes of exceptional American whites. There are exceptions everywhere: there are exceptional Germans who are color-snobs, but so far they do not control German sentiment

"Is It Sex Jealousy"

"Some have said that it is the jealousy, especially the "sex jealousy," of the northern races,—and that the Teutonic races are more jealous than the Latin,—and that the fact accounts for the lies and antics of the Anglo-Saxon who is a northerner by origin. But that does not hold when we get acquainted with Germans, Swedes, and Russians, who are still northerners, and not only by origin but by present residence,—and who have less color-prejudice even than one may find among the French, who are a Latin race.

"The thing is conditioned in traditions, historic relations—which things in turn are conditioned in Economics. Let us call this British exhibition "Dollar Prejudice."

U. S. MONEY WINS OVER MORALITY

Despite This Condition In Europe, Negroes Are Much Freer In Germany

Special to Journal and Guide

New York City.—Discrimination is creeping into many European countries and where this is true one finds that "it is due to the dominance of American dollars—the plain superiority of money over morality."

So says William Pickens, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., who returned August 27 after having attended the Anti-Imperialist Congress held at Frankfort-on-Main, Germany.

Foreign observation convinced the noted author and speaker that race and group problems and struggles have an economic basis and are world-wide in their connections. Oppressed groups are beginning to work together he finds. "Leaders of Indian thought and leaders of Negro thought tried to solve the problem of cooperation between African natives and Hindu immigrants in Africa."

Europe Is Interested

Many European people are keenly interested in the development of the Negro in America, he found, the situation here acting as a "sort of test case." Many American tourists are being broadened by travel in other lands, although quite a few still clamor for recognition of their superiority complexes, Mr. Pickens said.

Foreign travel was also broadened to the increasing numbers of colored people who visited Europe. "It convinces them, by contrasts, that white people are not mean by nature, but only by training and education, like any other people."

A Negro is a "thousand times freer in Germany." "Natives have more liberty in Germany which lost the war, than in any of the great white nations which 'won the war.'"

American Negroes he found to be more advanced than those of most other parts of the world.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

OCT 27 1929

London and Negro Exclusion.

Richard Hughes, Oxonian, playwright and novelist, probably voices the feeling of literary and artistic London in his energetic protest against the exclusion of Paul Robeson from thirty different hotels of England's metropolis He says: "There are many excuses to be made for New York's attitude toward the Negro, but not for London's." He adds that the stay-at-home Englishman tolerates insults to distinguished colored people because "he doesn't realize how ridiculous it makes London look in the eyes of Europe and many Americans." He declares:

It is true that no Park avenue restaurant, or even one of the more fashionable speak-easies, will admit a Negro. But at any New York party, where education and distinction count more than sheer wealth, one is never surprised to meet two or three of the race. Indeed I myself had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Robeson at one such party, and must admit that I found him the most congenial guest present.

The protest of Mr. Hughes is interesting because he links up the Robeson incident with the notion that with the gradual Americanization of English thought and English economics there has come a curious subserviency to the most absurd prejudices of America. Paul Robeson is a college man, played football in his time and is a man of intelligence and good breeding. He really deserves more reasonable treatment in England—and in America.

British people object to a film showing a white man kissing a Chinese girl and cut the scene out of the reel. This is funny business but explanatory of the rumble of discord heard wherever there is a settlement of the darker races. Great Britain and the United States are carrying the matter of color too far and positive and painful reaction will result just as sure as the sun shines. The hard-headed Americans who refuse to listen to the cry about abolishing war are certainly sound in concluding that there will be more wars. The darkers races know how white men have seduced their women, defiled and contaminated them. The world knows that white men in the matters of sex relations have shown astounding lack of discrimination. None have been too black, none too yellow and none too white. None have been spared. Then why this hypocritical resentment towards a moving picture showing a British kissing a yellow girl? An American writer wrote just two days ago that the brothels, vice dens and baudy houses in Japan are patronized almost exclusively by whites. The Yoshiwari is where you will find them spending their evenings. We doubt very much whether the British soldiers would revolt from kissing a Chinese girl or even one of the duckbilled African ladies of the evening. This white man's continual flare about racial superiority is presaging the bloodiest war that the world has known.

NEW FRENCH CABINET HAS NEGRO MEMBER AS COLONIAL SECRETARY

PARIS, France, Nov. 24.—Monsieur Alcide Delmont, member of the French Chamber of Deputies from Martinique, French West Indies, today assumed the portfolio as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the newly formed cabinet of the French government formed by Premier Andre Tardieu M. Delmont has been a leading figure in French politics for the past twenty years, and is one of the leading lawyers in the French capital. He served with distinction during the last war, and was decorated



"NO KISSEE"—Anna May Wong, charming Chinese actress, must not kiss an Englishman in a film, according to a ruling by the British film censors because it "might prove offensive to English people."

World's Greatest Meddler

The title of the world's greatest meddler shoul be awarded to our country.

Last week Secretary of State Stimson dispatch ed a note to Russia informing the Soviet govern ment that it is violating the Kellogg Peace Pac for renunciation of war by invading China.

Russia's answer was brusque. It is true, he note said, that her soldiers had advanced 20 miles into China. It is true that she had signe the peace pact with other nations, but there is nothing in the pact which designated Uncle Sam as the "protector" of the pact.

The Russo-Chinese fuss can only be settled b them, said the Russian Note, and Russia —

"cannot admit interference of any other party in these negotiations or the conflict.

"In conclusion the Soviet Government cannot forbear expressing amazement that the Government of the United States, which by its own will has no official relations with the Soviet, deems it possible to apply to it with advice and counsel."

Few times in our history has our governmen been more completely rebuked.

Maxim Litvinoff, acting commissioner for for eign affairs went even further when on Thurs day he advised America, Great Britain an France that they

"had better turn their minds toward activities in South America, warships in Chinnese waters and armies in Colonial countries rather than attempt to obstruct Russo-Chinese relations."

Thus adding chastisement to rebuke, the Rus sian state department needed hardly wait th week out to see the total discomfiture of an offi cious dabbler into other people's business.

Like a colossal jackass, our Uncle Sam wen 12,000 miles to meddle in China two weeks ago braying about the wisdom of world peace, an last week President Hoover sent his message t Congress which informed that body that the U.S has 1,600 marines in the sovereign republic o Nicaragua, that we have 700 marines in Haiti, (private advice to the AFRO says the number i 2,000) violating the sovereignity and indepen dence of that government.

Mr. Hoover even admitted that the U.S. ha marines in China, which is most assuredly no U.S. soil.

In other words, Uncle Sam is only finding faul with Russia because he fears that the Soviet gov ernment may rob the Chinese more thoroughly and more blatantly than we are doing.

Two other considerations in this affair com mend themselves to careful thinkers.

Japan and Germany, both closer to Russia than the United States, are doing no meddling They have felt the claw of the Russian bear.

The entire diplomatic situation resolves itself into a problem which we trust the Russian government may submit in the form of a question to Secretary Stimson. This is it—

If Uncle Sam's peacemaking is "difficult" and "obscure" after 13 years' work in Haiti (10,695 square miles, about the size of Maryland, population, 2,300,200, black), how many years will be required for peacemaking in China (4,277,170 square miles, 50 per cent larger than the U. S. population. 400,800,000, yellow)?

A NORDIC OBSESSION

A recent news dispatch from Londo gave another instance of the progress o the Nordic obsession on the subject o race or color, which would seem to ex plain some of the recent discrimination practiced toward travelers of dark com plexion. The British film censors hav solemnly decreed that an English acto playing opposite a piquant Chinese movi actress, may not kiss her in her nev talkie declaring that a close-up of suc action "might prove offensive to som English sensibilities."

That is a new revelatio as to the touchiness of English sensibilities, and quite at variance with the prevalent ideas as to the propensities of Britishers wher bent upon a mission of conquest among the darker races. Both on the operati stage and in such plays as "White Cargo" we have been given to understand tha the British "officer and gentleman" abroad frequently indulges in dalliance with women of dark skin.

The American public as yet does no seem to have developed any undue sensi bilities on this subject of dalliance ove racial lines so long as it is only the white males who cross the boundary lines Even Eugene O'Neill's play of miscege nation, "All God's Chillun," where th unhappy hero was black, did not provok any public disturbance or official censor ship. But this may have been becaus the play portrayed the result of the mixed marriage as so productive of unhappines that it could only be regarded as a por rent and an awful example.

But there is no telling where this colo complex, that has taken possession of s many Nordic minds, is liable to break ou next. A curious example of the way i which the subject of the Negro is dragge into the most unlikely situations was af forded at one of the hearings of the Sen ate lobby investigating committee, when Senator Caraway of Arkansas, the chair man, was interrogating a witness from New York as to his reasons for paying certain lobbyists to keep the sugar tarif down. In pressing the witness for a di rect answer, Chairman Caraway was quoted as follows: "Have you ever seen a Negro on the stand, Mr. Rentzler? How his Adam's apple bobs up and down when he is asked a question?"

Unhappy must be the state of these Nordics, who are possessed by this color complex, or are so obsessed by the subject of race that it enters into their every thought and action. It might render them subjects for pity, if the result was not so absurd as to interfere with that sentiment.

COLOUR BAR AT GLASGOW

Dance Hall Proprietor's Strong Stand.

The Glasgow Students' Representative Council have rejected an offer to admit undergraduates to a city dance hall at a reduced fee because the owner, Mr. [illegible], would not extend the concession to the coloured students attending the University.

Mr. [illegible], interviewed last week, said: "I have been in the dancing business for a great many years, and from the very start I have never allowed coloured students to enter my premises. I have my own patrons to consider. They, like myself, do not wish to dance in a hall where coloured men are admitted.

"All along I have told the Students' Representative Council that I would not alter my previous decision. In fact, about ten days ago a university medical dance was arranged. I told the officials then that even though they reserved the hall entirely for their company I would not make an exception. I would not allow any of my girls to dance with them, so I do not see why I should give my regular patrons an opportunity of accepting coloured men as partners.

"Perhaps my action will be strongly criticised, but personally I am of the opinion that a great many people will support me in my unwillingness to admit these men to my ballroom."

Race Problem - 1929

Europe

INTERESTING, IF TRUE

The General Anzeiger, a newspaper published in Coblenz, Germany, stated recently in connection with the celebration of the ending of the ten-year occupation of the Rhineland by Allied troops, that during the period when the soldiers of the United States were there:

"Girl telephone operators had to be escorted home from duty by German police to protect them from Americans."

It also declared that many outrages were committed by Americans upon German men and women, the conquered foe.

Major General Henry T. Allen, who commanded the American forces in Germany, calls the charge absurd and says the Germans were sorry to see the American troops leave. He admits that some Germans were knocked down by Americans but declares that these assaults were far from being daily occurrences as charged by the General Anzeiger.

All of which is very interesting for a variety of reasons. First, there is the question of American versus German veracity. There was naturally no love of the defeated Germans for the victorious Americans and under such circumstances the temptation to exaggerate the importance and significance of clashes between them is very great. On the other hand, it must be presumed that the Germans knew whether or not their women and girls were in danger from assault and that they heard of every case in which a German girl was outraged by an American soldier.

Secondly, all of the American troops on the Rhine were white men. Black Americans were the first to cross the Rhine but the United States Army of Occupation was 100 per cent Nordic. It will probably not be amiss, therefore, to speculate on the action of the American authorities had the units been composed of Negroes. We can well imagine that the Intelligence Department of the American Army of Occupation would have gleefully reported to the American newspapers, any rumors of alleged indignities suffered by German women at the hands of Aframerican troopers. There would have been long editorials in the substantial dailies denouncing "the rape of unprotected white women by brutal black troops" and Congress and the White House would have been beseiged with letters and delegations demanding their immediate withdrawal. But since the troops were clean cut white Americans all reports of outrages were quietly suppressed and so we only hear about them ten years afterwards. It seems very largely to depend on who is committing the outrages against white womanhood as to whether there shall be publicity attached to these criminal acts or not. Thirdly, if we are to countenance the charges of the Germans, they constitute another big nail in the coffin of the "Negro rapist" canard. The analyzers of this "Negro trait" have ascribed its existence to greater sensuality, savagery, low mentality and strange attraction to white women. What now will they say? We wager they will quietly ignore the evidence and proceed, willy nilly, with the persecution.

But, of course, the General Anzeiger may be mistaken and the German women and men may have been mistaken. It is certainly most difficult to believe that soldiers have fought to make the world safe for democracy should seek to render it unsafe for pure white womanhood.

-:- The Negro in Europe -

N.Y. Amsterdam News 12/18/29

By KELLY MILLER

J. A. ROGERS has just returned from an extended journalistic tour of Europe. He has visited most of the countries of that continent with an eye keen to the presence and placement of the Negro. Reports have been made to the weekly Negro press, which gave us the most comprehensive and enlightened view yet vouchsafed on that subject. It is to be hoped that he will embody his observations and experiences in the more permanent form of a published volume. Some years ago Dr. Booker T. Washington visited Europe for the Outlook Magazine to study the relative condition of the American Negro and the European peasant. "The Man Forthest Down" embodies the results of his observations and reflections.

Mr. Rogers has with great research and pains pointed out more or less eminent Negroes who have functioned in varied ways during the past two thousand years in the different capitals of Europe. All of these instances have been lost without trace, after two thousand years of incidental and desultory contact. The Negro has made no abiding impression upon Europe and Europe has made no abiding impression upon him.

Mr. Rogers agrees wholly with Booker ashington in the view that th erican Negro need not lock fo acement in the industrial ar onomic life of Europe. This pr sition is so self-evident that it needs no demonstration and scarcely merits statement. Europe is the most thickly populated continent on the globe. It is the abode of the white race, the most dynamic and progressive of all of the children of men. They find their confines too small for their own breed and during the past four hundred years have been pushing over the borders into the lands of the lesser breeds in all parts of the globe. There has been no European immigration, for there has been room for none.

By reason of his arrogance and domineering spirit, the white man has dominated the other races and made them do his rough and heavy work. He will neither combine with darker and weaker workmen nor permit them to compete with him. The only adjustment tolerated has been that of slavery or industrial subordination. The idea of any considerable body of colored people intruding themselves upon the industrial life of any country in Europe is simply unthinkable. The battle for bread is the most brutal of all forms of conflict. France, England, Germany or Italy would not dream of permitting any sizeable number of non-whites to compete with their own sons for bread in their home territory.

Negro travelers and sojourners in Europe are apt to be carried away by the ordinary courtesy which every hospitable people extend to strangers. When an Afro-American receives ordinary amenities in a foreign land, he is so overwhelmed by the contrast with his treat- ome that he too often ormal couresy for fond- cause France or Italy Negro tourist without s does not imply that they desire him as their neighbor, companion or fellow countryman. Tolerance for the exceptional man does not mean acceptance of the multitude.

It seems to me that our European tourists make a grave mistake in over-dramatizing their courteous reception in the European centers, by contrasting their foreign reception with their treatment received at home. It all helps to convince the foreign hosts that the Negro's home treatment is the kind he expects. A gentleman never boasts of ordinary civilities or amenities; he takes them for granted.

Robert S. Abbott, editor of The Chicago Defender, widely heralded his courteous treatment in Paris which any man of his means and standing might ordinarily expect. But on reaching London where his name and fame had preceded him, he was turned down by the London hostelries, just as he would have been in his home city of Chicago.

But after all has been said and done, the Negro has a better chance in America than anywhere else on the civilized globe. As a competitive workman, he is barred from Europe by pre-occupation; from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada by stringent immigration laws. Even Mexico and Brazil exclude him. The future of the Afro-American is America.



— Kelly Miller —

Race Problem - 1929

Europe

-:- VIENNA TODAY -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

(This release is a continuation of the account of the auto trip made through several of the countries of Europe last summer by Mrs. Agatha Jones Lawson of Philadelphia; Mrs. Maude Walker, teacher, of Dayton, Ohio, and myself.)

LEAVING Munich, we rode by the beautiful Lake of Starnberg, on the shores of which is built the Palace of Herrenchiemsee, the home of the Mad King Ludwig, one of the most gorgeous and ornate in Europe. In the distance were the tall peaks of the Tyrol, some of which were still covered with snow. Late that evening we arrived in Vienna.

Next to Paris, Vienna is the most beautiful city in Europe. Many insist that Vienna is the more beautiful of the two, but Vienna has nothing that can compare with that beautiful promenade in Paris, which, beginning at Louvre, continues through the Tuileries Garden, the Place de la Concorde, the Champs Elysees, the Arc de Triomphe and ends at the Bois de Boulogne.

Besides, Vienna, since the war, is sadly run down at the heels. Of all the countries that were in the war, Austria fared the hardest. From being a country larger than Germany or France, it has been cut down to one of the smallest in Europe with a population of six million. On top of that is an enormous war debt, which the people are paying. Some colored friends of mine told me some of the tales of hardships suffered by the Viennese some five or six years ago that hardly seemed credible, and of how women of education and culture were willing to sell themselves for a meal.

And the trouble is by no means over. There is at present a bitter struggle between two political parties for supremacy and it seemed a few months ago that civil war could not be averted. Recently



— J. A. Rogers —

there was a riot and one of the finest public buildings was destroyed.

Naturally, with all these hard times, the Viennese have not the money to keep up their city. And it seems a pity, for they are a polite people, with the reputation of being the most hospitable in Europe. Austria will probably end by being annexed to Germany, for really the culture seems South German, and German is the language.

Vienna dates back to the earliest centuries of the Christian era and is rich in historic interest. Stately palaces, fine old monuments, art museums, imposing public buildings, fountains and parks of rare beauty make one feel that western culture had reached a very high peak here.

Vienna, too, was the world's center of music. Four of the greatest musicians of all time lived here: Beethoven, Schubert, Mozart and Haydn. It is the home of waltz music, and that of the greatest of waltz composers, Strauss, of "Blue Danube" and "Merry Widow" waltz fame. In opera, Vienna was also a name that ranked first.

Among particular places of interest are the following: St. Stephen's Cathedral, which was built about eight centuries ago, and is one of the finest and most ornate in Europe, both within and without; the Imperial Palace, the Opera House; the Prater Park; the Catacombs of the emperors and the statue of Maria Theresa and her generals.

The principal sight, however, so far as the city is concerned, is the Schonbrunn Palace, one of the finest in Europe. We went through this palace, but I am unable to tell much about it. To go through one must be escorted, and the guide gave us just one breathless glance at it. Others were waiting to get in and we were hurried through as if we were so many sausages passing through the mill. We were told that the palace has 1,441 rooms and 139 kitchens. It was built for the Empress Maria Theresa, the lady who matched her wits with that of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and although Frederick finally won, he knew when it was all over that he had been in a fight.

We were shown the Japanese room, a present from one of the emperors of Japan; the dining-room, with its beautiful inlaid tables for seating 150 persons: the Blue Chinese room, the Gold Room, whose ornamentation is of real gold—one million golden crowns were said to have been melted down for the purpose; the apartment in which Pope Pius was kept a prisoner by Napoleon; the bedroom of Napoleon and that of his son, the Young Eagle; pictures painted by Marie Antoinette, and decorations by Maria Theresa herself.

The cost of living for an American is low. A good room in a good hotel can be had for fourteen shillings, or $2, and good accommodation can be had under $1 a day, while a good meal can be had for three shillings, or 42 cents. But to an Austrian the cost of living is very, very high because wages are low. A dollar a day is considered pretty good wages.

One of the things that struck me as odd in Vienna was the automat restaurant, which was a sort of narrow passage, with slot machines where people stood thickly crowded and ate. America is the home of the quick lunch but staid old Vienna seemed to eclipse New York in this respect. I ate one meal in an automat on Mariahilferstrasse, one of the principal business streets, and I nearly had it squeezed out of me by the crowd within.

Still, with all the discomfort and inconvenience, I fancy if these automats could be introduced into America as they actually are most other eating houses would be deserted. Instead of coffee and tea, the Vienna automats have honest-to-goodness wines and beer.

Yet another thing that struck me in Vienna was the large number of women who had discarded stockings. Some wore socks that barely peeped above the shoe, while others wore not even that. Of course, this may have been due to the warm weather, for that part of the feminine organism between the knee and the ankle has developed such susceptibility to heat within the past few years that even the thinnest lisle will make the calves too hot. On the other hand, the temperature around the region of the neck and the chest has suddenly fallen, making necessary the wearing of fur on the hottest day of summer.

Perhaps, also, this matter of going stockingless was another way of making the style help out the pocketbook, but whatever the reason, heaven help the stocking manufacturer if ever the vogue spreads. The short skirt sent many a manufacturer into bankruptcy; bobbed hair ruined many a milliner, drove the hat-pin makers out of business and threw hundreds of thousands of Chinese out of work, and so on. At present, stockings are perhaps the most expensive item of woman's dress.

And as we traveled further south we could see that the style set by the Viennese was catching. Women here and there through Italy, and even in Switzerland and Southern France, had thrown off this hot and uncomfortable sheath for the legs.

As to color prejudice, it is hardly necessary to say that it does not exist. I have said already so many times that one may travel every part of the European continent and, instead of meeting it, meet only what seems special attention just because one is colored, provided he keeps away from white Americans. Color prejudice is a form of American insanity that the European cannot understand; instead of finding the Negro repulsive as the American pretends, the European finds him attractive and seeks his company. And that is why every colored American should try to save enough money to make at least a brief trip to Europe. It will give him a new vision of life that will certainly repay the cost.

From this distance I read each week the colored papers, and as I read of color discrimination, even in a supposedly civilized place like New York City, and match it with the courtesy shown all over Europe, even to some Negroes who really do not deserve it, I cannot help but be struck with the fact that there is something so radically different between the mentality of the white European and his offspring, the white American. If one is sane, the other simply cannot be, and vice versa. This is why, as I said, every Negro ought to come to Europe at least once in his life to observe this phenomenon.

The nearest approach to it is the prejudice for the Jew, and that is a long way off. From Vienna the Jews were banished again and again, and once were compelled to wear a yellow badge sewn to their outer garment. This yellow badge was necessary because God, or Nature, or whatever you will, was not so kind to the Austrian as He is to the American. He was not so obliging as to make the Jew a different color. Today, in almost every country of Europe, discrimination against the Jew is not much stronger than it is in America.

COLLEGE WOMEN HEAR TALK ON RUSSIA

William Abrams, White, Traces History Of Revolution And Soviet's Union

NO FIGHT. NO FREEDOM

American Negro Must Join In World Movement

That the Negro in America will never obtain the status which he desires without the same kind of fight that other groups have made to obtain it, William Abrams, of the Editorial Staff of the New York Daily Freiheit, told the Association of College Women, at their meeting Saturday night.

Mr. Abrams spoke on Soviet Russia, one of the countries being studied by the group, and after outlining from first hand knowledge, the elementary factors leading up to the Russian revolution, he gave a picture of Russia today under the Soviet's union and the effect the new order is and will have on world civilization.

The speaker declared that economics was at the basis of most major human relations. The real fight of right and wrong centered about distribution of production. The Jews and other minority groups have long ago realized this and the Negroes in America and other parts of the world must realize it before they even begin to solve their vexing problems.

Until the Soviet regime in Russia he said, education was reserved for the aristocrats; the status of woman was low and races and minority groups were oppressed. Now education is free to all; women are recognized as on equality with men in practice as well as theory and there is no racial antagonism.

Negro Republic

There are many Soviet leaders, declared Mr. Adams, who believe that under the present circumstances, a Negro Republic in America will be the only way of developing enough group consciousness to make them willing to make a real fight for freedom from oppression. Negro leaders, he pointed out, most of them living fairly luxurious lives, have little fighting interest in the submerged masses of their group. There are no Lenines or Trotskys willing to shed blood, if necessary, among Negro leaders, and they will suffer as other submerged groups have suffered until they develop leaders of this type.

He urged the workers to join hands with white workers throughout the world to help throw off the shackles of capitalism.

Discussion

Considerable discussion followed the talk in which members of the Association took issues with and asked questions about various points raised. Mr. Abrams was introduced by William N. Jones, Managing Editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN, who secured him as speaker by request of officials of the club.

The Association of College Women has been studying the social and political status of various countries and the local organization is a branch of the national group with units in various centers.

Mulatto Children Are French Problem In Soudan

Descendants of French Officials and Natives Form Half-Breed Group Not Wanted By Either Race—Soudan General Of 30 Years Ago Seeks Lost Son—Frenchwomen Recognize Husbands' Mulatto Children While In Africa.

By J. A. ROGERS

For several weeks one of the leading journals, Le Petit Parisian, has been carrying a series of articles entitled, "Four Months Among Our African Negroes," by Albert Londres.

The following article, which is given in full, deals with the sad and unhappy lot of those menwo unhappy lot of these children who have been born to native women by white fathers, some of whom were officials and men of high position.

"The other day a general whose name is cele[illegible] was the general in command of Timbuctoo:

In Soudan

"'It is now thirty-three years but I have never ceased to think of my time in the Soudan. Ah, the Soudan. What has become of my little hut near Fort Bonnier? Where is my black sweetheart? And my son? He was so handsome and lithe. He was named Robert. He is a man now. Where is he? I must tell you that I have often asked about him, but have never heard anything. His mother's name is Aissa — I would be very grateful if you would send me news of him.'

"Here is another letter from another general:

"'You will remember that in 1904 I buried in the French cemetery of M....., near the fort, a child. On his tombstone I placed only 'Henry.' If the sand has not covered it all, would you.....

"Robert! Henry! Andrew! Only that, no surnames.

"The mulattoes!

Half-breed Children Beggars

The little ones suck their Negro mothers. The father may be there or he may not be. He is an official, a merchant, an officer, or he may be only a passer-by. If he is there it will not be for long. If he is away, it will probably be for all time. The child will grow up in the hut, the mother having returned to her parents. The people of the village will regard the child as a pariah, a beggar, and will want to know why he continues to eat their corn.

Not White or Black

"No fine social reasoning will influence this manner of looking at the mulatto child. The manner of looking down on him is instinctive. It is neither white nor black, hence, it is nothing! The mother will marry with a Mandinge. Its little brothers by this marriage will have a race, a family, a country; they will be blacks. The mulatto will be a mulatto. He will have no name, no standing, no soil on which to place his feet as his own.

"Even the breasts that he sucks belongs only half-way to him. He will pass his life seeking the other half. As children they have never the air of being at ease.

Orphans With Both Mother and Father

"They are like those little playboats one sees in fountains. As soon as the wind blows them toward the edge they are immediately pushed back into the water. No harbor for them. If they reach the centre of the fountain a stream of water plays on them. Many sink. Those who survive have lost their force.

"Nameless, the half-bloods are sons of the saints of the Catholic religion. The Republic does not let them stay in the bushes. When they are seven years old they are torn away from the maternal calabash. They are brought together in the towns in the schools for the half-bloods. They form a strange category; orphans with father and mother.

Father Stops In

"Whilst the father is in Africa he does not abandon them. Does he happen to be near the school? He stops to see them. He goes to see them even when he happens to be married to a white woman.

"One meets these mulattoes even in the best homes sitting between husband and wife. The husband in coming to Africa breaks the news gently to his wife on the boat. The French woman recognizes that it is normal, in the colonies, and as she is often intelligent, she welcomes the child during her stay.

Thrust Out

"As soon as she has some white babies, however, the little mulatto is thrust through the door. Poor little mulattoes. The sons of their mother who are black are not their brothers. It is, perhaps, because of that; it is because they have been trying so hard to understand this, that all have such large, wide-open eyes.

"Those whose fathers have disappeared, and have nothing to do at the school are to be found in the villages. The mother has grown old. She is only a Negro woman in the land of the blacks. The child has only a christian name.

"'Look,' says a passing white man, 'it is the son of So-and-So.' And he gives the child a penny.

Quarter for Girls

"If it's a girl and she is pretty, the white men all know her and will give her a quarter.

Midwives and Teachers

"Some are luckier. Joseph, for instance, has his father. He eats every evening, at table, with his father at Mother Vaisselle's. His father is a buyer of cacao. Joseph is a favorite with everybody, and folks caress him as they pass. Joseph is happy. He does not yet know that there are to France.

"Later the boys will become teachships which take away white papas ers and the girls, midwives. The teacher and the mid-wife will marry. The wedding is sometimes grand when the mid-wife is the daughter of a governor.

The Unhappy Mulatto

"These happy endings are very rare, however. The mulatto is profoundly unhappy.

"At the school they are taught that, morally, they are French. But the law holds them down to the status of natives. The law forbids them to take the name of their father. At twenty they are conscripted into the black army. A Negro because he is born at Dakar, Rufiskue. St. Louis, or Goree, is in name, a French citizen.

All Are Black

"The son of General X. of the governor, or the governor-general is, however, only a black like the rest. If he does wrong, he is judged only as a Negro. When he gets a position he will be paid only like a common black. Nine francs a day indemnity for the white elector, two and a half for the mulatto. One hundred francs for the child of the first; ten francs for his. Does he knock at the doors of the administration. He is received as any other Negro. If he is a Negro of Dakar, who knows how to hold a pen, he is chased like a dog. Henry, who is spirited and intelligent, said to me:

All Backsides

"'We ought to have been made all backsides so that we would have yet more place to receive kicks.'

"The blacks have sent a deputy to Paris; the mulattoes remain in the Niger. They are neither black nor white, French nor African, neither kinky-haired nor straight-haired. The unhappy thing, however, is that they are nevertheless, something.

That's My Father

"'If one was nothing, one could be happy,' said Robert, 'one would not suffer. And yet, look here.' He showed a picture on the wall of a famous general cut from a magazine.

"'That's my father.'

"They have abandoned them. And they say nothing. They understand obscurely that they are not children, but accidents, and that accidents are always unhappy. At the same time they are sent to school. They recite that they are children of Frenchmen. They wear shoes, shirts, and trousers. They themselves have added spectacles. It will be necessary to keep them from learning to read if one does not wish them tor see thei father's name in the newspapers.

"However they wish to better themselves. They do not ask for the right to bear the name of their father; they know the respect due to a real white. Not son of So-and-So, but son of a Frenchman. Andrew, Henry, Jack, Robert, if you want to, but French citizens."

An accompanying picture shows that some of the children are as white as their fathers.

COLOUR BAR ON LINER?

Mr. Abbott's Complaint.

Mr. Robert S. Abbott, the wealthy negro newspaper proprietor of Chicago, has sent a cablegram to Mr. James Marley, Labour M.P. for St. Pancras North, complaining that because of their colour his wife and he were barred from entertainments on the Aquitania on their return journey from London. The cable reads:

"My wife and I were not only refused accommodation in the hotels in London but were forced in the grill-room on our return, October 12, on the Aquitania against our will, where we were deprived of any and all music and other entertainment, although we were first-class passengers."

Mr. Marley told a reporter that on two occassions recently coloured men were requested to leave a London dance-hall. The explanation given was that their colour was objectionable. "These men," added Mr. Marley, "include a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Grenada, a post-graduate of the London School of Tropical Medicine, and a member of the Middle Temple. They look upon the incident as a serious affront, and have written to Lord Passfield, Secretary for the Dominions."

The question of the colour bar will be raised in Parliament by Mr. Marley at the earliest opportunity. He has to support him a letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald regarding the hotel ban on Mr. Abbott. The Prime Minister wrote:—

"It is a most disturbing affair, and is not in accordance with our British hotel practice. No department, however, is responsible for it, and I cannot think of any way in which the Government can intervene."

Among the great number of letters Mr. Marley has received is one from a member of the Legislative Assembly of India who is at present in London:

"I know of several instances of Indians being refused accommodation in hotels simply because they are Indian," the letter runs "I suggest that this

Race Problem - 1929

South America.

FORD NEGRO WORKERS ARE OPPOSED IN BRAZIL

SOUTH AMERICANS WANT HELPERS FROM U. S. TO KEEP OUT. WOULD TAKE CARE OF PROJECT

Object to Move on Grounds of Their Undesirability as Immigrants

Special to the St. Louis Argus

SAO PAULO, Brazil, June 6—What promises to be the "golden land of promise" for the American colored workers is threatening to be just another nest of prejudice. The population of Manaos is showing sign of growing indignation over Henry Ford's plan to introduce colored Americans to work the thousands of acres that make up his newly established Tapajos River plantation.

The newspapers are even taking up opposition to the coming of the American Negro. The Brazilian newspaper Estado in one of its editorials says:

"The American Negro has not the mentality and moral characteristics of the Brazilian Negro. The resulting severe complications will be more harmful than useful. We are not prejudiced against the Negro, but Negroes are not the best elements of civilization nor a guarantee for race perfection. It seems to us that the Brazilian Government should do something to avoid or attenuate the invasion of these people."

Adding that American Negroes have done nothing for Brazil, although indebted to contributions of Brazilian Negroes, the editorial goes on:

"There is no reason why we should open our frontiers without reserve to the worst black unassimilable element of North America. Hospitality is beautiful, but it is more dangerous to accept a dangerous, persecuted, unhappy people. To Negroes of real value the gate is open, but they are unwilling to leave the States."

Mr. Ford is encountering other difficulties in Brazil. The State of Amazonas is unwilling to grant free entry of imports for his concession. The question is now before the Supreme Tribunal.

VENEZUELA PROHIBITS NEGRO IMMIGRATION

Decrees Strict Supervision as Result of Foreign Born, Lured by High Pay.

Special Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CURACAO, Dutch East Indies, Nov. 29.—The immigration to Venezuela of foreign-born negroes has been absolutely prohibited by law, and those already resident in the country will not be permitted to return once they leave. The wives and children of negroes resident in Venezuela will not be permitted to enter the country to join their husbands or fathers. Foreign negroes already in the country will in future only be permitted to travel from place to place under strict police supervision and carrying several documents, such as passport, vaccination and identity certificate, and police permit, the failure to produce any one of which will render them liable to instant deportation.

This new law has been under consideration by the government for some time and is based on the fact that since the opening up of the big oil fields near Maracaibo, particularly during the last five years, thousands of negro laborers, artisans, chauffeurs and female domestics, lured by the high wages paid in the oil region, have swarmed into Maracaibo from Curaçao, Trinidad, Barbados and other near-by West Indian islands until by now there must be something like 8,000 or 10,000 of them located in and around Maracaibo.

A negro female cook who in her native Trinidad considers herself lucky to earn $5 or $6 a month can earn $30 to $35 in Maracaibo, while negro clerks, who usually earn no more than $30 to $40 a month in Trinidad, can start in at $100 or more in Maracaibo and rise to $200 a month after a few years' service.

The Venezuelan Government takes the view that every West Indian negro working in the oilfields is robbing a Venezuelan of a job—this despite the fact that practically every Venezuelan round about Maracaibo now depends either directly or indirectly on the oil industry for his livelihood.

There is, however, one particularly vital point which the government had in mind when framing the new law, and that is the fact that whereas the native Venezuelan worker spends all his earnings in the country, the foreign negro spends no more than the bare necessities of life demand and remits a substantial sum home to his native island every month.

The monthly remittances of the negro element from Maracaibo to Trinidad alone probably run into many thousands of dollars, which, in the eyes of the Venezuelan Government, tends to diminish the country's prosperity.

Under the provisions of their concessions the foreign oil companies operating in Venezuela are obliged to have at least 80 per cent Venezuelans in their employ, but the government contends that this requirement is not being adhered to, and that has doubtless also been conducive to the formulation of the new decree.

Borno Plans Second Visit to U. S.; Seeks Return to Power

By HENRY CH. ROSEMOND

First Adviser of the Haitian Patriotic Union in the United States

New York.—The people of Haiti are absolutely opposed to the proposed trip of Borno to the U. S. A., and are utilizing all channels to protest against this trip. It will be made only a few days before the elections for president and legislature. It is reported that $6,200 was appropriated from the Haitian treasury to finance this trip. He will be accompanied by John H. Russell, the so-called U. S. high commissioner in Haiti, and a few other Haitian and U. S. officials, who will go directly to Washington, D. C., to interview President Herbert Hoover and the state department. The purpose will be to ask for the support of the president of the United states and the United States state department for the re-election of Borno as president of Haiti.

VISITED UNITED STATES SEVEN YEARS AGO

A few years ago Borno came to the United States to confer with Coolidge and the state department, asking them to validate his power as president and support him by the arms of the marines in Haiti. He was aware of the great dissatisfaction among the Haitian people. He failed to comply with the Haitian constitution, which provided that only a Haitian can be president. It was reported in the Haitian press, Le Courrier Haitian, that Borno offered the state department a few concessions if they would help him become president by the following: First, he promised a loan; second, some concession of lands for plantations, and third, position for all of the United States occupation in Haiti.

As a known fact, the imposition of Borno by the United States upon the Haitian people again as president, would be a full violation of the old Haitian constitution, and even a violation of the new constitution formulated by the United States itself to be pursued in the Haitian republic. Therefore protests of all sorts are being expressed in Haiti by the Haitian people and their sympathizers.

CHARGE BORNO WITH REMOVING HAITIANS

Gen. John H. Russell, the so-called U. S. high commissioner in Haiti, who came here with Borno, received the instructions to take him safely back to Haiti and do anything in his power to compel the people to accept Borno as president and to utilize all of these concessions.

Russell soon arrived in Haiti and put into effect marshal law, prohibiting the press to publish anything about the action of the marines or the government. Newspaper editors were put into jail, men and women were beaten up, which process went on for three months. Immediately after the arrival of Russell and this process of terror was instituted a loan on the name of the Haitian republic for $30,000,000 from the National City bank of Wall St. Borno began a system of removing Haitians from all offices and replaced them with ex-marines.

CITIZENS ORGANIZE TO COMBAT PRESIDENT

Then came the new land laws authorizing the state officials to take away from the workers and peasants their lands, to be turned over to the Wall St. corporations, the American Sugar company and the Herbert Firestone Rubber plantation.

It is said that Borno is going this time to Washington to ask President Hoover to avoid the legislative election from taking place to impose him again on the Haitian people.

Demonstrations are taking place in Haiti. Organizations and groups are being mobilized to combat this re-election, to prevent the trip and asking the people of the United States to help them protest against the traitorous sell out of the Haitian workers and peasants to the exploitation of Wall St.

Race Problem—1929

South America.

BRAZIL A LAND WHICH HAS NO "COLOR" LINES

Blacks, Whites, Indians, Japanese Live Side By Side In Peace

AVERAGE BRAZILIAN OF MIXED BLOOD

Politics And Exclusive Circles Do Not Think Of Race

NEW YORK. — Brazil, South American republic has nethier race distinction nor race problem in the U. S. sense declares Rudiger Bilden, white, writing in January 16th issue of the Nation.

It is the only land of European origin and background where three fundamental divisions of mankind meet on terms of comparative equality, live in peace side by side, and inter-mingle to form a new human compound, suited to the tropical milieu and endowed with distinctive gifts. To the three comes of late a fourth, the Japanese, albeit in numbers small thus far, but promising to become large in the future.

Americans Called to Account

Some years ago universal and vociferous indignation forced an American nursing school in Rio to rescind its refusal to accept a Negro girl as pupil.

Everywhere in Brazil members of colored races, not excluding pure Negroes and Indians, are socially admitted to exclusive circles or intrusted with high political offices, provided they have the requisite qualifications.

Among "400"

Numerous distinguished statesmen, politicians, scholars, artists, writers, etc., of the Empire and the Republic were more or less tainted with the blood of the slave. It would be an extensive list which would ed to name present-day Brazilians of this type, some of them representing the very peak of achievement.

Where Races Live

The Amazon Valley is overwhelmingly populated by pure or mixed Indians; the central littoral from Pernambuce to Bahia, the home of the old sugar culture, is more than 60 per cent Negroid; the Northeastern "Sertao" is inhabited by a thorough white-Indian mixture; the four Southern states are at least three-fourths white.

White Immigrants

Early eighteenth century Brazil received some 3,500,000 immigrants, more than nine-tenths of whom were Europeans. Influx from Europe is bound to increase greatly in the near future.

The Negroid element, on the other hand, has received practically no addition from abroad since the final suppression of the slave trade in 1856. It and the Indian face gradual but inevitable extinction through excessive mortality and absorption.

In other words, the Brazilian is becoming steadily more and more white. The Brazilian race problem will be nearly solved when the North American problem reaches a crisis.

Average Man Colored

The average Brazilian will never be wholly white. Nor will he be uniform. He will show great sectional variation in degree of white purity according to longitude and to a more limited extent also according to latitude. Taken as a unit, however, the Brazilian of the future will represent a new race, neither white, Indian, nor Negro, although the first class will predominate.

A New Race

The vital importance of Brazil to the world at large lies in the fact that in that country have been solved and are being solved fundamental problems of civilization. The gradual abolition of slavery, whereby ethnic amalgamation was placed on the present constructive basis, is, if not the only, at least the foremost modern instance of a fundamental social and economic transformation of a complete society without war, revolution, or other form of violence. Today Brazil has progressed far on the road toward a harmonious blending of diverse and supposedly incompatible ethnic elements into a new tropical race.

N. Y. EVE. WORLD

DEC 20 1929

Brazilian Negroes Have 'Congada' As Their Yule-tide Celebration

Festival Observes Anniversary of Freedom Granted by Princess

BAHIA, Brazil, Dec. 20 (A. P.)—In the smaller cities and towns of Brazil, which have a large Negro population, the week from Christmas to New Year's is celebrated in a manner totally different from the Christmas of the Portuguese and other Europeans who comprise the white population. The Negroes have torchlight processions and street dances nightly, paying homage to an elected King and court.

The "congada," as it is called, because it was initiated scores of years ago by slaves from the Congo, differs only slightly from that of the eighteenth century. In the days of slavery, which ended in 1888 when Princess Isabella, daughter of Dom Pedro II., acted as regent, issued the emancipation proclamation, the slaves held the congadas on the great fazendas. It was their playtime of the year, but the congadas were somewhat influenced by the Christianity of the Fazendero's family, their overlords.

The greatest congada was a national one following the Emancipation Proclamation, from North to South of Brazil the fiesta swept with the freedom of hundreds of thousands of slaves.

In recent years the descendants of those slaves who held processions in gay costumes under the light of the tropical storas, and paid homage to a mythical King of the Congo, whom they placed on a throne through longing for their lost Africa, continue the custom in nearly all sections of Brazil, but especially in this region.

SIDELIGHT ON MR. HOOVER'S TRIP

OUT of all the columns of words written about Mr. Hoover's recent reception in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil, there are two sentences of great interest to American Negroes. We are told that when Mr. Hoover landed from the U. S. S. Utah, "soldiers of ebony hue with white turbans and red jackets helped the police guard the ways." Mr. Hoover's party was then driven to the Brazilian white house and a reporter describes the scene there in these words: "From the iron gate of the Brazilian white house grounds, two little girls, one quite black and one white, and daintily dressed. leaned out to watch together in perfect sociability. Mr. Hoover and his official party all were taken into the commodious presidential palace for the stay here."

Quite a contrast between the capital of Brazil and the capital of the United States. Negroes in the Brazilian population number better than 10 million and constitute 25 per cent of the population. In reality, however, only really black people are considered as Negroes there. According to American anthropolgy, at least nine-tenths of the Brazilians are Negroes. It will be recalled that Harry Franck in his book, "Working North From Patagonia," is highly incensed because almost all of the Brazilians he met showed evidence of possessing some Negro strain. Accordingly, Negroes occupy a much more important place in the national life than they do in the United States.

If Senor Luis, the President of Brazil, should visit Washington, D. C., we can be quite sure that he would not be received by "soldiers of ebony hue," and if he were taken to our White House, we can be pretty sure that no reporter from this country would be able to write back that he had seen "two little girls, one quite black and one white, and daintily dressed, leaning out to watch together in perfect sociability." We order things differently in this country. Our "soldiers of ebony hue" are kept down on the border, in the desert or used as laborers. The only time they ever get to the capital of the United States is when they go there on furlough. The United States Government, in order to keep little white girls and black girls from growing up "in perfect sociability," maintains a jim crow school system in the District of Columbia and separates the races otherwise whenever possible.

Brazil, though as large as the United States, may not be considered as prominent in the family of nations, but who can deny, that it more nearly approaches real Democracy.

LAW TO BAR NEGROES FROM SO. AMERICA

Drastic Action is Taken by a Government of South America

CURACAO, Dutch West Indies Dec. 4.— Foreign Negroes, many from the United States, henceforth will be absolutely prohibited by law from entering Venezuela which lies on the northern portion of South America. Those already in the country will not be permitted to return once they leave. The wives and children of Negro residents will not be permitted to enter the country to join their husbands or father.

12-13-29

Those foreign Negroes already in Venezuela will in the future only be permitted to travel from place to place under strict supervisions and carrying several documents such as passports, vaccination and identity certificates and police permit, the failure to produce any one of which will render them liable to instant deportation.

Denied Work

Since Ford brought scores of Negroes to South America for work on his newly established rubber plantation there has been prejudice toward foreign Negroes. The new law was under consideration by the government for some time. Its passage was held due to the necessity of protecting native Venezuelans. Since the opening up of the large oil fields near Maracaibo, it is held that thousands of Negro laborers, artisans, chauffeurs and female domestics, lured by high wages, have swarmed into Venezuela from the Barbados, Curacao, Trinidad and the near-by West Indies. It is claimed that there are something like 10,000 newcomers.

Government Contends

The government contends that whereas the native Venezuelan spends all his earnings in the country, the foreign Negro spends no more than the bare necessities of life demand and remits a substantial sum home to his native land. Though the Venezuela foreign oil companies are required to employ 80 per cent natives they charge this is not being adhered to.

A Negro female cook who in her native Trinidad considers herself lucky to earn $5 or $6 a month can earn $30 to $35 in Maracaibo, while Negro clerks, who usually earn no more than $30 to $40 a month in Trinidad, can start in at $100 or more in Maracaibo and rise to $200 a month after a few years' service.

WILL MR. HOOVER ANSWER?



One of the most able and influential barristers in Rio de Janeiro is Evaristo de Moraes, who is hailed as the Clarence Darrow of Brazil. Not only has he risen to the topmost ranks in his profession, but he is also a recognized scholar, author and orator. His "welcome to Mr. Hoover" appeared in the leading daily papers during the president-elect's recent visit in Rio de Janeiro. The article was widely read and reprinted in various newspapers throughout the state.

EVARISTO DE MORAES

'SOCIAL EQUALITY' ONLY METHOD TO THWART RACIAL CONFLICTS

(Picture on Page 3)

Editor's Note—During the recent good-will tour of the Latin countries made by President-elect Herbert Hoover and his party, he was welcomed everywhere by distinguished representatives whose skins were not white. The following article, written by Attorney Evaristo de Moraes, appeared in the Correio da Manha, leading daily paper, the day Mr. Hoover arrived in Rio de Janeiro. Attorney De Moraes is a distinguished member of the bar and a noted criminologist. Attorney De Moraes was among the prominent hosts to Editor and Mrs. Robert S. Abbott when they toured South America a few years ago.

By EVARISTO DE MORAES

You are a man of clear intelligence and generous heart, experienced in work which has gained you justified fame. Your biographers say that you have employed your industrial capacity in ancient China, and of your philanthropical capacity you gave many proofs in agitated post-war Russia, the Russia of future ideas, which means to say that you have seen near at hand the "traditionalism" in its maximum expression, and the "reformism" in its most audacious expansion.

For this reason you have your mind and soul well prepared to analyze the conditions you observe.

Here you shall feel, therefore, the error of the superstitions which darken the intellectual vision of the majority of your compatriots principally in the southern states. I refer to the prejudices and disadvantages of the crossing of the white race with the Negro race, as well as to the aggressive, brutal and insatiable manner in which the character of the latter race is represented.

One of the most modern admirers of your great country, Andre Sigfried, teacher of the Free School of Political Science of Paris, testified in one of his works, of which four editions are already issued, to have heard from several American sophists as an explanation of their ill treatment of the darker race, this reason: "We defend by such forms the purity of the white people; only by this means can the United States avoid be transformed into a second Br[illegible]" ("Les Eyats Unis d'aujourd hui.") This phrase reveals the scorn in which we are held by these racial puritans, adepts or partisans of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mixed Civilization

By coming here and giving yourself the trouble, without being partial, you will observe the development of mixed civilization which should destroy the first error to which I have alluded. Brazil completely belies what those lynchers of the Negro believe.

In many ways our progress gives us real and justified motives of pride. Among us the crossing of the races did not prevent our material or intellectual progress. [illegible] human culture conquered the fatal forces of nature and the ignorance of the people. We have advanced and profited, notwithstanding the long permanence of slavery, still contemporary of the generation that saw the advent of the republic. In spite of this deplorable factor, of retardment, whose benumbing influence needs no demonstration, Brazil in whose midst the Negro race has so long mixed with the white, always advances in the so-called track of civilization, and she presents in all the manifestation of human activity proofs that cannot be refused of her complete adherence to the western civilization. Any foreign informant of good faith who has interested himself in our history will tell you the names of statesmen, parliamentarian, public administrators or military men (as glorious warriors as they were able leaders), in whose physiognomic traces were evident characteristic of the black race. Even though they suffered the cruelty and deprivation of slavery, when freed, they did not become the victims of disgrace and contempt.

They were already seen in great numbers to occupy important public positions, including those of the government, presiding ministers or advisers to the emperor. On the other hand, as an authentic white man (Sylvio Romero) repeatedly recognized that from half-casts to the blackest, excelled in science, literature and art, and it can be said without fear of serious contradiction that in many these expressions of intellectuality were unsurpassed.

It is necessary to confess—and I do so with regret—that for the elevation of the country to the level of a civilized people, the public powers contributed very little during the time of the empire or the actual regime. On the contrary, in one and the other regimen more than once the governments were negative elements, misunderstanding the cultural necessities of the moment.

Scores Insincerity

Notwithstanding this, in Brazil where the blood of the two races mixed freely, this marvelous and progressive land is open to everything that advanced minds conceive and realize. Look then around you: listen, ponder and you will be obliged to concede the possibilities of a country of mixed races being able to attain a degree of civilization at least equal to yours.

As to the character and disposition of the representatives of the Negro race, you have also to confess that your "Negrophobia" countrymen are not sincere. Our pure Negro—the very black ones, the uninstructed—whose fathers were slaves and who were themselves born in cabins, is notwithstanding this an affectionate creature capable of making the greatest sacrifice for the white man. If your Negroes, or in general the Colored people of your country, proceed differently in some cases, find among yourselves in the white man's attitude the reason for the trouble to which your newspapers repeatedly refer.

Is it true or not that you persist, especially in the southern states, to molest the Colored people while keeping them at a distance? Is it true or not that in spite of the 15th amendment of your sapient Constitution that you do not allow in the majority, if not in the entirety, of those states the right of the franchise to those people which that amendment assures him? Is it true or not that odious barriers are raised in hotels, vehicles, schools and churches with existing punishment for any infraction of these rules? Is it true or not that in 29 of the 49 states constituting the North American Union that there is formal prohibition of marriage between the races? Is it true that in some states the infraction of the law is punished not only with the annuling of the marriage, but with the application of serious penalties?

Also About Lynching

Is it true or not that lynching, a barbarous manner of summary justice, is practiced exclusively among Colored people in most cases for minor or unproven offenses? Is it true or not that in the economical relationship between the races the weaker is the prey of the stronger, and under disguise there exists a condition of servitude which has revealed hideous crimes and peonage under the rule of your farmers and landlords?

If all this be true, as has been revealed in many books, among them that Sigfried, beforementioned, then the bad temper and turbulence among the dark people is explained. It is a simple reaction to the vexations, scorn and injustice which is suffered by them. Only saints, or those who prescribe for themselves voluntary martyrdom, would have the strength to support without reaction all that is inflicted upon our dark brethren in America.

Here, thanks to the free intermingling and to the fair and impartial manner in which all races are treated, you will have the opportunity to observe the harmony and progress existing, which as Augusto Comte maintains is the dominant characteristic of these people whose ethnical roots live in Africa.

Shake hands with the Brazilian Negroes—if this is not repugnant to you—and you will see in his serence and contented expression the kindness of his great soul, temperated by long tradition of suffering, but always disposed to pardon.

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

"POTENTIAL MENACES."

Clevelanders of the Racial group are "all het up" following an alleged statement of their city manager in which he referred to the large number of southern Negroes who have taken up their residences in that Ohio metropolis as "potential menaces." Knoxville Tennessee News

Manager Hopkins possibly felt that in making such a statement he would not be criticised, for in all probability he has heard similar expressions coming from the lips of certain native born Negro Ohioans who have been expressing alarm in recent years at the great influx of "ignorant and boisterous southerners." Knoxville, Tenn.

It was a Detroit woman of the group who made herself ridiculous in the presence of a number of friends as she deplored the presence in that city of so many "southern Negroes," basing her alarm on what she termed fear that "these people will make the race problem more acute for those of us who have lived here all of our lives." Others of the race in such centers as Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Chicago, as well as many eastern cities, have expressed a desire to curb the northern migration of southern Negroes in terms even more hostile than their white neighbors. They do not seem to realize that many of these native-born northerners and easterners did not get out of the class of those who "live from hand-to-mouth" until "ignorant," but thrifty, hard-working, earnest southern Negroes, who have race pride sufficient to patronize and support their racial enterprises, invaded their cities in such large numbers.

It is very likely that some of these southerners were a bit boisterous as they stepped into their new surroundings. All of them perchance did not exhibit the polished and refined air of their city brethren, but they did spend their money with business concerns that before their coming had barely eked out an existence, causing them to blossom forth as a green bay tree. Instead of these conceited northern citizens placing the arm of sympathetic interest about the shoulders of their less trained brethren who came to their cities from the south where educational advantages are inferior and in some instances, nil, their attitude has savored of an attempt to "out-Herod Herod," and they are more critical than the white northerners.

One of Chicago's race weeklies, in a recent edition, set about to tell of the wonderful leadership of the native-born members of the group, comparing their success with that of the southerners who have taken up their residence in that city. In attempting to name those who had reached the topmost rung, the phrase "and others" appeared at the bottom of the list of a bare half dozen named out of the vast population of the growing and thickly populated "Windy City."

The Negro racial group in the United States is far in the minority as concerns our nation's citizenship and this is no time for appearing condemnatory or divided along any lines. If the race is to get the desired recognition and successfully combat the common enemy—race prejudice, it will be necessary to present a united front. The more fortunate must of necessity render assistance to his less fortunate brother, rather than direct words of unfavorable criticism. Then, and not until then, can the words of inimical interests as expressed by Cleveland's city manager be resented with any telling effect.

NEW YORK WORLD

JUL 29 1929

Social Equality Between Whites And Negroes Called Unscriptural

Social equality between whites and Negroes was assailed as an unscriptural and impossible ideal, and Representative Oscar De Priest, Negro, was bitterly denounced as destructive of racial good will in a sermon last night by the Rev. John W. Ham, pastor of the Baptist Tabernacle in Atlanta, Ga., speaking as visiting preacher at the First Baptist Church, Broadway and 79th Street.

The sermon, entitled "The Negro in the White House," treated of the controversy which followed Mrs. Hoover's reception of the Negro Representative's wife at tea a month ago and of De Priest's insistence that his wife was within her rights.

"Congressman De Priest has done more in one month to tear down the constructive gains toward racial good will than any other person appearing in the public eye," asserted Mr. Ham. "De Priest is destructive in spirit and policy, and instead of helping the colored race he is doing much to retard progress thus far made. He would be ignored were it not for the official position that lends importance to his remarks of a destructive character."

Official obligation such as moved Mrs. Hoover to invite Mrs. De Priest to tea in no sense sets up the ideal of social equality, Mr. Ham went on to contend.

"As a Christian I am under obligations to help the weak races in matters of moral character," said he. "My further obligation is to give to the colored race that spiritual light and helpfulness that I may have received from Christ. In the South both races understand that social equality is not a test of Christian attitude. They further understand that it is neither desirable nor possible.

The logic of social equality is intermarriage of the races. This result would be in direct opposition to the plain teaching of the word of God. It would be unscriptural and hurtful. It would weaken rather than strengthen both races. Christianity nowhere imposes on the Christian social equality. It is not taught in the word of God."

chine guns but the enforcement officer ... carry none of them according to the new ruling.

CURTIS BRABHAM.

The Press, Far and Near. What Editors Are Saying

The Race Problem Again.—Meanwhile national interest in the race problem continues unabated. Unquestionably in some sections of the South the negro fails to get proper school advantages, in some sections he is the victim of mob law to a shameful degree, and in some instances the negro is taken advantage of in business affairs. It is the exception rather than the rule, however, for the negro to be unjustly treated, and in some particulars the South is constantly charged with bitterness, hatred, and narrow-minded prejudice when its real motives are of a wholly different character.

Why, for example, does the white South object to having negroes and white people mingle socially? Is it because of hatred of the negro? Is it because, as some assume, that the South believes, a white criminal better than a negro saint? Is it because the white South finds pleasure in humiliating the black man? By no means.

The white South insists on social separation simply because it believes it best for the white race and also for the negro race. In all other countries it has been found impossible for two races to have social relations without a resultant miscegenation or mongrelization tragic in its consequences. In some Northern States where the negro population is slight, there may seem to be no compelling necessity for having separate schools and separate social functions. In the South where the two races are nearly equal in number, a real peril persists.

The white South is determined to avoid that wholesale mixing of the races which has occurred in much of South America and Central America. For this reason it will stand like adamant against having young white men and women mingling with young negro men and women in schools and at social functions—and thoughtful negroes should take the same position. It is not necessarily a matter of superiority for one race or inferiority for the other it is a matter of protecting the peace and purity of both races. In fact, the cooperation of the negroes and the nation might be more heartily given if instead of saying that the South will forever oppose "social quality," which suggests an attitude of arrogance, we would say rather that the South will forever oppose "social intermingling" because its avoidance is necessary to preserve the purity of both races. It is not strictly a question of "equality," since any one might admit that a particular group of negro educators and ministers were in character and intelligence far more than "equal" to another particular group of inferior white men and women, and yet this fact would not in any degree affect the white South's opposition to social intermingling" of the two groups because of its menace to racial purity and racial peace.—*Progressive Farmer.*

It Seems to Heywood Broun

THE *Times-Journal* of Selma, Alabama, has solved the race problem very simply in a recent editorial by asserting that there is none. Except of course in the minds of a few Negro agitators and a small group of ignorant white commentators mostly situated in the North. "Down here in Dixie," says the gentleman behind the rose-colored spectacles, "we have grown to know each other and we don't have problems. We have settled them satisfactorily to both races." The basis of this mutually satisfactory settlement is outlined in the sentence, "Neither race wants social or political equality and we only hear of it from agitators on the outside."

Since the white man in the South has managed to set up political and social superiority for his own race it is probably true that he is making no great outcry for equality. I am even willing to grant that in many sections of the South the Negro has accepted disfranchisement tamely enough. He is not anxious to run the risk and bother of trying to assert his rights. Indeed, his political interests have become atrophied. It makes little difference to him which party sits in the high seats. But this acceptance of a condition is not quite the same thing as a contented satisfaction. It would hardly be fair to cram wax down the ears of an individual and after it was firmly set to explain, "Can't you comprehend that this good fellow has no desire whatever to attend the symphony concert?"

If the Selma *Times-Journal* is in any sense correct in asserting that the Negro is thoroughly complacent in his present situation it may be a plausible quibble to maintain that there is no Negro problem, but in that case the terminology must be shifted about to admit the very lively presence of a white problem. Nor is the issue a local one. If millions of adults in the United States are barred from the polls and restive under this disability a serious situation exists. But to my mind the condition is still more grave and tragic if it is true that they have cheerfully accepted their lot. Such a state of affairs puts the whole democratic theory of government in danger. Can a nation exist part quick and part dead? If it is both reasonable and feasible to take the vote away from the Negro on the ground that he is insufficiently intelligent to exercise the franchise there is no logical reason why the limitation of manhood suffrage should stop there. Under any such a philosophy of government it would be not at all unreasonable to confine voting only to persons listed in Who's Who or to such college men as were graduated cum laude.

Complete and successful disfranchisement of the Negro is a long step toward the creation of an oligarchic state. It raises the vital issue of whether America can carry upon its back a helot class and still move on and up to the bright dreams which have animated the noble army of martyrs for freedom's cause. Fortunately it seems likely that the Alabama editorial writer takes far too grave a view of the situation. His pessimism is blacker than is in any way justified. He sees the long dark ranks of supine men and women and thinks that they are dead to the cause of democracy. They sleep and are not dead. Some stir, and if the ear is sensitive it can detect that here and there one moans and mutters through his slumber. A great gulf is fixed between patience and resignation. There will be a morning of freedom. Democracy has always been a slow ferment and manhood is not to be forever mocked.

Fortunately the South has been much less than adroit in its attempt to create a half-way house on the road to Utopia. Speaking of the Negro the Selma *Times-Journal* says, "We find him ambitious, happy, and contented. Equally with the white man, he is protected in life and liberty—in the ownership of his property, and in the pursuit of happiness. . . . Side by side, with 'one increasing purpose'—the preservation of the integrity and welfare of each race—we are moving forward down here in the South."

But one has but to see the mulatto millions to know that neither North nor South has been fanatical in its effort to preserve the integrity of the Negro race. When the last lynching is a memory of one hundred years ago then it will be time enough to talk of equality in protection of life and liberty. And I would not have the audacity to speak of the "pursuit of happiness" until it was quite unknown for any white man in the land to curl the lip of scorn and say "Here you, nigger!"

Communities in which segregation exists by law have not played the game fairly even according to their own principles and professions. There are hundreds of statutes establishing separate and equal accommodations on railroads. Does any fair-minded man dare to stand up and assert that the Jim Crow car is as good a piece of rolling stock as that assigned to the white man? Nor does one have to live his whole life south of the Mason and Dixon line to know that whenever a separate place is set aside for the Negro it is a poorer place than that reserved for the white man. For the Nordic, the orchestra; for the Negro, the second balcony—it is through these humiliating devices that the white man preserves the integrity of each race.

I am aware of the fact that one fault has come too much into many articles which I have written about white and black. One might get the impression that I believe prejudice to be purely geographical. The South is more articulate in expressing its feeling. Otherwise there is not a vast difference between the Northern and the Southern attitude. Some of the most rabid Negro baiters I have ever known came down from the North and enthusiastically accepted the attitude of the community in which they found themselves. There ought to be an old adage running, "There's no fool like a convert."

It is also true that in increasing numbers the white people of the South are coming to realize that the present situation between white and black is not satisfactory for either race. Pat on his tumble from the Woolworth Tower cried out to horrified observers on the fourteenth floor, "I'm all right so far." And the Southerner who says, "We have this thing all settled," is blood cousin to the peasant who plants his vines upon the slope of some Vesuvius. When an oppressed race asks for the bread of liberty it is not enough to toss it a mammy song.

HEYWOOD BROUN

Equal, Black or White

By ZITA LOUISE BAKER

This article is the fourth of a series by a Chicago writer, who was until recently a member of the bureau of information of the Chicago World's Fair. Each one has been written from the viewpoint of those belonging to the white race, and deals with some specific phase of the race question in Chicago.

"WHAT makes a Negro a Negro? Only his color, I think. In every other respect he is just like a white person." Such a statement was made to me by a prominent young attorney, when I made my last real estate loan visit a few days ago. But more of it and of him later.

The offices of the John A. Schmidt Mortgage Banking firm are located in the Otis building. Their rooms are not large, but the arrangement gives the impression of spaciousness. They are very orderly and the machinery of the place runs as smoothly and quietly as a fine watch. Even the typewriters are noiseless ones.

After a very brief talk with Mr. Schmidt, himself president of the firm, I was referred to his son, Bernard Schmidt, who is the young attorney mentioned above. Bernard Schmidt was very busy, but as soon as his last client left, he smilingly beckoned me into his private office.

"Yes, indeed, we do make Colored loans," he replied to my beginning query. "And I can truthfully say we would just as soon make Colored loans as white ones." It was then that he made the statement first quoted.

He went on, "Ever since we started in business, we have made it a policy to treat the Negro in business as we would a white man. We have found that it pays well to do so, and to my way of thinking it is the only fair way to run a business.

"Now, in regard to loans on Colored property. We never find it hard to get a market for them. One reason may be that our customers trust my father implicitly. He has been in business here on La Salle St. for 44 years and is pretty well known to most of our clientele.

"The loans we make on Colored property are, of course, restricted. We would not think of making loans on all Colored property any more than we would think of doing so on a white person's holdings. We appraise the property very carefully before making the loan, and if it meets our standards we are glad to lend the owner money on it."

He talked easily, this young man, and his manner and language showed not only his education, but refined tastes. Later, he mentioned graduating from Northwestern university, and after doing so he related an incident illustrative of popular prejudice against the Negro.

"When I started at Northwestern Law school a Colored chap I knew was just finishing up his course. He was a very bright fellow and had made a good record in law. A short time ago I chanced to meet him and have a chat with him.

"He told me very flatly that he was sorry he had spent his time and money studying law, for he had found it impossible to be prosperous. White people would not hire him and, far worse, his own race would not, either. Wealthy Negroes, he informed me, preferred to go to white lawyers, thinking it would increase their prestige among the white people.

"Now, that," continued Mr. Schmidt, "is what I call a shame. I already knew it was true to some extent, as occasionally I have had Colored men come to me and request that I handle their affairs. I have refused to do so because of being overburdened with work as it is, but it has struck me as very unfair for them to seek out a white attorney when some of the brightest lawyers in the city are Colored.

"It is people like that who are the chief enemies of their own race. They would win a lot more respect from the whites if they would be loyal to their own, instead of trying to curry favor."

"Do you find the Colored people as reliable as white ones?" I asked. Mr. Schmidt promptly replied in the affirmative.

"On the whole, I would say more so for this reason: There aren't so many unscrupulous ones, who try to cause trouble if they cannot make their payments and their property has to be sold. We find that Negroes, when they have exhausted all their means, are willing for us to get judgment for what they owe us, while some of the whites and members of the Jewish race will do everything in their power to beat us out of our money.

"Colored people, too, are very prompt with their payments. We find that, if they are given half a chance, they are thrifty and honest. The trouble is that in many cases they are not given a chance at all, and this forces them into dire poverty.

"You have no idea how many well educated Colored men there are who are unable to get any but the most menial jobs. Then, when employment troubles come along they are thrown out of work and have a hard time making a living. It is to be hoped that time will change all this and give the Colored man an equal opportunity with the white man."

Questioned as to whether or not a large number of Negroes failed in their payments, Mr. Schmidt asserted that less than 5 per cent, as a rule, defaulted.

"Remember," he repeated, "we are careful about making our loans. We make very few on run-down property along the northern end of Indiana Ave. or Calumet Ave. Most of

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our loans are made along South parkway or S. Michigan Ave. The property in those localities is of a much better grade and better kept up.

As I walked out of the Schmidt offices, by attention was arrested by several Colored people who were standing at the different counters. They were being waited on by white men and women, but with the same courtesy that would be shown white customers.

I pondered the words of young Mr. Schmidt and the more I thought of them the more I felt as if the Golden Rule were not obsolete in business dealings, after all. Certain experiences make one believe that greed and "slick" methods prevail, then along comes an interview such as this and gives one hope again.

White Woman, in Letter, Scores Georgia Evangelist Who Voiced Prejudice Here

Says Men of Rev. Ham's Type Hate Negroes Because They Are Afraid of Them and Want Them in Servitude

Mrs. Thomas Stanley Airey, white, of 35-28 Eightieth street, Jackson Heights, Long Island, has addressed a scathing letter to the Rev. John W. Ham of Atlanta, Ga., the evangelist, who gave vent to his racial prejudices here before a white Baptist congregation.

"Speaking for myself and every other honest, sympathetic white man or woman of normal intelligence," she wrote him, "we believe DePriest has had the courage to tear aside the flimsy covering of racial goodwill." It is all a sham. The average white man, particularly of your type, hates the Negro. You are afraid of him, and wish to keep him in mental, if not practical, servitude.

"The Negro is being encouraged to educate himself. What good will education do him, if narrow-minded, bigoted men like yourself go around the country in the guise of evangelists (preaching to awaken religious interest?) stir up our great horde of white moronic America against the Negro? As it is now, education must make him more sensitive, more resentful of the treatment he receives. Why add to his burden?

"Mr. DePriest may personally be a rascal. I don't know; but if he only is able to open the eyes of his race to their opportunities he will have accomplished much.

"You wonder why my generation will not attend church. I'll tell you why, we are bored to death listening to sermons which are either dull, stale and insipid, or disgustingly sensational and have no place in a church.

"Evidently you believe Jesus Christ did not die to save all mankind; he eliminated the black race. And you, as his faithful undershepherd, because it is not taught in the word of God, according to your version of it, must publicly chastise a black man because he has intelligence enough to desire to free his race from the almost intolerable condtions they are living under in our American civilization.

"I am glad this was your last address, and I hope you will study the character of Christ more thoroughly and cut this type of speech from your repertoire.

TIMES-JOURNAL
SELMA, ALA.
JUL 24 1929

The Negro in the South

Among the newspapers that have commented editorially on Mr. Mallory's tribute to the Southern negro in the Selma Times-Journal of July 11th are the New York Times and the New York Telegram, the latter carrying a full column syndicated editorial by Heywood Broun. In it he displays an inexcusable ignorance of the [illegible]h, customs and occupations of the negro race, of the relations that exist between the negro and the white people of the South.

His picture resembles the truth about as much as the moon resembles a hunk of green cheese. It is unfortunate, however, that so many of his readers get their impressions of the South from writers like Heywood Broun, who, through ignorance or misinformation, distort and misrepresent the situation as it really exists.

Here, in the South, the negro race, with the sympathetic help of the white men and women of this section, is working out its own destiny.

The negro has been encouraged and aided in every worth while thing to which he could turn his hand. Opportunity has beckoned to him and he has taken advantage of it, and in doing so he has received the plaudits of the Southern people.

Individually and as a race, they recognize the dignity of labor—that honor and respect come with service well performed. As servants in the home, they have no peers, as seems to be admitted by Mr. Broun, nor do they ever taste of the drudgery and endless work which Mr. Broun says is the lot of those white servants in his own city of New York.

We also find him in every profession—lawyers, doctors, engineers—they have their schools, colleges and universities, with their own teachers and professors. We find him as an expert laborer—in banks and insurance companies owned and operated by negroes—on plantations of large acreage owned by him—as contractors and builders, and as owners and operators of storehouses and mercantile businesses that would do credit to any race, in any country, whether it be North or South.

And in all of this we find him ambitious, happy and contented. Equally with the white man, he is protected in life and liberty—in the ownership of his property, and in the pursuit of happiness.

Crime, as it exists in the crowded centers, alive with gangsters and a lawless element, is unknown to him, and is rare in this law-abiding section south of the Mason and Dixon line.

We never hear of a "negro problem" unless we find it in some article written by some one who is ignorant of conditions in the South, and when we read it, if it were not such a tragic mistake, it might be classed as an amusing comedy of errors.

If there are any negro problems, they are not in the South, but are to be found in those sections of our country where the two races have not yet had time to adjust themselves. Down here in Dixie we have grown to know each other, and we don't have problems. We have settled them satisfactorily to both races. Neither race wants social or political equality, and we only hear of it from agitators on the outside. And when that agitation comes, it is as a "tempest in a tea pot." It is recognized as the brain storm of a foolish agitator who would seek to relight fires of hatred and misunderstanding between brothers of a common country.

Side by side, with "one increasing purpose"—the preservation of the integrity and welfare of each race—we are moving forward down here in the South, and to the realization of that purpose we feel that we have the best wishes of the well thinking men and women of this great country of ours.

AS IN A LOOKING GLASS

By ALICE DUNBAR-NELSON



IT would be interesting to take Oswald Garrison Villard's article in July Harper's, "The Crumbling Color Line" and compare it column by column with George Schuyler's "Keeping the Negro in His Place" in the August Mercury. Mr. Villard is almost all in a mood of optimism; Mr. Schuyler is plainly pessimsitic. The one "points with pride," the other "views with alarm." Between the Scylla and Charybdis of their differing emotions, the mere outsider and looker-on, even though he be an "Aframerican" can steer a middle course of patient sailing to a goal nowhere visible on the horizon.

* * * * * *

SO much has been said of Mr. Villard's article in so many places and by so many writers and speakers and haranguers on hotel porches that it is superrarogation to speak further. Mr. Villard is optimistic, and justly so. He is old enough to look back twenty-five years and see changes in thought which has come about almost imperceptibly, but none the less basically. Mr. Schuyler also looks backward. Mr. Villard remembers the day when the mere mention of a Negro in a group of Southerners anywhere, of any class, under any conditions, brought about abuse, vituper-

ation, intolerance of expression, impatience, scathing denunciation. Mr. Schuyler looks back and remembers the day when a Negro seeking amusement or recreation in the North was not denied with faint hostility or ill-disguised scorn. Mr. Villard calls attention to the situation as it exists now—white Southerners in revolt against injustice toward their fellow-men; Southern white women protesting against being used as the excuse for the inhumanities of lynching; young Southern white students earnestly seeking to exemplify in their lives the brotherhood of man, by their battering down of the color line in their relations with black students; Southern schools, such as the Univeristy of North Carolina, making serious and thoughtful studies of the Negro, and welcoming Negro speakers to its platforms. Mr. Schuyler quotes excerpts from the answers to the questionaire which he sent out on the attitude of cities towards the Negro seeking recreation in theatres, restaurants, bathing beaches, amusement parks. From scores of cities, taking in the Atlantic Seaboard, the Pacific Coast, the middle west, the south, the east, come the same sordid tale of the refinements of mental cruelty, of soul-lynching.

Any Bookertonian solution of the problem—by the owning and operating of places of amusement by and for Negroes—is beside the issue. They must, of necessity, be poorly managed, inferior in style and with cheap attractions, anathema to the educated, lowering to the undereducated. However, the one note of cheer in Mr. Schuyler's article—a drab note, by the way—is sounded by this possible solution. "Considering their poverty, lack of credit and inexperience, they have not done so badly; but they haven't begun to keep up with the recreational needs of the Negro populace. This, in a way, leaves the Negro all dressed up with nowhere to go. The more intelligent and refined he is, the more bitter he is about staying in his place. And the schools graduate thousands every year."

* * * * * * * * *

HERE, at least, Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Villard almost meet. Says the latter, "Not that I would have anyone read thus far and believe that the fight is won. It is still just beginning. * * * It is a far-flung battle-line, and he would be absurdly over-enthusiastic who could feel that the issue has been more than joined. But the thing to rejoice over is that, while the North grows more prejudiced and reactionary, help comes from the South."

After all, Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Villard were not speaking the same language. The one dealt with things of the flesh, of the earth, earthy, and the immediate needs of the body—food, refreshment, relaxation. The other dealt with things of the spirit—changes in the human heart, desire for real and true justice, founded in the eternal verities of religion and love. Who shall say that both are not right from the angle at which they view the ever-vexing problem?

Southern Race Prejudice

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation* is inclined to overestimate the race prejudice of the South. If Mrs. Hoover should entertain a family of Negroes at the White House for a week-end the South would not "storm" so much as you seem to think. The ripple in the South caused by Mrs. De Priest's visit to the White House was as much of interest as it was of resentment. Of course the old Southern mind still works in a subconscious way as manifested by the actions of some of the Southern State senates, but the more alert Southerners looked upon the incident only with interest.

Lynchburg, Va., July 8 T. Y. STEPTOE



The Black-Eyed Susans Have Taken Deep Root.

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LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

Probe Will Be Asked On Behalf of Negro's Treatment

National Baptist Union-Review

ERIEF CITING DISFRANCHISMENT, LYNCHING AND PEONAGE SENT TO WICKERSHAM

New York, June 21. President Hoover's Law Enforcement Commission is asked to include in its investigation of lawlessness in the United States, the law-breaking committed against Negroes in the form of lynching, disfranchisement, peonage and mob violence, according to a brief sent to George W. Wickersham by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue.

The Association asks representation at the public hearings to be conducted by the Law Enforcement Commission, at which additional evidence to that presented in the documents submitted, will be supplied on violation of Constitutional guarantees, so far as the Negro is concerned.

The brief, signed by James Welson Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, states that "lynching constitutes the quintessential form of law-breaking and brutal disregard for human life and Constitutional guarantees in the United States."

The brief states that accompanying documents show "the brutalizing and degrading effect of these crimes in the communities in which they are committed, there being previous announcement of mob murders in American newspapers, and full press accounts of the atrocities, which detail that women and children have been and still are spectators of the burning of human beings at the stake."

The brief also cites as "legislative law-breaking," the enactment of residential segregation ordinances in Atlanta, Georgia, and in Louisiana, both in defiance of a decision by the U. S. Supreme Court (Buchanan Vs. Warley holding such enactments unconstitutional, the Atlanta ordinance having been passed over the Mayor's veto on the grounds of its unconstitutionality.

Constitutional guarantees are also violated in Jim Crow accommodations on southern railways, says the brief, where "equal accommodation" is not given colored passengers, "and no pretence is made to afford such accommodation." The report states that "colored women and children, as well as men, are often obliged to go without sleeping accomodations at night, and colored passengers generally are deprived of necessary facilities and opportunities for refreshment."

Disfranchisement of colored citizens in the South, says the brief, is accomplished by "plain intimidation and terrorization, as well as by grossly discriminatory administration of existing laws ..... Nothing we think it will be conceded, so contributes to disrespect for law and person, as the violation of rights of groups of citizens and of individuals composing those groups, especially when that violation takes the form of depriving them of their one means of redress in a democracy, the ballot. The legality of the entire legislative structure of the United States is qualified by the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South and the disproportionate representation accorded the states guilty of this practice and we believe that no thorough examination of lawlessness and crime in America can ingore this fundimental violation of constitutional guarantees and of the nation's legal fabric."

The brief sumbitted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People recommends a Federal Anti-Lynching Law, federal enactments for the enforcement of constitutional guarantees now being violated especially in the disfranchisement of Negroes, and the creation of a federal agency "to conduct a campaign of Americanism directed not toward aliens but to Americans in the field of race relations."

In behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People I beg herewith to present to the Commission on Law Enforcement the following documents:

1. Thirty Years of Lynching 1889-1918 with supplements up to and including 1928.
2. A Statement from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey as to the Negro in Georgia April 22, 1921.
3. Anti-Lynching: (a) Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, on H. R. 259, 4123 and 11873, Serial No. 14, Jan. 19, 1920, Washington Government Printing Office.

   (b) Hearing Before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the U. S. Senate, 69th Congress, 1st Session, on S. 121, Feb. 16, 1926, Washington, Government Printing Office.
4. Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1925, No. 104 Irene Hand corrigan and Helen Curtis, Appellants, against John J. Buckley, Appellee: Appeal from the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. Also, notice petition for writ of certiorari and brief in support of petition in Henry A. Cornish, et al., Vs. Patrick O'Donoghue et al., and Edgar T. Newton, Sarah P. Newton and Robert W. Peterson Vs. Frank S. Wallace and others.
5. Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1926, No. 117, L. A. Nixon, plaintiff-in-error, against C. C. Herndon and Charles Porras, defendants-in-error. In error of the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Texas. Reply Brief for Plaintiff-in-error.
6. The Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Louisville Segregation Case (Buchanan Vs. Warley, 245 U. S. 69) with foreword by Arthur B. Spingarn, Chairman of the Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
7. Argument of Clarence Darrow in in the Case of Henry Sweet, in the Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan, April and May, 1926, published by the National Association for the Advanceent of Colored People.
8. An American Lynching, Being the Burning at Stake of Henry Lowry. At Nodena, Arkansas, January 26, 1921, as told in American Newspapers. Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
9. Legal Aspects of the Negro Problem, by James Weldon Johnson and Herbert J. Seligmann, in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. November, 1928, page 90.
10. The Gentleman's Agreement and the Negro Vote, by James Weldon Johnson ,in The Crisis. Oc-October, 1928, page 336.
11. The Possibility of Democracy in America, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, in The Crisis, September, 1928, Page 295, and The Crisis, ber, 1928, page 336.
12. Lynching, America's National Disgrace, by James Weldon Johnson reprinted from current History for January, 1924.
13. The Arkansas Cases.
14. Annual Reports of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Also a copy of each of the two following books:

1. Rope and Faggott, A. Biography of Judge Lynch, by Water White, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929.
2. The Negro Faces America, by Herbert J. Seligmann, Second Edition with new foreword, Press of Clarence S. Nathan, New York, 1924.

We also refer the Commission to:

1. The Negro in Chicago, A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot, by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. University of Chicago Press, 1922.

The subjects to which the Commission's attention is especially invited are:

1. Lynching and Mob Violence.
2. Peonage.
3. Segregation (residential, in schools and in places of public accommodation).
4. Disfranchisement of Negroes.

I

(A) Lynching

The practice of lynching may be roughly defined as the cooperation of two or more persons, constituting a mob, acting with intent to commit murder, for the real or alleged purpose of assuming the functions of courts and judicial officers, in the punishment of alleged wrong-doing or in the execution of vengeance of a private nature; Negroes being the chief sufferers from this form of lawlessness, which has been tinged with the political, economic, and social motive of terrorizing the Negro and keeping the race in subjection to the white race.

The statistics concerning the recorded prevalence of lynching since 1889 through 1928, are fully given in the documents submitted herewith. We desire to call particularly to the Commission's attention that following the passage in the House of Representatives, in 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119, of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill—a measure blocked in the Senate by filibuster—the number of recorded lynchings in the United States showed a sharp decline, the figures for this period being:

Year	No Lynchings
1921	64
1922	61
1923	28
1924	16
1925	18
1926	34
1927	21
1928	11

It will be undisputed we think, that the threat of federal jurisdiction in order to obtain punishment for the crime of lynching which has been committed with impunity in the United States, to the shame of the nation before the civilized world, has operated to bring about the reduction noted in the number of these crimes.

It is needless to point out to this Commission that lynching constitutes the quintessential form of law-breaking and brutal disregard for human life and Constitutional guarantees in the United States. The documents submitted herewith will testify to the brutalizing and degrading effect of these crimes in the communities in which they are committed, there being previous announcement of mob murders in American newspapers, and full press accounts of the atrocities, which detail that women and children have been and still are spectators of the burning of human beings at the stake.

Although the recorded number of lynchings was reduced to the lowest figure in 1923 of any year since records have been kept the punishment of mob murderers continues so rare as to offer virtual immunity to participants in these crimes.

The crime of lynching as reported in the press and participated in by entire communities mobs numbering as high as 3,000 or even 5,000 people, not only disgraces the name of the nation before civilization, but contributes materially to the number of crimes of violence for which there is no punishment: lynchings having taken place on most trival pretexts and the pretexts and the practice of lynching emboldening those who engage in it to "take the law in their own hands." We believe that the high homicide rate in America particularly in the killing of Negroes by whites, and the murder of whites and Negroes by members of their own race, is traceable to the disrepect for law and for human life fostere dby the immunity with which mobs take into their hands the trial and execution of their victims, often with attendent brutalities which do not bear mention in print.

The confessed failure of the individual states to deal with this evil, and the evident effect of the threat of federal action in the form of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in 1922, makes inevitable the suggestion to this honorable commission that a plan of federal scope and federal execution be projected for the stamping out of what has come to be known as "the shame of America."

For the completest available summation to date of the forces producing out of what has come to be the commission is referred to the book, "Rope and Faggot," submitted herewith.

(B) Mob Violence

Mob violence and lynching are closely related, in the field of race relations, and often indistinguishable, except that the ordinary mob outbreak is devoid of the pretext of vengeance or extrajudical punishment put forward by the lynching mob.

Various determinants of race riots can be summarily listed, most of them products or symptoms of serious maladjustment between colored and white races. These determinants to which others may perhaps be added, are:

(a) Peonage, or debt slavery in cotton-raising sections.

(b) Fomenting race disorders to discredit municipal administrations.

(c) Attemps by colored citizens to vote.

(d) Irresponsible press reports of crime.

(e) Housing conditions in large cities involving the sudden expansion of colored residence districts owing to influx of migrants and often, anti-Negro propaganda by real estate operators.

(f) Night riding, Ku Klux Klan propaganda and jealousy of Negroes' economic advancement.

These factors were studied in detail in connection with the Chicago race riots of 1919, by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, to whose report your commission is referred, and also in the book, "The Negro Faces America" submitted herewith.

In the case of mob violence, as the case of lynching, disfranchisement, and the various forms of race discrimination including segregation which produce violation of constitutional rights, it will be necessary to consider the board social contact of races in America, hostile propaganda directed against minority groups, and misrepresentation through inflammatory articles in the press and elsewhere. These elements in the situation we shall deal with in our summary and recommendations to this commission.

II
Peonage

The existence of peonage, or debt slavery, is attested by case records in the statement on the Negro in Georgia by Governor Dorsey, submitted herewith. Peonage occasioned the brutal Arkansas riots in 1919, which eventuated in legal contests that were carried by this Association to the Supreme Courts of the United States and of the State of Arkansas for decisions favorable to the case of the colored peons. The background of the Arkassas riots is given in a number of documents submitted, notably "The Arkansas Cases," containing a brief by Scipio A. Jones of Little Rock, Attorney, reviewing the cases for presentation to the U. S. Supreme Court, and in Chapter VIII, of "The Negro Faces America."

Although a federal law exists under which prosecution of peonage violations is authorized these prosecutions are rare. Several causes contribute to this condition. The pressure upon illiterate and ignorant Negro tenant or share croppers ,advanced money for planting and charged upon the basis of their crops is one which it is difficult to prove in court. The victims of peonage are often unable or afraid to bring their cases to the attention of the authorities responsible for prosecution and when the cases are investigated they are often afraid to give evidence owing to the threat of lynching or mob violence from the communities in which they live. The report of the Georgia Governor, published in 1921, still gives an accurate picture of the terrorization and intimidation as well as unpunished violence resorted to, to prevent Negroes from enjoying or asserting their most fundamental and elementary human and citizenship rights under the Constitution.

Segregation

In the Supreme Court Decision in 1917, Buchanan Vs. Warley, of which a reprint is hubmitted herewith, the Court held unconstitutional a residential segregation ordinance forbidding sale of property by whites to Negroes in the city of Louisville, Kentucky.

The attempt to segregate the races in the United States has taken a number of forms, some of them eventuating in violence and obvious law-breaking, others in the attempt to deny citizenship rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The crudest and most obviously lawless form the segregation movement has taken was exemplified in the city of Detroit where mobs on a number of occasions attacked reputable colored people who had moved into homes The expansion of the colored residence district of that city had been necessary and inevitable by the northward migration of Negroes, increasing the colored population of Detroit from 8,000 to 65,000. One of the mob attacks was directed against the home of Dr. Ossian H. Sweet, a young gynecologist, who had studied in Vienna to perfect himself in his profession, after having been in practice in this country. The mob attack resulted in the death of a white man in the street. Two trials were held, one of Dr. and Mrs. Sweet and nine others who were in his house at the time, on a charge of first degree murder, this resulting in jury disagreement; and a second trial, of Dr. Sweet's brother, Henry Sweet, chosen for single trial by the State the result being acquittal. The social and historic background as well as the circumstances of the case in detail, are fully set forth in the "Argument of Clarence Darrow in the Case of Henry Sweet" submitted herewith.

One form of segregation, by covenant among property owners, the covenant to be binding upon all purchasers, neither to sell nor lease to colored citizens, has been twice carried before the United States Supreme Court, the intention being to show that apart from the technical legal question involved, to permit the courts to sanction what state legislatures and city councils might not accomplish, was against public policy. The appellants' points are set forth in the appeal brief submitted herewith in "Irene Hand Corrigan and Helen Curtis Vs. John J. Buckley," a case dismissed by the Supreme Court without ruling on the points at issue, for want of jurisdiction. A second set of cases designed to procure a definite decision on this issue from the Supreme Court (Henry A. Cornish et al., Vs. Patrick O'Donoghue et al. and Edgar T. Newton, Sarah P. Newton and Robert W. Peterson Vs. Frank S. Wallace and others) in which notice, petition for writ of certiorari and brief in support of petition are submitted herewith, was dismissed by the Supreme Court in oral opinion delivered June 3, 1929.

Recourse to the courts having failed to clarify the dangerous possibilities contained in permitting property owners to write into documents of sale race segregation such as city and state legislative bodies are prohibited from enacting, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People believes that further legislation is called for and will recommend it below.

One form of legislative lawlessness has been called forth by this residential segregation question. Despite the plain words of the Supreme Court in Buchanan Vs. Warley, City councils and state legislatures have not hesitated to enact similar measures with only slight verbal changes, putting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in behalf of the plain rights of the American Negro as affirmed by the Supreme Court, and citizens and taxpayers, to the expense of repeated, costly and long-drawn-out litigation. Thus a Louisiana enactment had to be carried to the Supreme Court (Joseph W. Tyler Vs. Ben Harmon). A segregation ordinance in Dallas, Texas was declared unconstitutional in 1927 by the Texas Fifth Court of Appeals, and similar cases have arisen in Norfolk, Va.; Indianapolis, Ind.; in Richmond, Va., and in Atlanta, Ga. The Atlanta enactment of June 1929, is particularly flagrant inasmuch as the city council by a unanimous vote of 28 to 0, passed the ordinance over the Mayor's veto, the Mayor having declared the unconstitutionality of the measure on

Continued

Race Problem - 1929 II

United States.

the basis of the Supreme Court's decision in Buchanan Vs. Warley. This overt lawlessness on the one of American legislative bodies, paralleled by enactments seeking to bar Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries, to which reference will be made hereinafter, is recommended to the special attention of this Commission.

It should be particularly pointed out to your Commission that, as is stated in the briefs submitted herewith, the legalization of discriminatory practices by majority groups of citizens against minority groups (for the Negro in this instance stands for any minority group which may be similarly disadvantaged) constitutes a grave danger to the spirit of tolerance, good will, and fairness, upon which alone a peaceful and law-abiding social structure can be founded.

It should be added that Constitutional guarantees are flagrantly violated in Jim-Crow accommodations upon railways in southern states where "equal accommodation" is not given colored passengers and no pretence is made to afford such accommodation. Colored women and children, as well as men, are often obliged to go without sleeping accommodations at night, and colored passengers generally are deprived of necessary sanitary facilities and opportunities for refreshment. These practices are general throughout the southern states.

Segregation as it is practiced in schools, with denial of proper opportuniies for education to colored children, gross inequalities in the appropriation and administration of educational funds, constituties another grave danger to democracy and is productive of ignorance and consequently of crime. Statistics illuminating this situation are set forth in articles in the Crisis for the following months submitted herewith:

Month and Year	Page
1. September, 1926..	248
2. December, 1929	90
3. May, 1927..	79
4. June, 1927..	117
5. December, 1927..	330
6. April, 1928..	113
7. July, 1928..	225
8. September, 1928..	295
9. October, 1928..	336

IV

Disfranchisement of Negroes

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has contested from its very beginning, the denial of constitutional rights to Negroes through their disfranchisement, and was the only private body to file a brief in the celebrated Grandfather Clause case of 1913. A second case, Nixon Vs. Herndon, arising from the Texas law of 1924 which sought to bar Negroes from voting in Democratic party primaries eventuated in a decision of the United States Supreme Court holding this law unconstitutional. Despite this decision test cases are now being fought in the courts by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on this essential issue, in Texas, Virginia and Florida, both Texas and Florida laws having been enacted following the Supreme Court's decision in Nixon Vs. Herndon. Here again, as in the case of segregation, the attempt is plainly evident to accomplish by devious means what the Supreme Court has declared to be unconstitutional infringement upon the Negro's citizenship rights.

Quite aside from disfranchisement of Negroes by legal means it is universally admitted that he is disfranchised in the South by other forms of ressure, such as plain intimidation and terrorization as well as by grossly unequal and discriminatory administration of existing laws. This is touched upon in "Legal Aspects of the Negro Problem," in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, for November, 1929, submitted herewith.

Nothing we think it will be conceded, so contributes to disrespect for law and person, as the violation of rights of grounds of citizens and of individuals composing those groups, especially when that violation takes the form of depriving them of their one means of redress in a democracy, the ballot. The legality of the entire legislative structure of the United States is qualified by the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South and the disproportionate representation accorded the states guilty o fthis practice, and we believe that no thorough examination of lawlessness and crime in America can ignore this fundamental violation of constitutional guarantees and of the nation's legal fabric.

Summary

We have offered to the consideration of this Commission documents showing the need for federal action to curb lynching; interpretation of the causes tending to produce mob violence in the field of inter-race relations; analyzin peonage, teh various forms of race segregation, their predisposing causes and consequences, and the caseof the Negro and the ballot.

None of these questions is susceptible of isolation. All form part of the fundamental issue whether it will be permitted majority groups in America to override not only considerations of humanity and common decency but plain dictates of the Constitution and the laws, in order to humiliate, harass, disadvantage and grossly wrong minority groups. As has been said before, the Negro in this situation, constites the shock troops for all minority groups in America, and in this respect is the essential test of the validity of American democracy.

For the immediate consideration of your Commission, having in mind the situation set forth, which we hope may be amplified in the public hearings to be conducted, we make the following recommendations toward adjustment and betterment of existing maladjustments with a view to bringing about law enforcement:

1. A federal law vesting in federal juries, jurisdiction over lynching and lynchers, where local authorities fail to prosecute or convict; the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill to serve as a guide for this legislation.

2. Federal enactments for the enforcement of constitutional guarantees now being flagrantly violated, especially in disfranchisement of Negro citizens.

3. The creation of a federal agency in which both colored and white groups will be represented, to maintain investigations of existing conditions, issue educational publications, recommend needed legislation and institute adjustment of disputes, and to conduct a campaign of public education in Ameracanism, directed not toward aliens but to Americans in the field of race relations.

Pecking at Harlem

THE SUN of last Friday displayed on its front page an article by Lemuel F. Parton, entitled "Harlem Becomes a Problem." It says that Harlem, the Mecca of many a cornfield Negro, brings disillusionment to all but the few who happen to get into the amusement enterprises patronized by the whites; that the gaudy appeal of Harlem has attracted mainly light-footed Negroes, gifted in the theatrical arts, and that if there were more pick and shovel addicts among them they would have much less trouble in finding work. It says also that the slums of Harlem are worse in some ways than the East Side slums of ten or twenty years ago. It dwells upon the high death rate from tuberculosis in Harlem. It concludes that something must be done about the black population which is creeping up and down the island of Manhattan.

THE ARTICLE reads as if it had been written on a table in a Harlem cabaret. A white visitor who sees nothing of Harlem but its cabarets and their accessory establishments is apt to think that they are the main centers of Negro life. If he is a man of intellect and vision, however, he will hardly believe that the majority of 250,000 people are theatrical performers or aspirants. The average white writer loses all his logic when he discusses the Negro. He himself may have fled from Europe to escape persecution, but it never occurs to him that the Negro may have come to Harlem for the same reason.

IT IS UNFAIR to slur the Negro masses as loafers, who hate pick and shovel work. They are glad to do such work when they have the chance. Instead of sneering at men for not working, why not blame the labor unions and the employers who refuse to give them work?

IN WHAT WAYS are the slums of Harlem worse than the East Side slums? Are they more congested?

Is there anything in Harlem to match the story of the writer, Anzia Yeszierska, who said that in her East Side girlhood she lived in a room with eleven other people? It requires very little searching to find neighborhoods in New York City that are more squalid, more pestilent, more scabrous than any quarter in the whole length and breadth of Harlem.

IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED, too, that if there is a suspicion of bombs being manufactured, of anything menacing to American institutions, the last place the police would search is Harlem. Critics would know more about Harlem if they spent less time with the hoofers and more with the workers.

Jewish Estimate Of William Pickens

(Editorial in St. Louis, Mo., Y.M.H.A. Journal)

It is true that most of us think of the Negroes as our criminals and as our slaves. It offends our race pride, when it does not amuse us, to recognize any of them as scholars and gentlemen. And yet, there were a number of such Negroes who attended the Liberal Forum the other evening to hear William Pickens.

Somehow the magnet—call Pickens a scholar and a gentleman because he is much more. Yes, he is a Negro, a black and a noisy Negro, if you will, but he cannot be explained by the general chemics of biology and heredity. There is something in that man as there is in the sea and the jungle of the power and nakedness of the Creator. In that man are also moods of tragedy and great joy.

He has taken heavy punishment for living at all,—but he has learned to lift his broad head and laugh in the face of the world, both black and white. He has learned to say the most insulting and impartial truths with a laugh that dares the god in us to hear him or to strike him. Some call him a minstrel show. That points out the blind spot in the critic who fails to see the real Pickens. His irony and his laughter may keep him sane, they also serve to keep us tolerant. He knows that, and so, he dares to laugh.

There is nothing sentimental about this man; nothing bitter. He is as sane and honest as anyone who has attempted to champion the cause of his people. Therein lies his charm. We are tired of hearing "slave" talk, with its delicate evasions and unmentionable facts.

Pickens cared neither to praise nor to insult. Queerly enough, he was anxious to tell the truth about man and race. By a natural sincerity he stimulated and won an audience.

NEWS

Philadelphia Pa

MAY 28 1928

A SUGGESTION

If the Negro was endured in France, why can't he be endured here? I dare say, if he took another man's fiancee out on the lawn he would have as much respect for her as any man of her own race would. He has been taught all his life to respect and fear the white man.

Do you think all white men are gentlemen? The Negro at least does not go around posing as a gentleman salesman and as soon as he finds a Negro woman alone in her home insult her. If the Negro is so bad, and the white man so good, then why not help him to be like you? I thank God there are a few civilized men left.

MAY COLES.



AN UN-INVITED GUEST AT HIS HEELS!

Race Problem - 1929
United States

"Renaissance of the Negro"

A Review by J. A. ROGERS

HARLEM is not only the capital of the American Negro, but of the black race the world over, according to Franck L. Schoell of the League of Nations, Geneva, who writes of "The Renaissance of the American Negro" in a forty-two page article in the January number of La Revue de Paris, leading French periodical.

Mr. Schoell's article bears the stamp of originality. He has evidently lived in the United States and is, moreover, the author of a book on the American Negro, "La Question Noire aux Etats-Unis," published in Paris some years ago.

The article contains little that will be new or startling to the Negro reader of average intelligence but, so far as the European reader is concerned, it is significant and highly important, since the latter knows very litle of the real life and aspirations of the American Negro.

The race riots after the war, the industrial movement of the South, the drift of the Negro population citywards, are all capably dealt with in the opening of the article.

Considerable space is devoted to Harlem as a center of Negro culture and progress. "There exists now," he says, "a capital of the black world, as much African as American. It is New York.

"I do not mean a capital so far as figures alone are concerned. It is not necessary to consult figures at all. One had only to visit the Negro quarter of New York—Harlem. One has only to ask the first Negro he meets in a tobacco factory in Winston-Salem, or read a Negro newspaper of Lynchburg, Va., to realize the role that the square mile or so of upper Manhattan Isle plays in the imagination of colored people. After this, he will readily conclude that Harlem is very much a spiritual capital—



— J. A. Rogers —

the only capital of a whole race that I know of in the world."

In visiting Harlem, however, the reader is warned not to expect a different city, architecturally speaking. What he will find is an area of colored faces, sandwiched between two areas of white. Apart from that, Harlem is New York and New York is Harlem.

Take a bus at the foot of Seventh avenue, he says, and ride uptown. One passes far more than a hundred blocks nothing unusual: stores, apartment buildings, drug stores, buildings going up or coming down, autos, etc., and during al that time humanity is just as one sees it in Europe.

The writer tells of the Negro property owners of Harlem, Negro business, and the meeting of the different nationalites of Negroes, all forced together by prejudice.

"An amusing proverb runs: The Jews own New York; the Irish run it, and the Negroes enjoy it. Schoell comments on this and then devotes space to the rise of a Negro middle class in Harlem, Durham and elsewhere.

As to the Negro press, he says that in recent years the Negro "has made very rapid and striking intellectual progress, which one will perceive, perhaps, especially if one reads the Negro journals, or, rather, some of them.

.He finds, however, that Negro journals, on the whole, are inclined to exaggerate Negro achievement, puffing out small events until they would seem to be of first-rate importance.

There is a brief review of the accomplishments of present-day Negro writers, with mention of their works. Poems of Claude McKay and Langston Hughes, translated into French, are given." It is perhaps as poets that the Negro Americans are most gifted," he says, "or that their natural gifts harmonize the best with the times."

The world outlook of the American Negro, the writer finds, is enlarging. Once upon a time he was born in a cabin near a cotton field and he died there. Now he is travelling. He goes over the world as a musician; he travels as a scholar and as a tourist. Besides, he keeps in touch with what is happening to Negroes in other parts of the world. The League of Nations, he says, is establishing a type of colonial administration quite different from that existing before the war. "And Harlem observes Geneva, because Harlem believes, also, it has a sacred mission of civilization" to perform.

As to the future of the Negro, he thinks that those whites who show so much interest in Negroes now are going to lose it as the Negroes continue to advance. "This increasing vogue among the whites for the products of Negro art: dance, music, sculpture, poetry, literature, will wane." The Negroes, he says, now enjoy it with "a thrill of joy and pride, but it will not last always.

Speaking of the continued presence of the Negro in America, he quotes De Tocqueville, who wrote in 1835: "The Negro race will never leave the shores of the American continent, where the passions and vices of Europe caused him to land. . . . The destiny of the Negroes is in some way bound up with that of the Europeans. The two races are bound one to the other. It is as difficult to separate them completely as it is to unite them. . . . The Negro race will disappear from the New World only when he ceases to exist."

All in all, the article is a fairly comprehensive review of the Negro and his activities. There are several errors—the writer attributes too much of the impetus of the back-to-Africa movement to the meeting of African and American Negroes in France during the war, for instance. It cannot be called flattering, yet it is far from being unfriendly. It is, rather, critical and an atempt to give a just appraisal, which is, perhaps, best, after all.

NEGRO PROBLEM TOPIC OF NEW YORK BISHOP

Prominent Clergyman Delivers First of Lecture Series at Gammon Seminary

Claiming that the race problem is not a sectional nor national problem, but a matter of universal interest, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of New York, president of the Federal Council of Churches, Wednesday afternoon told an audience at Gammon seminary that "America has the opportunity to do the world a great service by finding means by which diverse races may live side by side in mutual good will and helpfulness."

Bishop McConnell is delivering a series of addresses at Gammon seminary on "The Wider Significance of the African Problem." Other addresses will be delivered at 3:30 o'clock this afternoon and Friday at 11 o'clock in the morning and 3:30 o'clock in the afternoon.

Problem Not Sectional.

"The race problem in our country is not sectional," Bishop McConnel said. "No section has a right to assume a 'holier than thou' attitude toward any other. It is not even an American problem, nor one exclusively of white and black relationships. Instead, it is a human problem of world-wide extent.

"It happens, however, that America, and particularly the south, occupies a position of peculiar importance in relation to the problem, so that our leadership in this field is almost certain to influence the world vastly.

"I am not afraid of the uprising of the tinted races that some have predicted, but I am afraid that unless we speedily build a bridge of justice and cooperation the chasm of misunderstanding and distrust may become so deep as to be impassable."

Urges Calmness.

Bishop McConnell emphasized the necessity of looking at the race problem objectively and without passion, seeking to see its world-wide aspects, and to make all possible allowances for honest human mistakes and inconsistencies.

The distinguished clergyman also will address an interdenominational mass meeting at 7:30 o'clock tonight at the Wesley Memorial church under the auspices of the Atlanta Christian council.

Bishop McConnell, who succeeded Dr. Parkes Cadman as president of the Federal Churches of Christ, commended the Atlanta Christian council for the work it is doing. He said the national organization is the most representative and influential religious organization in the world.

USE THE HAMMER ON BOTH

[Reprinted by Request]



If the strong arm of Uncle Sam padlocks places catering to public patronage for violating the 18th amendment, a law having to do with the regulation of one's thirst—



Why can't he nail a similar padlock on public places that violate the 14th amendment, a law having to do with the constitutional rights of American citizens?

STAR
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

FEB 11 1929

NEGRO NOT ONLY RACE HAVING PROBLEMS, ASSERTS SPEAKER

"The Negro is not the only man who has a problem to solve in this world of ours," Dr. Howard E. Jensen of the University of Missouri and formerly of Butler university, declared in an address at the First Baptist Church yesterday afternoon.

He spoke on "The Negro as a Human Being," his address featuring the seventh annual observance of Interracial Sunday.

"The Negro race has never suffered as the Jewish race has suffered," Dr. Jensen asserted. "Nor has his race been persecuted and slaughtered like the Turks have been known to slaughter and persecute the Armenians."

Mayor Presents Award.

Prior to Dr. Jensen's address Mayor L. Ert Slack made the formal presentation of the Harmon award to J. Howard Brown, teacher of music at Crispus Attucks high school. The award was for "distinguished and outstanding achievement among Negroes."

Mr. Brown was presented with a medal and the sum of $100 which goes with the award. Telegrams of greeting and congratulation to those sponsoring Interracial Sunday in this city and to the recipient of the award were read by Mayor Slack. Messages were received from Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Pa., Washington and other cities.

Dr. Jensen pointed out that the Negro has the same problem to solve as the farmer, the laborer, and women who are seeking to gain recognition in the business world.

"No one group can claim an exaggerated power over another," he said, "and the responsibility of the turnmoil that is sweeping the world today rests with the groups in power. The Negro's place is what his own capacity and talent can make it."

Musical Program Heard.

Much applause greeted Dr. Jensen's remarks when he said, "It is a tragedy to place in the heart of any human being a hope unless it is made a fact, and that hope a reality."

F. E. DeFrantz, secretary of the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A., was chairman of the meeting. The program included a solo by Mrs. Robert W. Blake, numbers by the Crispus Attucks high school glee club and community singing. Mr. Brown played a piano solo, an original composition. Mrs. Belamar McWorkman was organist.

Vice chairmen for the observance were Mrs. Samuel Ashby, Homer W. Borst, the Rev. Henry L. Herod, Dr. W. F. King, Miss Mae Belcher, who introduced the speaker; the Rev. Charles H. Winders, F. B. Ransom, Edgar H. Evans, Mrs. Belle Hendon, M. D. Lupton, Dr. Ernest N. Evans and Robert L. Brokenburr.

Co-Operate in Observance.

Organizations co-operating in observance of Interracial Sunday included the interracial committee of the Indianapolis Council of Social Agencies, race relations committee of the Church Federation of Indianapolis, Central branch of the Y. W. C. A., Phyllis Wheatley branch of the Y. W. C. A., Central branch of the Y. M. C. A., colored branch of the Y. M. C. A., Flanner house and members of the Butler university Y. W. C. A. interracial groups.

Bugle calls were sounded by Boy Scouts and Boy Scouts also acted as ushers.

Declares Whites Still Ignorant Of "New" Negro

Reading, Pa., April 10—Before a mixed audience of several hundred citizens in the spacious Redmen's Hall here today, Frank R. Crosswaith of New York, Organizer of the U. C. S. of A. declared that white America does not know the Negro. "The popular conception of the American of African descent, whose forebearers 300 years ago were kidnapped on the shores of Africa and brought into the Western world as slaves, and who, through the changing centuries following, has remained just a slave, with a child's mind. "Ask the average American about the New Negro today and you will hear a tale which takes you back to plantation days" said Mr. Crosswaith. "They do not know that the Negro today is beginning to think and act in a fashion which is at once promising and encouraging to those of us who want to live in an America free of prejudice and injustice." "The industrialization of the South and the advent of the Negro into the so-called skilled trades among other things, are making profound impressions upon the mind of the American Negro.

The Negro today is overhauling his whole philosophy of life; he is demanding a new kind of religion, a new social and economic order, and the sooner we recognize that the type of Negro immortalized by Harriett Beecher Stowe in Uncle Tom's Cabin is gone forever and that a New Negro now makes his debut in the arena of men, the sooner will we be constrained to deal with him on the basis of a man, the equal of other men.

Mr. Crosswaith's subject was "Socialism and the Negro." In the course of his address he referred to the present "Fumigation program of the Republican Party:" President Hoover, he said, had officially consummated the task begun several years ago by the Republican Party in its efforts to secure power in the South by discarding the Negro. The action of Mr. Hoover will help greatly to convince the Negro that his only hope for justice, social, political and economic, is through the establishment of a Socialist order."

Race Problem. 1929
United States.

HIS FIRST REPORT CARD



J. Rogers

NEW YORK EVE. POST

APR 1 - 1929

"DARKY"

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir—I do not recall ever hearing a negro take offense at being called a darky. In the particular section of Central Kentucky where I lived it was a term of respect and courtesy, "old darky" often meaning a well-liked elderly colored man or woman. I make no claim that this is the usage of the word in the North or in other parts of the South.

Contrary to the usual impression, negroes are not always offended at the word "nigger." Well-bred Southern men and women use it unconsciously instead of saying negro. Negroes use the term themselves, sometimes with actual pride. I have an uncle who is perhaps the most beloved man in his home county, especially by the negroes. But he uses the word frequently without arousing any antagonism. "It depends upon who says it and how he says it," he once told me.

Negroes are quick to detect social distinctions among white people and are most offended when they are called "niggers" by the people they call "poor white trash." This is actually true, not a story-book tradition.

One of your correspondents cited a passage from Claude McKay's "Home to Harlem." I do not think Mr. McKay and the author of "Nigger Heaven" have a very deep understanding or appreciation of the Southern negro as I learned to know the race. Their stories may be true of Harlem and reflect the tendency of the younger negroes around the larger cities of the South, but in rural Kentucky a few years ago they were vastly different, and I hope still are.

ARTHUR L. HODGES.

Rockville Centre, L. I., March 30,1929.

Opportunity, Not Alms.

The Negro is an outstanding character in our cosmopolitan population. He is held in a state of aloofness by every other group forming a part of the nation. His place in the national life is a conundrum discussed by all other elements as a problem. While he is more American than any other group, he is not taken into the program, locally, nationally or internationally, as are the other groups. He is regarded more as a liability charged against our civilization than as an asset enhancing the value of American life. He is the most talked about, misunderstood and abused of any group forming a part of our people. While he is native born and 100 per cent American, he is considered, industrially, economically and socially, an alien. There is but little disposition in any part of the country to take him into the citizen body and develop him into a useful and helpful citizenship, participating in the economic, commercial and political life of the community or nation.

Independent

In spite of this proscription and failure to recognize his relative relations to the national life, he does not beg nor ask for alms. All he wants is an opportunity. He will write the name of his group permanently and indelibly in the national life, if given the opportunity afforded other groups. All he wants is a man's chance—a free hand in the struggle of life—an opportunity to make good.

Politically speaking, he does not want to run the government. All he wants is a vioce in the selection of those who are best fitted and equipped to direct the affairs of state. He does not want alms from the individual or state, but an opportunity to do his bit. He believes in the law of the survival of the fittest—in the rule of wealth and intelligence. He cares not whether he is an officer or not; he wants a voice in the selection of those who are to rule over him, and in the making of the laws that are to control his life, happiness and property. That's all he wants; that's all he asks for; that's all he insists upon having, and that's all he will contend for until he fully enjoys it. He is opposed to both Negro domination and white supremacy. He does not believe that a black man should dominate because he is black, or the white man is supreme because he is white. He believes in representative government. He believes in government by the consent of the governed—a government for the people, by the people and of the people.

4-14-29

Commercially speaking, he wants an opportunity to build a commerce of his own, in common with the other groups entering into our population. He feels where he is best fitted, and when he is equipped to deliver the goods he ought not to be discriminated against and the door of hope and opportunity shut in his face, because of his color; but that the door should stand ajar for every man who prepares himself to do his work, whether with the head or hand, better than the other fellow.

Economically speaking, he feels that the banks, the trust companies, the corporations and the captains of industry should not turn him down on the ground of his color; but that he should be given an opportunity, other things being equal, to grow healthy, strong and independent by the use of other men's money, in common with other groups.

Atlanta, Ga.

In transportation on the railroads, he cares nothing about riding in the car with a white man; but what he wants is equal accommodations, equal comforts and such protection as will make his life, his health and his comfort, when traveling, as safe as the other fellow. When he pays a dollar for a first-class ticket, he feels he ought to

have first-class service. He objects, and does so stoutly, against the policy of caste that prescribes him to a certain course and certain discomforts. If he enters a public building, while he cares nothing for riding on the elevator with a white man, he does object to losing hours of precious time waiting for the elevator to come down that hauls packages, freight and Negroes. He feels that, if a white man can ride on the elevator set aside for Negroes, a Negro ought to be permitted to ride on an elevator set aside for white men; that there should be no discrimination in elevator service. He objects to being denied privileges and opportunities of a public station or building that are afforded to dogs. If a white man approaches an elevator with his dog, he and his dog go up together on the elevator; but if he has business with a Negro, and the Negro accompanies him to the elevator, he takes the elevator and then must wait upstairs until the elevator goes down labeled for packages, freight and Negroes.

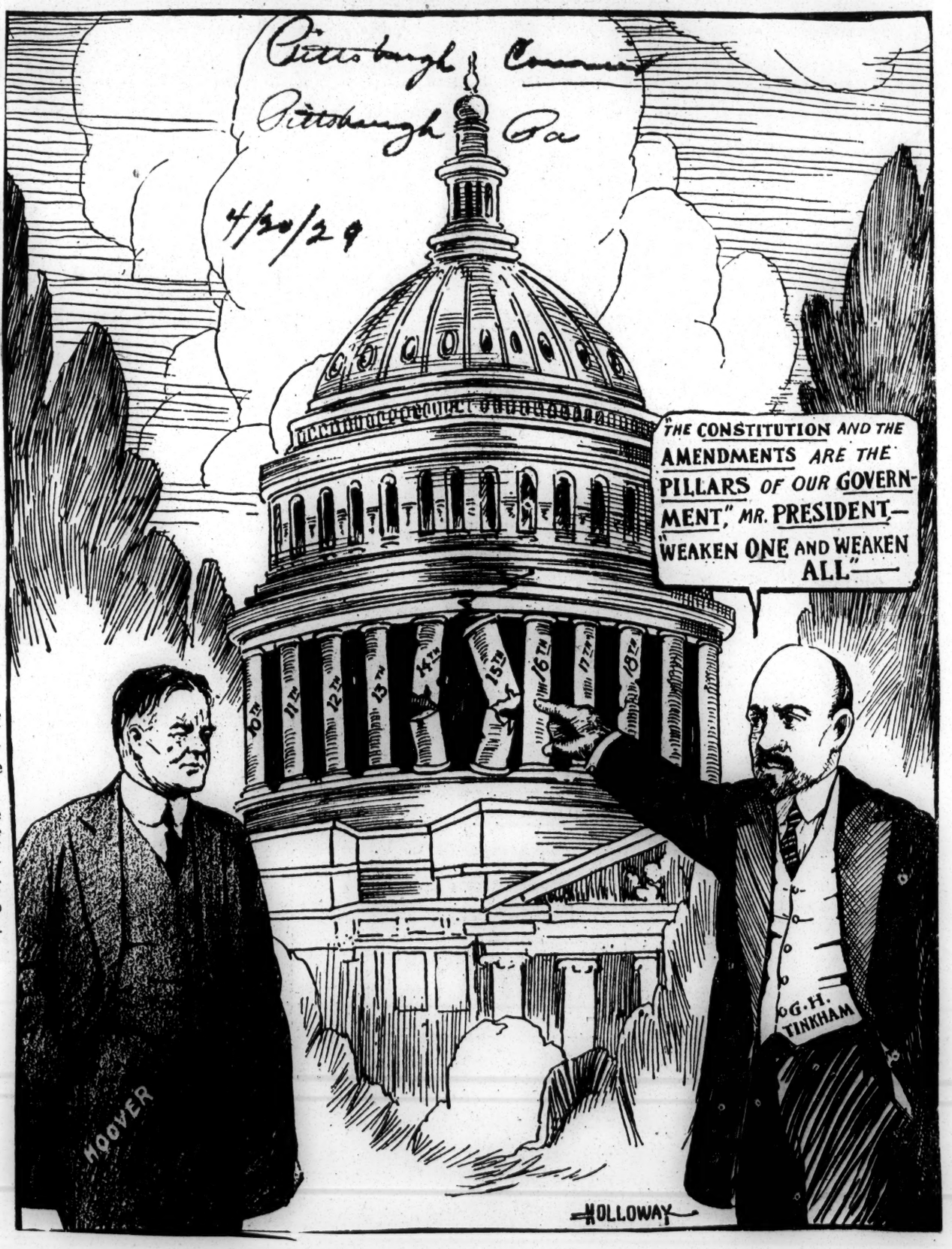
Educationally speaking, he objects to the state appropriating one dollar for the education of a Negro child and twelve dollars for the education of a white child. He believes the state is recreant to its duty and will never get anywhere keeping half of its people in ignorance and the other half in prejudice. And, in the last analysis, prejudice is ignorance. Mr. Lincoln said that the republic could not endure half free and half slave, and we are pleased to add that it cannot endure half ignorant and half educated. What the Negro wants is opportunity, not alms. He does not want any man to give him anything, but to give him an opportunity to work and earn it. Give him a chance in common with other men, politically, economically and industrially. Give his children the same opportunity in the schoolroom you give the other fellow's child. He does not ask for any right that the law does not provide. He wants neither pity nor sympathy. He wants no consideration because he is a Negro; but every opportunity and every privilege because he is a man.

The problem, in the last analysis, is going to resolve itself into a white man's problem, rather than a Negro problem.

Ignorance is a dangerous thing, and there is no higher evidence of dense and mean ignorance than prejudice. There is something fundamentally wrong about a man or people who are unwilling to give another man or people the same opportunities he, himself, enjoys.

No government can expect its subjects to take care of it in the time of war, if it fails to take care of them in the time of peace. If the Negro was good enough to make the supreme sacrifice in Flanders Field, he is good enough in the time of peace, every other thing being equal, to administer medicine, dentistry and care not only to Negro soldiers, but to white soldiers. What we want is OPPORTUNITY, not ALMS.

"CONSISTENCY, THOU ART A JEWEL"



Race Problem—1929
United States.

-:- The Constitution -:-

By KELLY MILLER

THE Constitution of the United States is a practical document, devised by practical men for practical purposes. We, the people within the territory, recently severed from the mother country, had just emerged from a victorious war. The existing form of government was too indefinite and incoherent for permanent security under efficient administration. It was necessary to form a more perfect union. Then, as now, the country was divided into groups with diverse and antagonistic interests and ideals.

The Declaration of Independence contained the fundamental political maxims upon which the new fabric must be founded. A number of delegates or deputies were appointed from the thirteen colonies who draw up a code of procedure. As a result, we have the Constitution of the United States.

It was necessarily a compromise document. Some of the delegates advocated a weak Federal structure, others strove for a strong centralized Union; some believed in the rights of man, while others advocated the dominance of property; the South stood unshakably for slavery, while the North opposed it. The Constitution is the result of conflicting views and opinions. Perhaps no one of the signers of the document believed in it in its integrity, but all were confident that it was this or anarchy.

No one who had anything to do



— Kelly Miller —

with making the Constitution regarded it as sacred. Indeed, the makers appended their signatures with hesitancy and misgivings. The document contained acknowledged iniquities, such as the continuance of the slave trade for two decades and the safeguarding of the property in human beings.

And yet this document has acquired sacredness by the devotion of those who have accepted it. It resides in the mind and heart and spirit of those who adore the object to which it is applied, and not to the object itself.

The Constitution is the charter by which the ship of state is guided upon the high seas of storm and danger. By devotion to this charter the good old ship will sink or swim, survive or perish. Every true and loyal citizen, therefore, will not only will to love the Constitution, but will love it. Its defects, imperfections and shortcomings will no more dampen their ardor than the freckles on the face of the mother affects the affection of her loving child.

Unfortunately, the American people have always allowed their local, selfish and sectional feelings, interests and passions to affect their respect and obedience to the Constitution. America is the most lawless nation within the family of civilized nations, because it shows least respect and reverence for its fundamental law.

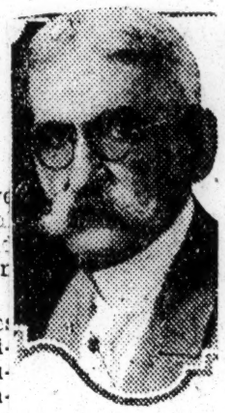
President Hoover, fully conscious of the danger which threatens the nation, has called upon all the people to pause for a brief period to study the Constitution and contemplate its deeper meaning and significance. Our professed reverence for the Constitution becomes a byword and a sham as long as we fail to subordinate local, personal and selfish interests, passions and prejudices to the broader aims in view.

The Southerner who professes love and reverence for the Constitution, scornfully flouting the human rights provisions; the Northerner who claims devotion to the organic law of the land while winking at the violation of the Eighteenth Amendment; the Negro who swears undying fealty to this great charter of his and the nation's liberty while taking liberties with the Eighteenth Amendment; all are liars and the truth is not in them. You cannot revere the Constitution in spots. If there be spots and blemishes, let them be removed by the ordained methods; but their temporary prevalence should in no wise dampen our ardor nor diminish our devotion.

I want to commend the example of Congressman Oscar DePriest emphasizing upon the attention of the Negro race the special importance of studying the Constitution.

The Elks, under the matchless leadership of J. Finley Wilson, deserve great commendation for bringing the question to the attention of Afro-American youth through competitive oratorical contests.

The Constitution means more to the Negro than to the white American. To the white man the Constitution is merely the draft of liberty, while to the Negro it is the source and fountain-head of his political status and civil rights.



the midst of the dual white and black population of these southern states, I must honestly declare that I have not yet discovered what constitutes the so-called and much talked about "negro problem." It is as undiscernible to me as the fourth dimension and as elusive as the ungetatable Einstein theory.

The only negro problem that I can think of is the negro's problem with himself. And it is his individual and sole-ownership problem. When he settles it with himself it will be settled for him and for everybody else with whom he has relations.

After 64 years of freedom the average negro is still moving in an atmosphere of mystery and of blind misunderstanding of his rights and possibilities. He is still, in the by and large, the victim of his suddenly emancipated imaginations, and of malign misinformation by shrewd fanatics who used him as an animated robot to serve their political and financial profit, and of a racial consciousness inflamed by sharpers of his own breed and crude or corrupt preachers of his own color. No other people in all history, but the Irish, have ever been so misled and misused by those whom they suffered to act as their leaders.

* * * *

Present Status of the Negro.

It is unprofitable to anyone now to hark back and review the sordid scoundrelism of the southern "reconstruction" era when northern adventurers and thieves abused the white people and misused the black people of these prostrate and impoverished states. That dismal and damnable history will take care of itself.

It is equally unprofitable to discuss the status of those negroes who are living north of the Mason and Dixon line. They are among their lovers who think it a downright meanness on the part of the Creator of the human race that he made the negro "a brother in black." And there we may well leave them to work out their salvation with great joy and spiritual comfort.

What interests me is to identify the ingredients of the "negro problem" in the south which is so perpetually discussed in northern circles and publications. There is hardly any discussion of it here in the south, where it is assumed by the northerners to be the main crux of our civilization.

Somewhere near to 40 per cent of our general southern population are negroes whose primary needs—food, clothing and shelter—are identical with those of the white people. But I have neither heard nor read of any "negro problem" of how any honest and industrious negro is to get bread and meat, and raiment and roof. All the "unemployment" we know of in the south is non-racial and voluntary

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.
OCT 20 1929

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Drawing a Seine in an Effort To Capture That Long-Fabled Negro Problem.

What is "the negro problem?" Having been born in the south during the slavery era, and having lived all my life in

—a sporadic vagrancy as noticeable among whites as among blacks. So far as the right to live safely, labor freely and enjoy earnings and honestly acquired property is concerned, no white people in any nation are more securely circumstanced than the negro people of the south. And that fact defies denial!

* * * *

What They are Yammering About.

Anyone who scans the negro publications will discover that the chief string of their bass fiddle is that the fifteenth amendment is "nullified," or "violated" by southern democrats and that the negroes are not allowed to vote their views and demands.

All of which is notoriously and provably false. Every republican in the congress, except George Tinkham Holden, knows that the aforesaid negro suffrage amendment is neither violated nor nullified by any southern state. If it is, the negro's complaint goes first against the republican presidents and congresses of the past 50 years, rather than against the southern people. But congress knows, and President Hoover knows, that all the talk about negro disfranchisement by intimidation and force in the south is pluperfect poppycock—the whole stock in trade of slick negro editors and traders in federal small-size jobs.

Taking the facts right here in Georgia, even that small bunch of blackbirds are forced to admit that they are yammering about what ain't so. In 1928, according to the report of the state's comptroller general, poll taxes were collected from 402,623 persons, of which 77,446 were colored taxpayers. As taxpaying is part of the qualification for voting it is plain to see that the white taxpayers were 325,177 more than the negro taxpayers, and in a white vs. black contest at the polling booths would beat the negroes by 247,731 majority, without resort to any force or fraud to accomplish the result. Why, then, should the white voters of Georgia worry and labor to deny any negro his qualified right to vote and be counted?

* * * *

Why They Do Not Assert Themselves.

Last year it is fairly certain that every negro qualified voter in Georgia voted for Hoover and Curtis electors. The votes cast for the Hoover electors and the anti-Smith-Hoover electors were separately and fully returned to the secretary of state. No complaint has been registered from any section of the state that negro voters were intimidated and bulldozed away from the polls.

The republican party seldom nominates a state or congressional candidate so as to give their negro voters an inducement to qualify and vote. And the negroes do not put up candidates for governor, statehouse officers, legislators and congressmen; so who is to blame for their not voting, since they almost unanimously refuse to vote for democrats—the only candidates in the field?

Unless I am wildly mistaken I do not believe there are 40 native white republicans in Georgia who would vote for a negro candidate for governor, United States senator, congressman or state representative. I know probably a hundred outstanding white men in Atlanta who are straight-up republicans, but I do not know one of them who would openly support and vote for a negro candidate for public office.

White Georgia republicans, under their skin, are no more friendly to a negro's aspiration to be a big mastiff in the political pack than are native white democrats. The average negro of sense knows that and he also has come to know that white men are set to make as good government for themselves as they can, and that good government for the white man is equally good government for the black man.

* * * *

No Genuine Wrongs To Resent.

The "Jim Crow" complaint of the "big nigger" who thinks himself better than the run of his race and craves to ride in "de white folkes kyah" is simply the bray of a sable ass.

Railway trains are not covered by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Nor are theaters, hotels, restaurants, schools, or any other places of private ownership and common congregation, except the polling booths. The supreme court of the United States early, in the famous civil rights cases, put the colored citizens on full notice to that effect.

What our negro fellow-citizens are entitled to are equal rights under the laws of the land. Those rights are legally defined, easy to understand, and the courts will support and enforce them.

I am in favor of every negro who can qualify as a voter the same as I have to do being admitted to cast his free ballot as safely as I do and to have it fairly and honestly counted. I have no more tolerance for a white rascal than for a black one. The man in the polling booth who will miscount or throw out a negro's ballot because he is black will just as quickly miscount or throw out mine because it does not read to suit his wish. That sort of rascal ought to spend at least a year on a chaingang in stripes.

The negroes of Georgia own 1,444,294 acres of land assessed for $13,491,117; town propery assessed for $24,726,311; automobiles assessed for $1,963,182; and total taxed property of $48,633,022, which means that their actual property in the state is worth at least $150,000,000. Nothing like that record of progress and solid achievement has been made by any other emancipated race, in like proportion, in all the cycles of history.

Armistice Day—Lest We Forget!



There was no color line when duty called "somewhere in France" back in 1918. We fought, bled and died together.



But—In 1919, when the war was over, we returned to segregated camps. Later we found that jobs were for "whites only," including Mexicans, Chinese and other foreigners.



Now—Eleven years later, we have the opportunity of contrasting the democracy for which we fought and the rewards which the men who fought for France reaped.

Race Problem - 1929

United States

U.S. STALE, FLAT ROGERS FINDS AFTER EUROPE

Audiences Abroad Can't Hear Enough of Race Orators.

GARVEY CITED

Enthusiasm at Paris

By J. A. ROGERS

NEW YORK. — Returning to America after an absence of nearly three years I must confess that the thing that has struck me most is the general apathy I note among Negroes regarding their own situation.

I may be expecting too much, but I have fresh in my mind the actions of minority groups in Europe and the energy and determination with which they go about getting what they feel is theirs. I observed Hindus, Indo-Chinese, Fascists, Royalists, Communists, Laborites, Socialists, and all were enthusiastic. I would that space would permit my describing some of the lively incidents I saw at these meetings.

Left with Headache

Even as regards the cause of the American Negro, I saw more interest and enthusiasm there than I have seen at any meeting in America except in the Garvey gatherings here. When Garvey spoke in Paris before the Club du Faubourg, in one of the largest theatres, the place was packed and the discussion was so heated and the general excitement so great that I left with a roaring headache. And there were less than thirty Negroes in that gathering.

Again when Prof. Matthews and William Pickens spoke to a group of German youths in Berlin, the interest of these white persons exceeded that of any usual gathering of Negroes in America. I happened to be one of the speakers myself, and at the close I was besieged by those wanting to know more and to have me make addressed. One professor invited me to come to speak at the University of Berlin, another insisted on my coming to address his school of young ladies the next day. I went there and was questioned so much that I was talked out. As to Prof. Matthews and Mr. Pickens, I am sure they had similar experiences.

These are but two of the many instances of the great interest I saw manifested regarding the American Negro in Europe.

Stale and Flat

Is it any wonder then that one feels that matters are stale and flat when he returns to America?

A stranger might reply that the Negro in America shows little curiosity about himself because he already knows all. But it is just the opposite. More than ninety-nine per cent of even the educated ones know very little about the history or the doings of their own group.

The truth is, they are so hypnotised by "whiteness" that they can see little or no worth in their own. No Negro in America has ever been of any importance until he has been given the okeh of the whites. How very much like the days of slavery when the poor slave who wanted any favor was compelled to take the cue from his master! How aptly the censures of Frederick Douglass and Edward Wilmot Blyden fit the situation today!

White Flattery

One hears a lot about the tremendous progress of the Negro. I have rarely heard a white speaker to a Negro audience who did not stress this. But this is only relatively true and largely a bit of flattery.

The Negro is living in the richest land on earth. He is at least three times better off than the German or Frenchman, or Englishman of even the middle class. Under these conditions he could not help acquiring some wealth. The dog who lives in a well-fed household can't help getting fat if but from the droppings from the table.

Droppings

And the Negro, so far, has been getting fat mostly from the droppings. Time and again one reads of some poor immigrant coming to America earning in thirty years or less more wealth than the total fortune of our thousand wealthiest Negroes. And yet the Negro is on the spot.

There is, of course, the handicap of color, but the yet greater handicap is the feeling that he, as a Negro, "must stay in his place." The poor white immigrant also has his Iliad of woes, but if he is ambitious he does not stay in the place to which the native-born has assigned him.

Be a Good Doggie

Our great fault as a group is timidity. And yet nearly all of our leaders keep on preaching conservatism, which is equivalent to saying: "Now be a good little doggie, or the master will chase you away, and you won't get those crumbs."

Yet, the whole world respects the bold, outspoken, manly individual who goes after what he wants as if he meant it. And to do this effectively, he needs developed brains.

Not much Progress

Much is expected from those to whom much is given and when I think of the handicaps of the average European I, for one, do not think that the Negro has made so much progress.

Many reasons could be given but I must limit myself to two of the most important. The first is the Negro press.

Now the written word is perhaps the dominating force in civilized society. It propagates ideas, and ideals rule the man. The first move of any who wishes to get in power or to remain in is to seek control of the press. Mussolini in order to dominate in Italy muzzled the press. The first move of any European minority is to try and create a press.

Half a Million

Here now is an oppressed group of 12,000,000 or more and yet the total weekly circulation of Negro newspapers in America does not exceed half a million, if it is that much. That is less than half the circulation of the leading New York tabloid.

This fact, when told abroad, creates vast astonishment. Indeed, says the European, those people are not interested in themselves.

I fancy I hear some saying: "But there is nothing in the Negro newspaper," which personally I know to be false. For three years I was able to keep more informed about the doings of Negro America than a good many on this side, and I got my information from the Negro press.

Hypnotized

And that is not to say that there is not vast room for improvement in Negro journalism, but the reason why many say that they see nothing in the Negro newspaper is because they are so hypnotized by "whiteness" that the affairs of their own people can be of no importance to them. Either that, or they are filled with jealousy of the menial who can not bear to hear mention of another. Many of these are the ones who rush for the tabloids, which are not a whit better, if as good.

Mr. Norris of Philadelphia recently pointed out an important fact. He said that the greatest factor in the destruction of Negro group consciousness—the greatest factory in helping to make the Negro despise himself had been the white press. Also that the greatest factor in helping to rebuild self-respect had been the Negro press.

From what other source can Negroes learn about themselves; from what other source will they get that self-knowledge, which we are told is the beginning of wisdom, but their own press.

Literature Censored

The second and most important factor pointing to the lack of real progress is the present state of Negro literature. At the present time all or nearly all of our literature is first censored by white editors to suit the tastes and prejudices of white audiences; or by Negroes who are supported by white patrons. He who sits at another's table cannot speak his mind to his host.

Bad Names for Jews

Space will not permit my going into details but here is an instance that vividly illustrates the backward state of respect for the Negro group in literature. A Negro writer who has had considerable success, called the Negroes all manner of names in his books. In one of them he did the same for the Jews, but the publishers promptly made him cut out every bad name called them, saying that they would never stand for it.

In telling me this he gave me permission to use his name, but I have reason to believe that he did it on the impulse of the moment, and as this writer has also done considerable good I leave it out.

Yet the Jews in the United States are outnumbered two to one by the Negroes. Plenty of objections may be made that the Jews are rich, and so on, but the real cause is that most of us are too dead when it comes to the assertion of manhood and respect.

THE SOUTH

By J. N. AIKEN

Reprinted from The Virginia Quarterly Review

ALTHOUGH Southern literature now boasts many figures that command national attention, the level of Southern political leadership remains low. The Sahara of the Bozart has become a fertile and productive field, but the dreary waste of Southern politics is still without human vegetation of more than local significance. There is no crop of public men below the Potomac to compare with the Glasgows, the Cabells, the Paul Greens, and with many others whose accomplishments have filled the Southern literary [illegible].

During the Revolution and for nearly fifty years thereafter, the South furnished political leadership for the nation. Four of the first five Presidents were Virginians, and seven of the fifteen men who occupied the White House before 1860 were Southerners. The political history of that early period is studded with the names of men from the South whose minds and talents shone in the cabinet and in Congress. But since that time we have become progressively less prolific until today the sterility of Southern politics is more notable than the productivity of Southern literature. No Southerner has occupied the White House since Andrew Johnson. Candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency, with a single exception in the case of Senator Robinson, have been drawn from other sections of the country for three quarters of a century. * * * *

OF popular leaders capable of appealing to the mind and heart of the nation on great issues, the South has produced none since Jackson. Bryan, Roosevelt, Wilson, La Follette, Smith were all products of the North or the West. Wilson was Southern born, and his boyhood years were spent below the Mason and Dixon line. But after he arrived at manhood, the only Southern influence with which he came into intimate contact was the University of Virginia law school. With this exception, his mature experience and training for political leadership were of the North. The South can not claim him as its own exclusive product. In the field of intellectual leadership, the story is the same. The great minds of American politics in recent years have been Wilson, Hughes, and Root. These men from another section have carried on the tradition the South began when it gave Jefferson, Madison, and Marshall to the nation.

The decline in the quality of Southern leadership may be partly attributed to the blighting effect of the one-party system. It is quite generally recognized that the South's Democratic solidarity has helped to prevent the nomination of Southern men for the presidency and vice-presidency. But that is not the only injury resulting from long adherence to a single political faith. With no second party worthy of the name until last year's presidential election, the Southern States have been for generations deprived of the stimulating influence of well-organized political conflict. * * * *

It is not intended to suggest in making this point that the South has suffered more from serious public abuses under the one-party system than have other sections. The Southern Democratic party has maintained reasonable standards of decency in its conduct of public affairs. * * * * The consideration to be noted here is that the one-party system, even though decently administered, has tended to prevent the development of the superior types of leadership that are often seen in States where well-organized political controversy is the rule.

In recent years, many tendencies have been working toward the disestablishment of the one-party system in the South and, conversely, toward the rise of the two-party system. With the decline in the proportion of Negro population, the spread of education in the Negro race, and the growing disinclination of white Republican leaders in the South to affiliate closely with Negro voters, the racial arguments on which the one-party system was founded have lost much of their force. * * * *

But the restoration of the two-party system may be a slow process, and even if it were to be completed immediately, it would fall far short of giving the South the prestige this section enjoyed in national affairs a century ago. There are other factors besides conflict which enter into the equation of political leadership. Among them an important place must be accorded to population. Southern men were in the ascendancy at Washington during the early stages of our national history partly because they represented populous States and a populous section. Virginia, which gave the nation four of its first five Presidents, topped the list of States in the first three censuses [illegible] North Carolina was the fourth State in population until 1830. The South, exclusive of the border States, had thirty-eight per cent. of the total population in 1790 and thirty-four per cent. in 1810. This was a much larger proportion than the twenty-five per cent. which the South, minus the border States, has today.

LACK of population is hardly a bar to the development of first-rate political ability, but it does tend to prevent the exercise of national leadership. Other things being equal, the man from a populous State with a large vote in Congress and in the electoral college will command the attention of the parties and the nation more readily than a man from a State having only a small number of voters. A conspicuously successful public man in New York with its forty-five electoral votes has a better chance to become a national figure than a man of the same ability in Nebraska with only eight places in the electoral college. Especially in the choice of presidential candidates is the element of population important. The South's handicap on this score is a serious impediment in the way of its ambition once more to furnish the parties with standard bearers for the national campaigns.

Numerical inferiority is not, however an insurmountable obstacle to leadership in Congress or in the cabinet. The great bar to the development of such leadership in the South is not the sparsity of population, nor even the one-party system, but rather the lack of a cause. The West has produced leaders like Borah, LaFollette, Norris and Bryan largely because of its enthusiasm for a cause. For forty years, the West has devoted its undivided political attention and its enthusiasm to the restoration and development of agriculture. * * * * *

There was a time when the South was also enthusiastic over political causes. During the Revolutionary era this section was deeply moved by its devotion to the new concepts of political and economic liberty on which our revolt against the mother country rested. Fifty years later, it was equally aroused in the defense of an economic system threatened with destruction through abolitionist agitation. But since Appomatox, the South has centered its political devotion on causes which seem incapable of developing first-class thinking and first-class leadership.

CHIEF among the South's political preoccupations has been the maintenance of white supremacy, a local rather than a national issue. It is not the purpose here to dogmatize about the race issue. It is one of those great and perplexing social enigmas that call for earnest questioning rather than for positive assertion. But one conclusion stands out clearly in the controversial maze surrounding this difficult problem. It is that white supremacy is not a cause upon which to rear an enduring structure of national political leadership. Consider for a moment, the men who have been during the past thirty years the principal champions of white supremacy: Vardaman of Mississippi; Blease of South Carolina; Jeff Davis of Arkansas. The exploits and the preachments of these men are matters intelligent Southerners would prefer to forget. Yet their names are more closely identified than any others with the issue upon which the South has rested its long political solidarity. If these be the fruits of racial agitation—and there is no reason to believe it can produce better—the South cannot expect to regain its lost leadership while continuing to harp on this issue to the exclusion of all others. The more quickly we displace a major issue so fraught with possibilities of obscurantism, the sooner shall we be able to evolve a straight-thinking, straight-acting type of leadership.

AFTER white supremacy, the South's chief concern in recent years has been prohibition. For a time, it seemed that the warfare on the liquor traffic might prove the political touchstone to bring out the highest qualities of Southern leadership. For a few decades, the South yielded to prohibition a more intense devotion than any other large section. Southern States and Southern public men took the lead in suggesting the Eighteenth Amendment and this whole region was enthusiastic in its early insistence on the sanctity of that enactment. But the hope that prohibition would raise up a higher type of Southern leadership has been disappointed. The dry cause would seem to have developed agitators rather than leaders. Its principal non-clerical spokesmen in the South are the offensive Upshaw of Georgia and the inoffensive Sheppard of Texas. Neither of these men appeal to the imagination of the South or of any other section. * * * *

RSHIP

A THIRD major interest of the South in recent years has been its antagonism to the Catholic church. The extent and the intensity of this antagonism it is no longer possible to doubt. A conviction so strong as to throw five of the Southern States into the Republican column in a presidential election is manifestly as powerful as it is malignant. But the leadership of the anti-Catholic movement is another story. Southern anti-Catholicism's finest offering to the nation is Tom Heflin. The voters of Alabama seem to hold Heflin in enduring affection, but he is hardly a figure to carry on the tradition of Southern statesmanship initiated by Washington and Jefferson and carried on by Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. A more ridiculous fellow than this tilter at papa windmills it would be difficult to find.

THESE are the matters in which the South has exhibited the greatest interest in the past few decades. In none of them contains the makings of a cause to fire the imagination of Southern leaders, it would seem that the South is condemned to a long period of mediocrity in its public men. The immediate prospect, it must be admitted, is not promising. But the case is not altogether hopeless. Southern life and Southern industry are undergoing a series of transformations. Out of the processes of change, new issues may arise to enlist the sympathies of the Southern people and create a new moral fervor in the hearts of Southern leaders. Industrial expansion with its tendency toward the concentration of wealth and influence in the hands of a small group, brings in its train inevitable issues as to the regulation of commerce and banking, the wages and working condition of labor, the distribution of tariff privileges, and the conservation of natural resources, including water power. * * * *

A corresponding development may be expected to occur in the agricultural field. Up to the present time, Southern agriculture, from which the bulk of the South's income is derived, has been sluggish in its reactions to its own necessities. Southern farmers have suffered reverses similar to those which have driven the farmers of the corn and wheat belts to desperate political revolt. Yet in the South the agrarian movement has led to nothing more than a few mild and by no means unanimous manifestations. * * * *

IN the distant background there is also the possibility that the sentiment of Southern white people with reference to the Negro may change in such a way as to promote the development of a cause out of the movement now plainly discernible in the South to remove some of the disabilities under which the Negro labors. The time is by no means ripe for the use of political agencies in furtherance of this movement. At the present juncture the identification of the Negro's cause with any partisan group would tend to injure rather than improve his status. But should such an identification become practicable and desirable at some future time, the ensuing discussion would exercise a powerful and stimulating influence on Southern political leaders. Agitation in behalf of a race oppressed by slavery once produced a Lincoln in the North. A sincere effort to free the same race from other burdensome handicaps would hardly be sterile in the South. Perhaps the fact that the great bulk of America's Negro population resides south of the Potomac may prevent the Negro's cause from ever becoming an object of national political concern. Nevertheless the possibilities for public leadership of the South's awakening conscience on race relationships are not to be disregarded.

IT is to be noted that the three causes in which the South has been interested in the recent past have all been negative in character. The South has been anti-Negro, anti-liquor and anti-Catholic. These negative causes serve the purpose of the politician desirous only of getting into office and staying there. Men are more disposed to vote against what they hate than in favor of what they like. It is only when politics abandons the easy role of negation and essays the more difficult task of affirmation that a great leadership can be developed. The South of Jefferson's day affirmed the independence of the Colonies and the rights of the individual and the States as against the central government. The antebellum South propounded an affirmative constitutional theory in defense of the slavery system. If in its industrial expansion, or in its progress toward a better inter-racial understanding, the present-day South also finds a positive and worthwhile end toward which to direct its political energies, neither the absence of a well-organized two party system nor inferiority in numbers will prevent it from regaining some share of its lost leadership.

Our Recognition Is Inescapable

"IT is interesting," Robert Russa Moton writes in his new book, "What The Negro Thinks," "that where America takes pains to Americanize her foreign elements she finds herself embarrassed by the Negro's insistence on being nothing else but an American—the genuine, simon-pure, 100 per cent. American in the things that America stands for."

It is indeed interesting—and ironical. Sociologists and psychologists should explain it in terms of persisting attitudes founded on historic and social conditions giving rise to race prejudice. But to explain the fact does not make it any less a fact, which to many people is nothing more than a psychological freak, inconsistent, inexplicable, and typical of millions of white Americans.

Many history texts and other books stupidly insist on discussing the Negro along with "alien groups." But the Negro is germain to the soil of America. He has been here longer by far than any but a scant few thousand white Americans, and Indians. He has woven his indelible and priceless mark into the fabric of American progress and civilization. He is doing so increasingly.

It is not only interesting, but downright unjust and blind to impose duties, but deny the rights and status of American citizens to 15,000,000 of them whose blood and sweat are integral parts of American history.

The Negro, meantime, is determined to make himself both self-sufficient and, at the same time, so interdependent a part of this nation's life that to ignore him and his gifts will henceforth be suicidal to national as well as sectional progress. He will ultimately be recognized, and on terms of full citizenship equality, because determining economic and social forces are making that recognition inescapable.

Race Problem - 1929
United States

A Chapter of Democratic Politics

Drawn Upon in Behalf of a Negro Merchant

By JOSEPH COLUMBUS MANNING

A STORE in Alexander City, Ala., set up and run by a colored man, was anything else but a joy forever in the public opinion of "the best people," as exemplified by a white storekeeper in particular, of a town that had peonage farms within a sixteen-mile drive of its incorporated limits. The colored man was E. B. Corprew.

It is difficult for one who has a Montgomery lawyer, and another never lived in a community where Democratic politician, who had a the dominating social, political and reputation as a good stump orator. religious atmosphere is "one hun- He could not best Stallings, who dred per cent American," according was a past master in the art of to Klan interpretation, to think of playing the game, yet he kept trya town being as agitated over just ing.

a store being opened up by a col- At the last big political joint deored man as a crossroads com- bate between Stallings and Wiley, munity.

"To think of it! We have a nigger store!" was a general expression, while disgust, with contempt, was passed around. The town marshal saw to it that there was no loitering on the sidewalk—nothing that even had the appearance of it—on the part of any colored folk in the proximity of that store. They had gathered on Saturday evenings and laughed and talked inside of other stores and grouped on the sidewalk in front of other stores; but the town marshal saw to it that there must be "no nigger carrying on," as he called it, in and around Corprew's store.

"He Won't Last Long."

"He won't last long," was the town verdict of "the best people." He did, however, last, despite the ill will and the nagging. I was postmaster of the town then and I watched this level-headed man as he held the fort. He had more than a level head as an asset. He had calm courage.

It occurred that I could be of an insignificant help to Corprew in an hour, one of them, of his vicissitudes. I drew upon a chapter or incident in Alabama Democratic politics to do so.

In the Second Alabama Congressional District, Jesse Stallings, a stump speaker who knew how to hold a country audience, was regularly elected to Congress although he, as regularly, had opposition in the person of Colonel A. A. Wiley,

placarded by the constable.

Appeals to Manning.

He came to me and recited what had happened. I told him to go to his home and remain there until I sent for him. I then sent word to the town lawyer who had proceeded against Corprew. I told him I had passed the colored man's store and read that notice and that Corprew had some time ago told me about having bought that chewing gum outfit and about the terms of sale; that I had told Corprew to box up that gambling outfit and turn it over to that drummer when he came back to town.

Manning's Strategy.

"Now," I said, "all of you are in trouble and I will have to bring the whole thing to the attention of the Federal authorities. You have been using the mails in corresponding about the sale and collection of this gambling thing, and you are a good lawyer and you know better than to do that, for you know all about those laws passed by Congress to kill the Louisiana State Lottery and this sort of use of the mails. You and the justice of peace and the constable and the drummer are all in for it as well as Corprew; in something as bad as peonage.' ' I then read just as had Stallings. from a big book on that subject.

Matter Hushed Up.

I was then asked how in the world to hush it all up. On being assured that my own knowledge of it all would not be divulged, I advised that that notice be taken from Corprew's door and the plank torn away so Corprew could go on about his business. I would send word to Corprew to come on to his store and not talk about the affair. I would tell him to box up the outfit and express it to the firm that had sent it to him, "and you just write," I said to the lawyer, "that it was the best you could do for them to get their goods sent back to them and charge $10 for services and let the firm pay it. You tell that justice of the peace and constable that you happened to look up the law on the whole matter and to scratch that record off the books quick."

Corprew Reopens.

Within two hours Corprew was doing business. He sent the chewing gum outfit away. From that time on he was let alone by such attachment proceedings. That "learned lawyer and legal light" of the town of Alexander City always felt he had squirmed out of a tight place, while the justice of the peace and the constable continued in the belief that the smart town lawyer had kept them out of the hands of the Government. Peonage prosecutions, in those days, had gotten close to petty Alabama courts and none of them cared to be mixed up in U. S. Court.

Corprew knew what had happened, but he kept a cool head and he did his chuckling away off to himself. My memory of Jesse Stallings and his big Government book saved the day for Corprew.

Store Nailed Up.

Corprew's store had been nailed up by a town constable and a justice of the peace. It all happened while Corprew had gone out at the noon hour to his home for dinner. On his return he saw the door nailed, with a plank across it, and a notice of attachment thereon. A drummer had sold Corprew a chewing gum outfit in which the buyer of gum had the opportunity of getting a number that might entitle the holder to a cheap watch, a clock, a knife, a watch chain and the like. The whole outfit was billed for $75.

It was agreed by the purchaser to pay for it on instalment, according to percentage of sales, and the entire amount not to be paid until all the chewing gum had been disposed of and the prizes awarded.

The drummer decided to force the payment in full thirty days after the date of sale and had a town lawyer to bring action before the justice of the peace and get the verdict desired. This was done and Corprew had found his store door

TIMES
Madison, Wis
DEC 8 1929

CIVICS CLUB HEARS JAMES WELDON JOHNSON ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM

During Past Decade American Public Has Recognized Negro as a Contributor, Not a Burden

MY SUBJECT, "The Negro Contributions to American Culture," probably sounds academic but is really just another approach to the Negro problem in America. It is the aristic approach, a comparatively recent and excellent one, in that there are less points of friction in it than in any other previously tried, because it is considered from a less emotional and controversial standpoint," James Weldon Johnson, Negro poet, told 340 members and guests of the Civics club at luncheon Saturday noon in the Crystal ballroom of the Loraine hotel. Mr. Johnson is well known as a poet, lawyer, and educator. He has held the position of American consul to Nicaragua and of executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The latter position has given him the opportunity of extensively studying his race and its problems.

"Not until almost the last decade has the American public looked upon the Negro as a contributor. Heretofore the general opinion of the people has been that 'the Negro is here; he's a burden, but it's up to us to make, shape, mold, and civilize him.'" Mr. Johnson showed the weakness of the former conception by giving examples of how the Negro himself has helped to make shape, and mold America.

Two Influences

The Negro has had two influences upon America, a positive and a negative one, according to Mr. Johnson. The negative one is that the Negroes, unintentionally, have given America the opportunity for some 300 years to practice injustice and cruelty on a defenseless people. The positive influence dates back to 1619 when 20 African Negroes landed in Capestown. Ever since they have been a direct and growing influence.

Some of the positive influences have been quite obvious, such as the contribution of labor, and the contribution of loyalty, the latter substantiated by the fact that there have been no wars in the U. S. in which the Negro has not taken part. The less obvious contributions have been those of secular and spiritual music, folk-lore, folk-dancing, Negro humor, and literature.

The secular music has been adopted by the Americans, and has become a distinctive and representative feature of our popular music, recognized abroad as definitely American. Now, as shown by Mr. Johnson, comes the increasing number of conscious Negro artists. Mr. Johnson has described this recent period as a sort of Negro renaissance or flowering. During this time, he stated, there has appeared a marked change in the attitude of the American people.

Accord Recognition

"The American public today is willing to evaluate and to accord recognition due the art of the individual Negro," Mr. Johnson went on to prove that this change inspired and stimulated the Negro to greater production and creation. Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes, renowned Negro singers, were cited as examples. The literary field, however, seemed most fruitful in the opinion of Mr. Johnson. He showed the present-day tendency of Negro writers to dig into their past, their vast experiences as a race and as individuals, and to use the wealth of material found there, rather than the former habit of imitation of caucasion writers.

"All these contributions are foundation stones upon which future artistic structure will be raised." Mr. Johnson embodied the realized aim of his people in these words and further told that in his book, "God's Trombones," he too, strived to make racial material transcend race and to reach the universe thru its truth and beauty. He ended his speech by reading two representative poems from this book. These poems are really sermons which Mr. Johnson has placed into the mouths of old-time Negro preachers. The two sermons he read were "The Creation" and "Go Down, Death!"

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT IS CHANGING

The Informer notes with much pleasure the gradual change i sentiment in the South toward the Negro, which is manifesting it self in more ways than one, and which indicates that a better da is dawning in Dixie for both races.

Of course, the South has not reached the utopian stage in in terracial relations, but marked progress has been made and i being made in the field of better and more amicable relations be tween the two races.

Only last week two police officers were suspended in New Or leans, La., because they had tortured a Negro prisoner in an ef fort to force the black to confess to some alleged crime.

The Informer remembers when such barbaric practices on th part of police and constabulary officers, with Negroes as victims played an important part not only in their retention on the de partment, but aided materially in their promotion.

Time was when police and constabulary officers were placed on duty in the South more for their ability to mistreat and browbea Negroes than because of their peculiar fitness for the role o peace officers.

Only recently a Mississippi peace officer shot and fatally wounded a drunken white man, who had just a few moments be fore shot and killed an innocent colored minister.

In Arkansas police officers placed a Negro suspect in an im provised electric chair, turned on the current and made him con fess to some crime; and the judge of the trial court denounced these officers in very vehement language, and it is almost cer tain that the convicted black will get a new trial.

In the educational field, the South is spending large sums of money for the training of colored youth, both in private and pub lic schools.

Many Southern cities are showing more interest in their Ne gro population and are taking advanced steps to make sections occupied by Negroes more habitable, sanitary and attractive.

Nearly every month some Dixie court hands down a decision outlawing residential segregation, whether the act is created by municipal ordinance or by a pact entered into by the white own ers of residential property not to sell to any person of African de scent or admixture.

While improvement is being made along these and other lines the Negro is losing out in the labor field in the South, being sup planted by members of other races; while the right to vote is still denied the race in several of the Southern states through the device of the "white man's primary" law.

Conditions will continue to improve in proportion as the Ne groes show more genuine interest in their own welfare and or ganize their forces for the acquisition, exercise and enjoymen of all rights vouchsafed to them under the provisions of the federal constitution.

No race makes enemies for itself by contending for its rights, but on the other hand the race which wages an intelligent and concerted fight for its rights will make many friends and sup porters by so doing.

The Negro who asserts that "all white folks are alike" is as silly and foolish as the white person who argues that "all Ne groes are just alike."

When both races change their attitude toward each other, and seek to understand and know each other better, the South will assume a far more commanding place in the life of this republic.

The South can never hope to reach the topmost summits of en deavor and achievement, along any line, as long as it attempts to hold part of its population in abject poverty, ignorance and su perstition, and to victimize such minority people by injustices, in qualities and other practices diametrically at variance with the fundamental principles of democracy and Christianity.

At Night

Since the eyes of the American world have been focused on the very politically impor tant "black belt" of Chicago, particular at tention has been called to the intermingling of races in the southside night clubs. Spas modically and periodically these night clubs have come under the hammer of the news papers and drab pictures have been released to the public proposing to illustrate how "listless, faded and disillusioned white girls" powder their noses in the same mirrors with their sometimes swarthier sisters and th public recoils because of natural prejudice and throws up its hands in unholy horror. I seems strange however that these new papers have never given the reasons wh white people come to these resorts in th districts largely populated by black peopl They know that great numbers of theatric people come in search of ideas. Song write seek to find their "Mammy themes," musicia seek the rhapsodies in blue, playwrights con to study human nature where society is n on dress parade, Octavius Roy Cohen a Irving Cobb, who writes stories about bla people, come to study their characters a in search of material; impressarios and pr lucers come to get inspiration and wh hey come they throw off their stiff conve ions and rub shoulders with their fell nen. Others come because opposites attra nd thrills await them in a new atmosphe hus the mystery of the "black and tan s solved yet the public is served with a f sentimental bunk about kidnapp londes and white slaved brunettes wh veird episodes are created in the minds nprincipled writers who love sensation more han truth.

NEWARK, N. J.
NEWS

DEC 16 1929

A Negro Advises Negroes

A revolution is slowly breaking among negroes which may do more than anything else to solve the race problem. The negro is beginning to face himself. This fact is revealed by Ernest Rice McKinney, himself a negro, in Plain Talk Magazine. Mr. Mc Kinney belongs to the small group o negroes who are beginning to revaluate the negro dispassionately and impartially. There has been entirely too much propaganda for the cause, for the race, he points out; too much unreasoning race loyalty, too much blaming of the white man for all the negroes' ills.

"The problem of the Twentieth Century," writes Mr. McKinney, "is the problem of the color line only because and in so far as the color line is also the poverty line with the usual accompanying ignorance The time has come for the negro to get off the sob wagon. We believe that the time is right for the negro to cease being a beggar, to put his cup to a more digni fied use and begin preparations for the pro duction of wealth, using the same methods that have proved successful in the eco nomic rise of other races. What the negro needs in place of so many protest commit tees, indignation meetings, begging societies and defense and propaganda leagues is more factories, more land, better schools and more and better trained scientific, techni cal and business men."

Stolberg Urges Social And Economic Equality

Noted Critic Protests "Preferential Segregation"

NEW YORK, Dec. 19—(C. N.S.)—Condemning the present trend of the new Negro movement which is resulting in the acceptance of "preferential racial segregation," Benjamin Stolberg, writer and critic, at a discussion on "Next Steps in Race Relations," urged full social, economic and political equality for all Negroes. The discussion was held at the luncheon of the city chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy at the Hotel Woodstock.

Mr. Stolberg chidded the "liberal Negroes" for assenting to the program of "certain philanthropic and social service agencies leading to the separation of the educated Negroes from the masses of the people." He emphasized that the Negro problem is essentially and primarily a labor problem and the next steps must be in the direction of labor organization.

"Negroes and their cause can gain nothing from trying to show that they can perform a few intellectual and artistic tricks tolerably well and must insist on the demolition of all social barriers," he said. "Even in the philanthropic enterprises it is paramount to insist on equal racial treatment. The radicals in this field of thought must keep hammering at this point, for without them even the 'new Negro and liberal' attitude would be without effect."

Eugene Kinckle Jones, secretary of the National Urban League, followed Mr. Stolberg. He, too, spoke of the "next steps" in racial relations, indicating that there is a fundamental need for raising the cultural standards of all Americans in order that they may approach the race problem with a broader outlook.

Robert Bagnall, field director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that what the Negro wants "is what Mr. Stolberg said he needed, and that is, that every man should be judged on his merits and qualities and that there should be no racial barriers of any type. Segregation in the end defeats itself; it is born in hatred, ignorance and misunderstanding."

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

When Americans Dictate

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS.

HAVE Americans the right to come to France and bulldoze the proprietors of restaurants and cabarets to bar Negroes, who in many cases are French citizens?

This question came up some years ago and ended by the French Government closing up an offending cabaret and issuing a warning to American tourists.

Since then color prejudice has taken stronger hold than ever. Now it is likely to come up again before Parliament because La Coupole, a Montparnasse cafe and dance hall patronized much by Americans, has come into the limelight by its latest attempt to bring Paris, Texas, to Paris, France.

Recently the management refused admittance to two Negroes and it could hardly have selected two more likely to bring the attention of its conduct to the French Government, for they are M. Alexis, Haitian Minister to Belgium, and the Princess Mansour Daoud, wife of the Crown Prince of Egypt.

M. Alexis has addressed a vigorous letter of protest to M. Poincare, Prime Minister, and M. Briand, Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The French papers have also taken up the incident. One of the latter, Le Soir, leading journal of the Left, in a front page article of two columns calls upon the authorities to act.

According to M. Alexis, when he presented himself at the entrance to the dancehall with the princess the doorman barred the way. When M. Alexis protested the doorman replied that he had orders from the manager to let no Negroes in.

"But, my friend," protested M. Alexis, "the Americans do not make the law in Paris."

"Orders are orders," replied the man. "You can't come in."

M. Alexis' protest reads in part as follows:

Paris, June 19, 1929.

Yesterday evening at 10 o'clock, in the company of the Princess Mansour Daoud of the Egyptian royal family, I went by chance into an establishment on the Boulevard Montparnasse, named La Coupole. There we dined with correctness which is expected of persons of good training and education.



— J. A. Rogers —

Later, wishing to have a look at the ballroom, we went to the door, when the doorman barred the way with politeness and said:

"I am very much distressed, sir and madame, that I cannot permit you to enter, as the manager has given me orders not to permit colored persons to enter, so as not to inconvenience its American clientele."

The letter goes on to say that, recalling how M. Poincare had acted when a similar case had come before him some years ago, he decided to bring this new incident to his notice.

"This treatment, Monsieur the Prime Minister," continues the letter, "is much more important than its mere affecting of my humble personality. France has 100 millions of colored subjects who are very loyal. If all the proprietors of public establishments acted thus the situation of strangers in France would merit some attention.

"I have not the honor to be a French citizen, but I belong to a little nation which is the only one in America that has French as the official language.

"Haiti is attached to your great country by maternal ties and a thousand spiritual and historic souvenirs. Some of her children also gave their lives generously in the last war, for no profit whatever, but only that 'Mother' should not be killed.

"I had hoped then, Monsieur the Prime Minister, that in France I would be treated as I would have been in my own home. But it seems that I have been mistaken.

(Signed) "STEPHEN ALEXIS,
"Consul-General of Haiti at Antwerp."

Le Soir's article begins: "This Conquest of Paris? The Americans are welcome among us, but they are not masters here.

"We owe America a lot of money. We also owe her consideration, courtesy, friendship. But we owe her no submission. . . .

"It is true that America has never expressed through diplomatic channels any desire to control us, but it is with the complicity of the directors of certain establishments that France is becoming inhabitable for certain of its visitors, of even its own citizens, whose only offense is the color of their skin.

"This color discrimination, which enters very little into the French mind, tried to establish itself here in Paris some years ago, but the incidents that followed provoked so great an indignation that the Government found it necessary to warn the proprietors of the establishments that no matter how Americanized were their places they owed equal treatment to all their customers, regardless of color.

"It was hoped that the matter had ended there, but the Americans in Paris, accustomed to see everything yield before their dollars, have returned to the charge. They have decided that, since the capital of this nation will not indulge in the lynching of Negroes on the boulevards, they hope at least it will prevent beings whom they deem inferior from entering restaurants and night clubs reserved for their patronage.

"In spite of the Chief of Police, in spite of the French Government, such places are forbidden to Negroes, be they our guests or our fellow citizens. The only difference between Paris and New York is that in Paris these Negroes are expelled with courtesy, at least not beaten up.

"The latest affair concerns two persons of the most perfect correctness: M. Alexis, Haitian Minister to Belgium, and the Princess Mansour Daoud, wife of the Egyptian Crown Prince. . . .

"The manager of La Coupole does not deny the facts. He declares that he regrets them profoundly, declaring that the rule held only to Negroes incorrectly dressed. . . . This matter should be settled at once. The Americans in Paris are free to exact what they want, but Parisian merchants are not free to carry out all that Americans want.

"We intend to see that France doesn't lose her name for hospitality to all peoples in order that the proprietors of a few dancehalls may get a few dollars."

Recently Claude McKay and M. Alexis, native of the French West Indies, were barred from this dancehall when they went there in company with four white persons. The doorman said that he had had orders that no Negroes were to be admitted. Protest was made by M. Alexis.

McKay, commenting on this latest incident, says that he does not blame the Americans so much as he does the avarice of the French proprietors.

"It is useless for some of these proprietors to say that, so far as they are concerned, they do not mind admitting Negroes. Don't many American proprietors say the same? One may eat anywhere in Boston because the people of Boston do not stand for color prejudice. It it useless to place all the blame on the Americans here."

The order at the Coupole seems directed mostly at the very dark Negroes, for the Paris correspondent of The Amsterdam News was readily admitted after both the McKay and the Alexis incidents. Many of the French people, you know, are dark.

COLOR LINE IS NOT DRAWN IN HOLLYWOOD

More Social Equality Comes Out of California.

BY ROSALIND SHAFFER.

The Chicago Tribune Press Service.

HOLLYWOOD, Cal., July 6.—Hollywood has gone Harlem. When it was announced two years ago that DeMille intended making an all-colored cast picture, people thought him bold. Today, the rage of the jungle boys and girls is all over Hollywood. Negro players are invited as guests to the homes of some of the most prominent stars. Not long ago James Cruze entertained the entire negro company from the Lafayette Players' Theater, a colored stock company, that plays locally. Evelyn Preer of New York fame is one of their stars.

Nina May, colored star of "Hallelujah," King Vidor's colored picture is more or less a social favorite. She will tell you that she has been the guest of Marion Davies, John Gilbert, Gloria Swanson and Eleanor Boardman at parties given in their homes.

Another colored trouper causing a sensation is Stepin Fechit, colored star of "Hearts in Dixie." Stepin Fechit is the delight of Hollywood with his wise cracks which come in the nature of naive philosophizing. The day of his wedding to Dorothy Stevenson saw a fourth automobile added to his menage, a present to the bride. His present personal car carried a huge sign "I ain't gonna sin no more." Stepin Fechit takes religion and the hereafter quite seriously. His wife, only 17, is so "high yallah" that Victor McLaglen could hardly be persuaded that she wasn't white when her proud husband had her over to the Fox lot.

The chic thing to do nowadays in Hollywood is to betake one's self and friends to the Apex Nite Club down in the colored belt and watch the "eight fast stepping Apexettes," and hear Mosby's Dixieland Blue Blowers, advertised as "so hot they burn holes in a concrete wall." A heavy cloud of smoke will roll out on the floor and melodiously moan shivery blues songs.

NEW LONDON
CONNECTICUT

JUN 27 1929

New England Negroes

FRIDAY and Saturday, New England Negroes will meet in this city to discuss the peculiar problems which the colored man finds in the home-country of abolition. The meeting is a typical colored effort by which colored people seek to help themselves. That there is no immediate prospect of racial equality in opportunity, even in New England, generally is admitted by them. But they want to bring just that as soon as possible.

Intelligent whites will cooperate. The difficulty of cooperation lies as a rule in a mutual distrust. A generation ago, this distrust did not exist; Negroes of New England had better opportunities and better treatment than they get today. Influx of relatively illiterate colored people from the South brought much trouble. The new-comers did not expect to accept the status of immigrants, let alone have that piled on top of a growing race prejudice.

For it is southern immigration as much as anything that causes a "Negro problem" in New England. The old-time New England darkies, who were rare as albinos,

are a very small minority today. The Civil-war, abolition-days reverence for colored people has gone. A few southern prejudices have worked against the Negroes. But happily, "colored Yankees" (as a white Southerner might call them facetiously) are making opportunities for themselves and are earning the respect of their neighbors.

Whether or not complete racial inter-acceptance will come nobody can foretell. But the chances that all America will one day give the Negroes the full economic advantages which all Americans deserve are growing brighter. New England, indeed, seems to lead the way.

'PORGY' AUTHOR GIVES OPINIONS TO EUROPEANS

Competition Smothers North's Altruism

London, England.—"Race prejudice in the United States, more particularly attitudes of mind prejudicial to the Negro race—that alien strain diverted into the broad tide of American life without its own consent—now numbering 10 per cent of the total population and presenting the greatest social problem in the history of the western republic; a tremendous question, and one with no single and comprehensive answer," states DuBose Heyward, author of "Porgy," successful American drama recently performed in London, and writer of numerous books and articles on "The Negro" in the June 7 issue of the London Daily Star.

SOUTH SOLID FOR SEGREGATION RULE

"In the South the white stands unequivocally for race segregation. Immediately after the Civil war state laws were passed providing separation in public places. Slavery begot a sort of caste system, the desire for the perpetuation of which was instinctive. This feeling will probably continue to survive for many generations.

"The reaction of the ruling white in the South in the face of this alien population, which in many localities greatly outnumbers his own, has a parallel in the behavior of the governing class of Englishman when confronted by a similar situation in his colonies. It is the same difference that exists between the British and continental social attitudes today. If arbitrary segregation appears a harsh policy, this, at least, must be said for it: it creates a situation that is clean-cut and definite. The Negro knows exactly what to expect, and with this understanding a free and unembarrassed relationship is made possible between the races.

"Within the limits of segregation the Negro in the South is being given an increasingly broad opportunity for advancement. It is true that his school and college facilities are still inferior to the white, and that his Jim Crow cars are often overcrowded and dirty, but he knows that the enlightened element in the South is now awake to his needs. His educational facilities are improving, and, still more important, he sees the white man's law, which he has had cause to view with suspicion, at last exerting itself for his protection.

NORTHERNERS DO NOT WANT CLOSE CONTACTS

"The actual truth is that when confronted by the Negro in the mass, northern white men are no more anxious to fill their schools, colleges, churches and theaters with them than are southerners. But for years they have protested the Negro's right to be there. They cannot now pass segregation laws, for the Negro in their midst is too strong, too intelligent and too shrewd a fighter.

"The northerner, then, is in a most embarrassing and paradoxical position, and one that he can meet only by finding some excuse for excluding the individual applicant from some public place to which he has been granted admission legally. In these circumstances the northerner cannot escape the charge of insincerity and responsibility for bringing a cruel disillusionment to the Negro.

"But, in spite of these difficulties, I believe that the Negro of education and ambition is happier in the North. Certainly he finds less opposition in seeking employment in a field to which he comes prepared. Perhaps, too, he is going to solve his own problem by making for himself a city within the white metropolis, as he has done in the Harlem district of New York and the Negro quarters of Chicago and other large American cities. Unquestionably the new intellectual and artistic movements which hold such high promise for the race could flourish only north of Washington.

DECLARES DIXIE WILL REMAIN HOME TO US

"But to the still primitive type of Negro—the farm or plantation hand, the carpenter, the mason, the stevedore—the South is, and must remain, home. There the Negro is accepted as the working class, and he is generally free from the bitter economic warfare that he receives when he migrates and must compete with white organized labor. This, I think, he is beginning to realize. Not only demonstrations of the magnitude of the

Monday morning, after an absence
40 years, the doors of the United St
tary academy at West Point, N. Y
for another youth of our Race. An
opening another step toward full r
of our American citizenship was n
other proof was given that there are
attain citizenship if we use these way

Alonzo Parham, the Chicago yo
entered West Point this week, was
mitted through the pleas or pet

Negro Is Part of Nation, Says Rosenwald Fund President

Race Should Insist on Obligations as Well as on Its Fundamental Rights.

CLEVELAND.—The American Negro has progressed to the point where he is recognized as an integral part of the nation with all the duties and responsibilities of other groups in the population, declared Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, in an address Thursday night before the N.A.A.C.P. anniversary conference here.

"Today over one-fifth of the Negroes in America live above the old Mason and Dixon line and one-third live in cities or towns. Thus the Negro is distributed throughout the nation, and is no longer exclusively resident of the rural South.

"A recent Government survey reports that the accumulated wealth of Negroes in America amounts to two billions dollars ($2,000,000,000); that 700,000 Negroes own their own homes, 232,000 own farms and 70,000 own or operate business enterprises; that there are 73 Negro banks with a capitalization of $6,250,000 doing an annual business of over $100,000,000; that there are 48,000 Negro teachers, over 1000 of them giving instruction in institutions of higher learning."

Education

Mr. Embree referred to four "great Negro university centers" of today: Washington, with Howard University under the leadership of a Negro president, Mordecai W. Johnson; Nashville, "where Meharry Medical College is building an entire new hospital and laboratory plant immediately adjoining a revived and re-organized Fisk University"; Atlanta, "where a group of colleges of distinguished history are forming a confederation under the historic title of Atlanta University, including the strong undergraduate colleges of Morehouse and Spelman"; and New Orleans, where denominational colleges and a hospital are merging their resources.

New Attitude in America

The general attitude toward the Negro in America has changed fundamentally, continued Mr. Embree, who continued:

"In spite of individual distress and still prevalent prejudice, the Negro, to a degree unbelievable half a century ago, is recognized as a member of the nation, as a part of the American stream of life, not something detached and aside from it. And the Negro and his friends, while still insisting upon fundamental rights, should shift their emphasis to obligations."

In this connection, Mr. Embree stated that Negroes had raised over $4,000,000 toward Rosenwald schools in the South.

Hard Work

"The opportunity is presented," said Mr. Embree, "now for the first time in the history of the nation, for the Negro to assume his place as a regular integral part of American life. To hold and justify that place the Negro must work hard. While continuing to fight for his rights, he must accept the duties and obligations of American life. Negroes must struggle without rest until as a minimum the whole race is literate, clean, orderly and dependable."

NEWS
Charlotte N.C
OCT 1 - 1929

The Race Question.

This has to do with neither the forthcoming Marathon between the Cubs and the Macks nor the result of the annual scrimmages within the Big Ten Conference in football, but, rather, the ancient and original race question. It is staid and unromantic, to be sure, but, ever and anon, it becomes us to have a look at the inside of a tremendously important issue like this which concerns the people of the South in their contemplations about the comparative status of the whites and blacks in this territory.

The Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation has made a study of this question covering the past 100 years and announces findings which, as the Commission suggests, "may indicate that with a steadily decreasing gain in negro population and a steadily mounting gain in white population, the race question will eventually take care of itself, since racial problems are usually acute 'in direct proportion to the relative numbers of the minority group.'"

The commission's figures show that there are today about half as many negroes in the country in proportion to the total population as there were in 1790, and that all but two decades in the meantime have shown a decline in the percentage of population gain for negroes.

The figures themselves are interesting and are here reproduced from the commission's study: The census returns show also that the rate of gain in negro population has been steadily decreasing, from 32.3 per cent in the decade ending with the year 1800, to 11.2 per cent in the decade 1900-1910, and to 6.5 per cent in the decade ending 1920. The rate of increase of white population also has declined in this period, but not nearly so rapidly, having been 35.8 in the ten years ending with 1800, and 16 per cent in the decade ending 1920. It will be of special interest to the South and to many people a surprise, to learn that the proportion of negro population has declined more rapidly in this section than in any other. In the earlier days practically all the negroes in America lived in the South; but in 1920, chiefly as a result of repeated migration, there were 1,550,900 members of the race living in other sections of the Country out of a total negro population of 10,463,131. For the last three census periods, 1900, 1910 and 1920, the percentage of negroes to the total of population of the South has been respectively 32.3 per cent, 29.3 per cent and 27 per cent. This trend has been true, not only of the region as a whole, but also of every Southern State except one.

There is but one major interpretation to be made from these statistics and that is that the negro race is blighted with a high death rate which, beyond any other reason, is contributing to its failure to show proportionate population gains. We can look at that fact with indifference, as we generally are looking at it now, or we can accept it as a challenge to all our public health and social agencies to get in and do something about it.

The negro is upon us and about us as a charge. Are we accepting him as such?

Race Problem - 1929
United States.

INDIANS AND NEGROES.

THE Episcopal Convocation of the Sioux Indians of the Blue Ridge Reservation in South Dakota recently sent a petition to Secretary of the Interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur protesting against the exploitation of the Indian as a showman cast in original roles.

The Indians stated that if there was need for an "Indian Zoo" it should be frankly established for what it is. Whenever in the West, said the petition, any community is to observe some anniversary and desires to draw crowds, it sends for the Indians trapped out in accordance with customs of hundreds of years ago and proceeds to commercialize them.

In reply, Secretary Wilbur said among other things:

> "Showmanship does not lead the Indian toward establishing himself on an even keel of self-respecting independence. It throws him back on a masquerade of a manner of life that no longer exists and can not exist in contact with the dominant civilization. . . .The show business is apt to be demoralizing to people and certainly one cannot see that the Indians' participation in it has contributed to their advance."

Much along the same line can be said of the growing custom in American life of hiring Negroes to clown whenever a group of white people wish to have a pleasant evening. We refer specifically to the commercialization of the Negro spirituals of late years. No inter-racial meeting, no big meeting of white folks seems to be a success unless there are a half dozen Negroes on the platform wailing the spirituals and crooning slave songs, with much waving of arms, bending of knees and rolling of eyeballs.

A great deal of this spiritual singing and worksong shouting is far from being dignified. It is, however, very comforting to white folks who immediately grow enthusiastic over this "Negro" music that is supposed to reveal the heart and soul of the American Negro.

There is a considerable group of Negroes that, having done much to commercialize the sorrowings of slaves and peons, are ready to defend their handiwork by saying that it makes for racial understanding and more cordial relations between the whites and the blacks. This is doubtful. We have a sneaking feeling that there is more respect for and understanding of the Russian peasant and worker caused by his successful overthrow of the Czar and the nobility than was ever derived from hearing professional Muscovite singers croon the Volga Boat Song. Just as long as the Negro is advertised as a mooney, sentimental fellow whose greatest ambition is to walk all over God's Heaven in a pair of celestial brogans, it is doubtful whether he will be taken very seriously.

Race Problam- 1929.
United States.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 6 1929

NEGRO'S PLACE UNDER HOOVER ASSAYED BY NEGRO EDUCATOR

The Engineer President, Lacking Sentiment, Favors Black Race as Nation Fraction Of the Wh

To the Editor of The New York Times:

President Hoover has a national program, but no negro policy. He has been a conspicuous figure in the public mind for more than twelv years. During that time he has bee engrossed in comprehensive meas ures that did not admit of racial differentiation. Herbert Hoover has the mind and the method of the engineer. He surveys the whole problem before attacking any of its parts. He does not deal in fractions, not even in integers, but in integrals. Napoleon used to complain of the mathematician La Grange that he tried to introduce infinitesimals into public affairs. No such complaint can ever be lodged against Mr. Hoover, who projects the methods of the engineer into affairs of State, and seeks to integrate the infinitesimals into the social equation. He believes that the welfare of the whole is greater than any of its parts. Like the skilled physician his diagnosis and remedy are systematic rather than symptomatic.

No element of the population with peculiar grievances and complaints may hope to find in him a special champion. The patient with a specific ailment becomes impatient with the physician who insists on taking blood pressure, heart strain and respiration before prescribing for the poignant affliction. The negro is insistent upon immediate relief of his racial complaints and grievances, to which Mr. Hoover is seemingly indifferent. During his whole public career he has never uttered one word concerning the negro as a separate entity, nor engaged to deal with his separate problems as such. He does not espouse the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, calculated to be of especial benefit to the negro, but insists upon the enforcement of the Constitution as a whole. Unlike his predecessor, he does not advocate the suppression of lynching for the especial relief of the colored race, but stresses law enforcement for the benefit of all. The ardent advocates of the cause of prohibition are sorely disappointed because he did not single out the violation of this constitutional amendment for the instant enforcement, but with deliberate intent appoints a commission on law enforcement to survey the fundamental causes of lawlessness, in which the whole Constitution and all pursuant laws are involved.

Efficiency His Creed.

Mr. Hoover has not at any time entered into the political aspect of the race question. Indeed the mind of the engineer is incompatible with that of the partisan politician. The old-line politicians never wanted him to head the party and do not want him now, nor will they want him four years hence. They seek a candidate who will dance to the music of their partisan fiddle. Mr. Hoover believes in the philosophy of efficiency and follows no other guiding principle. He is wholly lacking in Abraham Lincoln's political sagacity.

It is impossible for the dyed-in-the-wool partisan Republicans to understand him. He assigns the chief places in his administration to men who were either hostile, indifferent to or aloof from his political fortune, while those who bore the heat of the burden of the political day are notorious by their absence from his inner council. Mellon, Dawes and Stimson sit on the inside of the circle of administrative efficiency, while Work, Borah and Mrs. Willebrandt are on the outside, not only looking in but actually looking askance.

The politician believes that to the victor belongs the spoils. Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, holds that public office should be awarded to the most efficient. If, in his judgment, a Democrat is the most efficient man for Attorney General, a Democrat is made Attorney General, notwithstanding the fact that one of his most able and ardent supporters was aspirant for that assignment. He never allows his principle of efficiency to be frustrated by representative and distributive bases of assignment of office. Ten States of the South voted for his election, and yet that section receives scant official recognition at his hands; the female sex flocked to his standard in overwhelming numbers, but that sex partakes but frugally of the fruits of victory; the negro race supported him with great gusto, but, so far, no member of that blood has yet tasted of official sweets. Mr. Hoover evidently means no slight to any section, sex or race, but in his judgment he does not find in the South, in the female sex or in the colored race many individuals of the calibre, experience and expertness to fit into his scheme of efficiency.

Out in the Cold.

The partisan Republican, the South, the female sex and the negro combine in common complaint because they find themselves left outside in the cold, while others are comfortably ensconced in the structure they helped build. The negro is now indulging in his quadrennial complaint of the neglect of the new administration. He is fondled while the election is on and forgotten as soon as it is over. The same story has been repeated under McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. His dupability seems to know no limit. Mr. Hoover, however, is in no wise responsible for the negroes' disappointed aspirations. During the last campaign he promised the negroes absolutely nothing and, so far, has faithfully kept his promise.

During the course of his public career, Mr. Hoover's contact with the negro has been only incidental and tangential. At head of the Mississippi flood relief, his duty was to relieve the suffering. If many of the flood victims were of the negro race, he insisted that they should receive their fair share of the apportionment, under existing separate regulations.

As candidate for the Presidency he allowed his campaign management to set up an auxiliary negro committee. I am creditably informed that he never found occasion to advise or confer with this committee concerning the hopes, aspirations and expectations of the black allies. Since his inauguration, negro politicians are rarely, if ever, admitted to the President himself; but must halt at the outer chambers of the White House and state their cause. No negro delegations are photographed with the President himself, as befell under the administration of his silent predecessor. Mr. Hoover, however, does allow the politically minded members of his administrative household to play small politics with negro politicians. These intermediaries are adepts in the old game of political guile. They are telling these insistent requestants to possess their souls in patience; that eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the imagination of the negro the wonderful things that the administration has in store for the negro if he will only be patient and believing. The congressional elections are now approaching. A few crumbs may fall into the negro's lap. But these minor considerations probably will be manoeuvred by Mr. Hoover's subordinates and will hardly rise to the level of his distinguished attention.

During the past campaign, Mr. Hoover was undoubtedly intent upon establishing Democratic principles in the South, whereby every citizen, white and black, might enjoy the full measure of his constitutional rights. To this end he deemed all-white control of Republican machinery necessary and essential. By virtue of this policy, negro political leaders were ruthlessly thrust down from places of power and authority. The negro race rose up in its wrath at this ruthless policy. Hoover, the engineer, never appeared more truly in his genuine character. An engineer must have no sentimental restraints to obstruct the accomplishment of his objective. Farm, village and picturesque scenery must all give way if they fall in the path of his projected improvements. With him, the end justifies the means. Mr. Hoover undoubtedly believes that the negro in the South will ultimately the more certainly secure his rights under white political management than by the process of co-racial control that had hitherto prevailed. He may be right, albeit not exactly righteous.

The White House Tea.

Much ado has been made over a certain White House tea, in which the wife of a colored Congressman figured. For ten weeks the white press of the South and the negro press of the country have been excited, as if the incident had any bearing upon the issue of social equality. It is hard to say which has been the more inane, the negro press in extolling the incident or the white press in condemning it. It had, and has, absolutely no bearing upon Mr. Hoover's policy or lack of policy in dealing with the colored race. Mrs. Hoover and her social secretary made out a list of Congressmen's wives to be invited to a series of White House teas. The colored lady was included as a matter of fact and form. Mr. Hoover, in all probability, knew no more about the arrangement than he did about the style of linen and floral design of the serving table. But one thing is certain, had this seemingly innocent happening come to the attention of his political advisers, in advance, they would have upturned heaven and earth to prevent its coming off. There would have at once loomed up in their minds the occasion of the Booker Washington-Roosevelt luncheon and its blatant aftermath which resulted in no good to anybody, white or black. But the thing occurred, and the engineer goes on the even tenor of his unruffled way.

While Mr. Hoover has not seen fit to take up the cudgel in behalf of the negro's special and peculiar issues, yet he has striven to hold the balance true, which, in the long run, he hopes will result in giving every citizen an equal chance, without regard to color or faith.

His comprehensive scheme of farm relief, law enforcement, and child welfare will uultimately inure to the advantage of the negro beyond any other element of the American people, because he is the greatest victim of existing conditions and will be the chief beneficiary of these far-sweeping reforms.

It will require at least eight years to work out the comprehensive program that President Hoover has outlined. The negro, along with the rest, holding in abeyance present disappointments will wisely welcome the extension of the term of his tenure to an additional quadrennium so that he may perfect this social problem from which he will derive his appropriate share.

KELLY MILLER,
Dean of Howard University.
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK TIMES

OCT 31 1929

LAYS RACIAL STRIFE TO WHITE ATTITUDE

Bishop McConnell Declares There Is No Fact Basis for Assumed Superiority.

INTERRACIAL GROUP MEETS

Statistics Are Presented to Show Negro Has Chance Here—Income, Rentals, Work Are Surveyed.

The "assumptions of superiority of the white man, which have no basis whatever in fact" are the chief causes of interracial difficulties, according to Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church, president of the Federal Council of Churches, who was the principal speaker at the first New York meeting of the Interracial Conference of Church Women held yesterday at the Marble Collegiate Church. Two hundred white and negro women attended the conference and voted for the establishment of a permanent Women's Interracial Committee to consider all matters of mutual concern to the women of both races.

"No race in human history has ever made in the same length of time the strides" that the negro race has made, Bishop McConnell said. He urged "black people to be very patient with the white people," but qualified his advice by saying that "some of you have been altogether too patient."

Resents Barring Athlete.

The Rev. Dr. Channing H. Tobias of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, a negro, criticized the barring of Dave Meyers, negro athlete of New York University, from the football game between that institution and the University of Georgia to be played on Nov. 9 as "un-American and un-Christian."

The speaker told the negro members of his audience that the attitude of the Rev. William S. Blackshear of St. Matthew's Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, was the

"raw assumption of Mr. Blackshear that colored people are unfit for contact with members of his congregation."

Defines Negro's Position Here.

The conference, which was sponsored by the church women's committee of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, of which Miss Katherine Gardner is secretary, allotted yesterday morning to a general discussion of "The Negro in New York," and Mrs. Robert B. Penn, as chairman of the conference committee and member ex officio of the newly formed women's interracial committee, presided.

The negro in New York has better opportunities than in any other city in the country, according to Eugene K. Jones, a negro, executive secretary of the National Urban League, who spoke on "What It Means to Be a Negro in New York." In spite of the relatively poor position of the New York negro, there was much room for improvement in the local status of the race, the speaker declared.

Woman Presents Figures.

Other speakers at the morning session included the Rev. Dr. William Lloyd Imes, pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church, who spoke on "Christ and Humanity"; Miss Florist Pickney of the Young Women's Christian Association and Mrs. Alice B. Fairclough, a vocational director in junior high schools.

Mrs. Fairclough presented statistics to show that from 1910 to 1920 the number of negro women engaged in professional work in New York doubled, but in the last three years a tendency to discourage the negro woman in professional work, particularly in the teaching profession, has been evidenced, which, she said, gave a true insight into the negro of today. Mrs. Dorothy Steele recommended books, plays and motion pictures.

Speakers in the afternoon discussions which were devoted to "Christian Principles and Race Attitudes" included, beside Bishop McConnell, the Rev. Dr. Tobias and Dr. George E. Haynes, negro member of the Federal Council of Churches, who spoke on "Christian Principles in Action." Miss Caroline B. Chapin, chairman of the church women's committee on race relations, presided.

Study of Rents and Incomes.

As a basis for the discussions the Commission on Church and Race Relationships compiled data on negroes in New York City, which shows that "although the income of the negro family is about 17 per cent. lower than that of the typical family for the entire city, it must pay almost three dollars more per room per month."

The report further stated that "a study of some 3,000 negro families shows that the average income of the heads of these families was $85 per month, and that the average rental was more than $40 per month."

A trend away from "domestic and personal" service by negroes was noted, though "nearly 50 per cent of negro women workers are still so employed." Industry claims "approximately 22 per cent of negro women."

The statistics as to population estimated that the total number of negroes resident in New York was 260,000, an increase of more than 100,000 since 1920. Of this number 200,000 live in Manhattan and 35,000 in Brooklyn. The number of negro residents was estimated as 3 per cent of the total population of Greater New York.

TIMES

Valdosta, Ga

NOV 6 1929

THE SOUTH—AMERICA'S HOPE

Southerners will be pleased with Count Keyserling's article in the November Atlantic Monthly. "The South — America's Hope," but after discounting his article in the October Atlantic "What the Negro Means to America," they are likely to ask just how much his opinions are worth. For in the previous article he declared that in America the black man is superior to the white because he has "soul," while the white American is "lacking in soul," and that "the greatest achievements of America from the point of view of human culture, are due to her black sons," these indeed being the real Americans because, unlike the whites, they have "native-born feelings true to the American soil."

And now in his November article, discussing only white Americans, Count Keyserling says that the Southern gentlemen and gentlewomen are "the only types of 'complete souls' that the United States has as yet produced," that in comparison with them Northerners of the "quick, sharp, hustling and bustling type" are like the Nomadic Huns and Normans who quickly carried all before them but as quickly spent themselves and passed out of existence; that there is bookish culture in New England, but already it is vanishing and from the outset it was "too bloodless;" that the real enduring culture is in Virginia and adjacent Southern states, and it is this that causes him to "anticipate the predominance of the South" in the future. In the South "alone," says the count, "can here be a question of enduring culture;" there only is "the superior human type" in America "to be found."

This is especially true of Virginia, which, though poor still, "is the one region in America which has a general cultural atmosphere in a wide sense," the "superiority of the Virginia people" being due to their superior ancestors and "still living traditions."

The count concludes that "time inevitably works for the American of the Virginian type"—but we wonder if thereafter he will continue to be popular as a lecturer in the North and West.

FROM A GERMAN VIEWPOINT.

Augusta Ga 10-27-29
New York 11-3-29

Count Herman Keyserling is a German author of several works on philosophy, who has done considerable traveling and lecturing in the United States. Writing in the Atlantic Monthly for October, he gave his impressions of "What the Negro Means to America." He started off by saying that "the American Negro is a purely American type and much more convincing than any living white type." He declared that "there has never been anything like the American Negro in Africa," and the American Negro is "as opposed to his forebears, as much as any middle westerner of old pioneer stock can claim to be."

This analysis made by an acute foreign observer, who has no particular theory to bolster up, is to be accepted as evidence of the perfect assimilation of the Negro as part of the American people and an essential element in the working out of American civilization. It is the inherent vitality of the Negro constitution, physical and mental, that is responsible for the survival of the race as an important factor, both in this country and in Africa. Count Keyserling charges that white America is not over-endowed with genius, and that its lack of original vitality is due to a city civilization and the separation of white Americans from the soil.

He therefore reached the conclusion that "almost all expressions of American emotionalism seem to be of Negro origin" and that the white man has come to express himself in the manner of the black American. He further expressed the conviction that "there is nothing improbable in the expectation, considering the emotional and artistic underendowment of the white American race, that the first original geniuses of the New World will belong to the black."

The fact that Count Keyserling's article appeared in so serious a publication as the Atlantic Monthly would seem to dispel any suggestion that he was "spoofing" the American intelligentsia, which is always disposed to take any foreigner's criticism too seriously, but the editor of

the New York Herald Tribune did not merely as a vaudeville joke, and not seem to be quite sure about the matter. merely as a highbrow cult, has arrived.' He found it hard to tell when the count This might be taken as the fulfillment "is pirouetting and when he seriously of a prediction made some three quarters means to philosophise." But the editor of a century ago, by Dr. James McCune finally agreed that "with Porgy playing Smith, concerning what might be expect its third return engagement on Broad- ed as the contribution of the race to way, Blackbirds just going off after play- America's civilization ing a solid year, with Hot Chocolates go- ing strong, and Hallelujah the first all- Negro full-length motion picture, turning Hollywood into a cotton field, it would seem as if the impetuous public agreed with the world philosopher." He took it to mean that "the Negro, not

Race Problem - 1929

United States

Betrayals of Negro Intellectuals

Will Aid Race in Minor Ways Until Crucial Moment; Then Go Over to Oppressors

By J. W. FORD.

(Member of the Executive Council of the Red International of Labor Unions.)

The Negro intellectuals of America never come out supporting whole-heartedly, unwaveringly, fully and completely, the interests of the Negro workers and the working class as such. In the struggles of the Negro masses against the abuses of capitalism, where racial interests temporarily throw together all strata of the Negro masses, lawyers, doctors, business men, workers, etc., we sometimes find the Negro intellectuals supporting and fighting for general racial demands which are of tremendous importance to the Negro workers.

But this is only for a short time; as class differentiations become sharper, and as the class struggle intensifies, they betray the workers, they go over to the side of the oppressors. This tendency and situation is becoming more marked in the struggle of the Negro masses in America.

Du Bois Turns Coat.

Decades ago we find the Negro intellectuals some of the staunchest supporters of some of the racial interests of the Negro workers. Outstanding among these was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, editor of the "Crisis" and leader in the Pan-African Congress. Since he has some influence among the Negroes of America and is a sort of intellectual leader of the Negro race in general it is necessary to expose his present anti-working class tendencies and his complete capitulation, from his early position, on some of the vital questions of the Negro masses; a tendency that is not only evident with him but is the trend of all the Negro intellectuals.

Two decades ago we found Du Bois one of the bitterest opponents of the Booker T. Washington leadership, and advocating full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. But today he kneels at the tomb and shrine of Booker T. Washington and denies that Negroes demand full social, economic and political equality in America. In a recent debate in Chicago with Lothrop Stoddord,* Du Bois becomes a vacillating capitulator and compromiser.

The very wording of the subject of this debate, "Shall the Negro Be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality," is a complete compromise of Du Bois on this question of social, economic and political equality. A few years ago Du Bois would not have entered such a debate unless the subject contained "social, economic and political equality" for Negroes.

In discussing the subject Du Bois wandered along for 30 minutes talking about the amount of "culture" there is in the world, finally making a plea that Negroes should be granted a little, which, because of the nature of things, the white people would not miss: for as he says "culture is not a quantitative sort of thing."

This is a miserable plea, even from the point of view of the interest of the Negro "elite," to say nothing of its betrayal of the toiling masses of Negroes. However, this is the general plea which is made by Negro intellectuals for their place in the capitalist scheme of things, for a share in the Golden Calf.* In return for sharing in capitalist profits Du Bois and the rest expect to lead the Negro masses into blind alleys and further into the clutches of capitalist exploitation. This is of tremendous importance to the Negro toiling masses.

"Social Equality Not What Negroes Want."

The real crux of Du Bois's speech was in his reply to Stoddard's declaration that "what the Negroes wanted was social equality." This, Stoddard, of course, is bitterly opposed to. Du Bois emphatically denied this by saying that "the first thing for white people to do is to get this idea out of their heads."

In denying it, Du Bois is not only retreating from his former position but is giving up one of the basic struggles of the Negroes in America, especially the working masses.

Negroes and Class Struggle.

The situation in American is that the class struggle is getting sharper and sharper; the Negro toilers are more and more being crushed under the heel of American capitalism and imperialism. This oppression and exploitation is pushing the Negro toilers, along with the mass of white workers, towards bitter struggle against American capitalism.

American imperialism is at present in a series of little wars, crushing the Nicaraguans and suppressing the Haitians with its marines; interfering in the affairs of Mexico with an eye towards domination, if not annexation. On the whole world arena, in spite of Kellogg's peace proposals, America is fast heading for another world war. In this general situation it is time for the wavering elements, the intellectuals of the type of Du Bois, to desert the struggles of the Negro masses.

In the last war Du Bois said to the Negro masses, "Let us close ranks," "let us put aside our quarrel about the lynchings and abuses of American capital and support the capitalist government in the war." For this he was given a captain's rank in the army and later sent on a mission as "High Potentate" to Liberia by President Harding. So as the new war approaches, we see the reformists, the intellectuals and all their kind seeking cover.

Besides, class differentiations among the Negroes are growing apace. There is an ever-increasing number of petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals that seek crumbs from the table of the capitalists; a numerically small but significant Negro bourgeoisie, rich Negro capitalists, who seek to draw the Negro intellectuals into their clutches and in turn in general support of American capitalism.

It is significant to recall that after Du Bois' trip to Russia a year ago after which he flung out a few radical phrases, that one leading Negro bourgeois of Chicago immediately engaged him to make a lecture on Negro banking, supporting the rising Negro bourgeoisie.

Bitter Struggle Ahead for Negro Masses.

In the present and coming struggles which the Negro workers of America face, one of the main weapons of struggle is trade union organization. Negro workers must join the unions of the white workers for joint struggle against capitalism. But the capitalists have long since thrown up racial barriers which have caused white workers to bar Negro workers from their unions and have hampered the struggles of the workers (white and black) against American capitalism.

But this joint struggle must come about; it is absolutely necessary before there can be a victory over capitalism. This is one of the main reasons why the 6th World Congress of the Communist International placed as one of the main tasks of the Communist Party of America the fight for complete and real equality of Negroes, for the abolition of all kinds of racial, social, economic and political inequalities, to struggle against white chauvinism and prejudice among the white workers, to organize active resistance against lynchings, to fight for the acceptance of Negro workers into all organizations of the white workers.

It is on the basis of his compromise on the demand and struggle for social, economic and political equality of the Negro masses that Negroes must see the recent betrayal of Du Bois; it is the capitulation and compromise of an intellectual in the face of the bitterest struggles of Negro workers.

It is time for the Negro workers and toiling masses to close their ranks to these betrayers; it is time for Negro workers to organize their economic forces for joint struggle with the white workers for a sustained struggle against capitalism, against the brutal oppression and brutal attacks of American imperialism, to struggle against the impending world war, to join and support the struggles of the international proletariat, to struggle against any imperialist attack on the Soviet Union, the fatherland and home of the proletariat and oppressed peoples.

*Stoddard is one of the outstanding white pseudo-scientists on "Nordic" and anti-Negro subjects in America; he is author of many books and writings on these subjects, the most popular of which is "Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy." Both DuBois and Stoddard are graduates from Harvard University and hold the degree of doctor of philosophy.

**It is interesting to note that a year ago, in a debate with this same Stoddard, another prominent Negro intellect, Allan Locke, made the following declaration: "I would much rather see the black masses going gradually forward under the leadership of a recognized and representative and responsible elite, than to see a frustrate group of malcontents later throw this mass at society in doubtful but desperate strife."

'JIM CROW' FIGHT BEGUN BY NEGROES

Association Urges Hoover To Aid In Battle Against Law In South

NEW YORK, June 23.—(AP)—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced today that a brief had been sent to President Hoover's Law Enforcement Commission asking it to include in its investigation of lawlessness in the United States "the law breaking committed against negroes in the form of lynching, disfranchisement, peonage and mob violence."

The brief, signed by James W. Johnson, secretary of the association, said that "lynching constitutes the quintessential form of law-breaking and brutal disregard for human life and constitutional guarantees in the United States."

The brief attacked alleged residential segregation ordinances in Atlanta, Ga., and in Louisiana, Jim Crow accommodations on Southern railways where it said: "Equal accommodation is not given to colored passengers and no pretense is made to afford such accommodation." And alleged disfranchisement of colored citizens in the South by "plain intimidation and terrorization as well as by grossly discriminatory administration of existing laws."

The assocation urged a federal anti-lynching law, federal enactments for the enforcement of constitutional guarantees and the creation of a federal agency to "conduct a campaign of Americanism directed not toward aliens but to Americans in the field of race relations."

The new Armenian-Ibaque Highway in Colombia has made it possible to reach Bogota, the capital, through the Pacific port of Buenaventura in three days by train and auto travel in comparative comfort instead of nearly nine hard days by boat and train.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
News
MAY 23 1929

What Have YOU to Say?

(These columns express viewpoints of readers only. Publication of letters is not necessarily an indorsement by the DAILY NEWS. Communications must be brief and neat and written on one side of the paper only and must bear the writer's name and address.)

QUESTIONS

Your editorial of May 20, "Negro Students at Annapolis," leaves you in a "delicate situation." Quoting you, "Negroes are welcome as common sailors; if a man is good enough to fight for America a. A. B., he is good enough," etc. (here you imply the Negro). Call up the U. S. steamboat inspectors in the Gimbel building and inquire how many A. B. certificates have been issued to Negroes in the last 10 years—none. Call up the navy recruiting station and see how many Negro A. B.'s are in the U. S. navy—none. Call up the U. S. sea service bureau and see how many Negro A. B.'s they have placed on merchant vessels in the last 10 years—none.

Put the shoe on the other foot. Should you or your brother or your son become a midshipman, should they at their social functions and dances endure the Negro? Should they introduce their girl friend or sweetheart to the Negro and his girl friend? Should they exchange dances? Should the Negro escort your son's fiancee out to the lawn between dances, say under a moon, which is quite often the order of things, should he?

H. V. MURPHY.

HIS OWN CHOICE

In regard to the delicate situation of a Negro entering Annapolis, I am an ex-service man. Upon applying for a job last week I was sent to a Negro foreman. Now, why does a white employer hire Negro help when there are so many white people out of work? I think I would rather starve than work for a Negro. RALPH CARLIN.

THEN AND NOW

Your editorial, "Negro Students in Annapolis," interested me, so I submit the following:

Shoulder to shoulder they fought in France, side by side they fought and died. With guns in hand they pushed on together over the grim fields of battle as the cannons roared and the rat-a-tat of the machine guns reaping their harvest of human lives, spreading death and destruction the land over.

No one questioned their creed, color or religion then. The only cry was victory, peace and democracy. But it seems that this great conflict of buddies has since been forgotten, at least in the U. S. Naval Academy.

Why not be men and buddies now as we were then? Give a man what he merits, regardless of race, creed or color. Over there today, sleeping side by side, are thousands of black, as well as white, under those white crosses on the grim fields of battle. Did not their blood mix in the mud and water on the fields of battle? Did not they die for the same cause under the same flag?

Oh, God, where is that democracy they fought and died for? Did they die in vain? Annapolis, treat 'em fair; their faces are black but their hearts are white. Long live the stars and stripes.

ARTHUR C. COUSINS.

END DISCRIMINATION

I admire the attitude of the DAILY NEWS on the delicate situation of the Negro student at Annapolis. If only the students at that institution would take the same view, I am sure the Negro student would suffer no difficulty whatsoever, and it would be an inducement to other Negroes to undertake studies in this field, where there are now but few of the race in question.

Discrimination should be taboo at Annapolis or any other institution, but it will be some time before this will be realized.

Nevertheless, keep up your good work and probably a few more will join to voice their opinions and then the Negro will be able to prove he is as capable as any other man.

MUNROE BARNES.

In Defense of the Ministry

Henry L. Mencken, editor of the American Mercury, essays the opinion in the current issue of his very valuable magazine that the ministry of the colored people in America is checking the progress of the people, pauperizing them and exploiting them without reason. In a withering fire of sarcasm he burns and blisters the long-coated gentry and concludes that insurance brokers, realty men, morticians and "booticians", meaning bootleggers, are contributing more to the progress of the colored Americans than are the ministers of the gospel. We do not agree with the scholarly and sardonic scribe on this point.

Not all the ministers are "Elmer Gantrys", nor are they unmoral, immoral opportunists of the Gantry type. Not all of our ministers are ignorant illiterate fellows, not all of them scheming knaves intent on deceiving the people with religious ballyhoo. Not all of our ministers are selfish, designing creatures, primarily interested in providing necessities and luxuries for themselves. Not all of the colored American ministry is interestsed solely in raising funds; not even half of it is as miserable and despicable as Mr. Menckin pictures it. He has not made a critical study of his subject and is superficial in his analysis.

The true influence of the minster must be consdered in the light of the historical background. We are fully cognizant of the fact that the ante-bellum pulpiteer was unlettered, fanatical and perhaps hypocritical but he laid the foundation for the first semblance of organization around which the colored Americans built. True enough as Mencken deftly perceived we do not yet have an organized bloc working in accord with an agreed programme but such as we have was formulated and developed in the church. Our ministry inspired the building of our schools during the reconstruction period and even such schools as we own and contnrol today are chiefly owned and supported by the churches. The ministry is due credit today for the high per cent. of literacy among us. What the ministry has not inspired itsself it has fervently aided and sponsored. This is particularly true of our meagre economic and political achievements and as society is rapidly advancing the enlightened ministry is swiftly falling in line.

While the ministry formerly led the way and blazed the trail, new environments and natural processes of racial evolution have removed them from the front line of march and have placed the banker, the manufacturer, the statesman and the economist to the fore. The ministry now lends it moral support. It works shoulder to shoulder with these varied groups that have launched their ascendency. Every man and woman of color in America respects the influence and power of the church in business and politics but it no longer looks toward it for leadership.

We all know that there is corruption, hypocrisy, graft and ignorance within the ministerial groups of our people but none of us are oblivious to the fact that there are hundreds and thousands of good men of the cloth who go about doing good. In large cities the ministers are rapidly developing their institutional ideas and the church doors are flung open seven days a week. Some maintain libraries, nurseries, employment bureaus, medical and dental clinics as well as gymnasiums. Theses institutional churches are distinctive benefits to their communities and are constructive forces for good. In the course of time the mortgages will be paid off and the economic status of the group will be so much improved that the constant harangue for funds whereby the church may survive will be abolished, but as conditions are at present the minister is compelled to plead and pray for money whereby he may keep his doors open and nhis program going.

Mencken would change his opinion if he made a systematic study of the history of our churches annd their present day problems.

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

Nassau Daily Review
ROCKVILLE CENTER, N. Y.

JUN 28 1929

Negro Is Advancing Steadily Despite White Prejudices and Discrimination

THE recent controversy at Washington, which resulted from Mrs. Hoover entertaining the wife of a negro Congressman at the White House in a group of other Congressmen's wives, makes timely an article published in the June 1 issue of The Commonweal.

"The Negro's Place in the Sun," by Elsie W[illegible] the race is advancing steadily despite all the handicaps and racial prejudices in America. The change even in the attitude of the white race towards the negro is commented upon as remarkable.

"Twenty years ago a conference on racial questions, dominated by colored people, would scarcely have received serious municipal consideration, even from a northern city," says the article. "Now the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is celebrating its twentieth anniversary the end of June with a conference in Cleveland, which has offered its public auditorium, seating 15,000, for a mass meeting.

"In recognition of the event, the Cleveland Museum of Art has arranged a display of negro art and addresses on negro art and literature, the public library is featuring books by negro writers, and the museum of natural history, an exhibition of African ethnology.

Fights For Legal Rights

From its inception the association has openly and candidly broadcast facts that have made polite society wince. It has not been concerned with pretty tales for drawing room consumption, but with the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the submerged and darker tenth.

"The publicity given to the educational campaign of negro leaders of the association in co-operation with their white friends has been responsible for reducing the number of lynchings. In 1928 there were eleven lynchings in five states, the lowest record in the forty years during which statistics have been kept. The association fights its battles in the courts with legal weapons. Because of the volunteer service of members of the bar, less than one hundred thousand dollars has been spent on legal work, which includes five decisive victories before the United States Supreme Court. One of the most important decisions of the Supreme Court was to declare unconstitutional the 'grandfather clauses' disenfranchising southern negroes. A more recent triumph was the decision in the Texas white primary case, by which laws excluding negroes from party primaries were held unconstitutional. Other cases successfully defended by the association have involved residential and school segregation and unlawful discrimination against the negro in the exercise of his civil rights. The attempt to exclude negroes from the public library of Charleston, West Virginia, was frustrated by the Supreme Court of Appeals of the state, thus establishing the precedent for negroes to use public libraries throughout West Virginia. A colored woman, an interstate passenger who had purchased Pullman accommodations from New York to Orlando, Florida, was removed from the train at a small Florida town, placed in jail and fined $500 and costs. The railroad company settled the case out of court for $2,750. One of the most significant activities of the association has been to prevent the extradition of negro prisoners to states which have a bad lynching record."

Many Negroes Prosperous

The writer shows the increasing number of negroes who are in business, and enumerates large concerns operated by negroes. "It was Booker T. Washington who started the National Negro Business League in 1900," says the article. 'Directly after emancipation, 4,000 negroes were engaged in business. Now there are more than 70,000 negro business enterprises. Many of these are small retail establishments, restaurants, groceries, drug stores, general stores, garages and transfer companies, but an increasing number of negroes are engaged in real estate, manufacturing of clothing, building and contracting, lumber and livestock.

"Doors closed to opportunity have disciplined the educated and progressive negro into working out his own economic salvation. Twenty-eight insurance companies operated by negroes write $120,000,000 a year. Seventy negro banks do an annual business of $100,000,000. The banks are handicapped by exclusion from clearing-house participation, absence of business with white firms and the lack of managerial experience. But they are steadily growing and inspiring more confidence among their own people. Negro business men are following the example of their white Rotarian neighbors and banding themselves into organizations for their mutual advantage, such as national associations of bankers, insurance companies, builders, funeral directors, retail grocers, tailors, and other representative trades and industries.

80,000 Professional Negroes

"According to the 1920 census, 80,000 negroes are in the professions. The majority are clergymen, teachers, musicians, actors, lawyers, physicians, dentists and trained nurses. The more influential professional groups, teachers, physicians, lawyers and musicians, have, like the business men, organized themselves into national associations. The National Negro Press Association is backed by

NEW YORK EVE POST

JUL 9 1929

A NEGRO WRITES ON "RACE HATRED"

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Sir—Your correspondent, Mr. H. W. Wells, in his article, "Race Hatred," published June 26, assumes that his own experience enables him to know all that may be known about the "emotional relation" between the races in the South. I only regret that my twenty years' observation of conditions there do not lead me to similar conclusions. Being black, my point of observation is different from that of Mr. Wells and my conclusions are drawn from conditions as they exist and not as I would have them.

So far as I know, there is no basis for the contention that there is not a general race hatred in the South. To be sure, there is friendship between many individuals of the two races, but, as Mr. Wells so aptly pointed out, it is the position of the mass that determines this question. My observation is that the mass of whites in the South entertain a genuine hatred and scorn for the blacks, and I pause here to say that the feeling of the mass of Northern whites differs from that of their Southern brothers in degree only. There are, I am happy to say, many in the South who are not obsessed with this hatred, but they do not prevent the hating mass from giving vent to its passion. Nor am I alone in this opinion. My black acquaintances who have lived in the South are in 100 per cent agreement with my position. This unanimity of opinion suggests strongly that there may be something other than a feeling of "mutual affection" between the races. And how, if Mr. Wells is correct, do we account for the many hundreds of lynchings, many for the most trivial offenses, without even one of the murderers being brought to justice? How, if there is no hatred, do we explain the rise to political heights of so many in the South whose chief, and in some cases sole, appeal to the electorate lay in the severity of their attacks on the black man? If these are evidences of affection, may we never see evidences of hatred.

Mr. Wells, contrary to the custom of white men of Southern tradition, suggests that conceivably under some conditions the whites might grant the blacks recognition socially, the condition being a general raising of the cultural status of the blacks. Here again I cannot agree. There is no shred of evidence to indicate that this will happen within any calculable time. In fact, all evidence seems to indicate that separation will be more rigidly maintained. The status of the blacks does not enter the equation as a positive quantity at all. There is good reason to believe that if every black in the South were a Ph.D. interracial animosity would be heightened and the line of social separation more rigorously maintained.

A great many whites seem to believe that social recognition is the goal for which the black is striving. Why they think so I do not know, but certainly they are mistaken. The black is against discrimination in general and not for social recognition *per se*. What he wants and needs is recognition that will enable him to stir from his position as the man farthest down in the economic scale. He wants equal pay for equal work and an opportunity to advance in proportion to his own merits. And certainly he wants to be subject to no law, written or unwritten, save such law as a well-ordered society finds necessary for its own protection.

But he will no more be granted this than social recognition. There is in a race an inborn suspicion and dislike for all who differ from it ethnologically, and the dislike is roughly proportional to the visibility of the difference. Doubtless this tendency is a hang-over from remote ages, when such discrimination was necessary as a protective measure, and, having become ingrained in human nature, it persists something in the manner of the tendency a pet dog displays when he turns around before lying down. This tendency in the whites, abetted by their very pronounced great-God complex and their scorn for the black man's inferior position, dooms the blacks to their present status with respect to the whites just so long as they shall remain black.

If the black man would secure equality of opportunity with the white, let him not waste time in any vain effort to "win" it. Let him first discard the pigment in his skin and the kink in his hair. This done, he will find that all his mass ignorance and all the other charges made against him will be inconsequential. For, though it is as illogical as a belief in witchcraft, the mass of Southern whites believe a man is measured by the color of his hide.

Impotent and living amid a powerful people, the attitude of the black toward the white does not make the race problem in America. Race prejudice as it affects this country is a disease of the white man, and I do not believe it can be cured by giving the black man medicine.

F. W. BRIGHT.

New York, July 6, 1929.

[Editor's Note: This letter will close this controversy.]

UPPER AND LOWER SOUTH DIFFERENT BAGNALL SAYS

NEW YORK, July 17—Returned to New York from a speaking tour, and the organization of branches in the Southern States, Robert W. Bagnall, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today stressed the difference in temper and atmosphere he found existing between the upper and the lower South.

"In the upper South," said Mr. Bagnall, "colored people talk of their rights and the work of the N. A. A. C. P. as a matter of course and without fear. That is true in North Carolina, in Tennessee and in upper Georgia in most towns and cities. But in the lower South Negroes in many cases are afraid of expressing anything that even looks like an assertion of their rights.

"A process is under way that looked to me very much like terrorization on the part of white authorities to keep Negroes down. One exception is Southern Georgia, long a bad section, where Negroes are now bolder and atrocities have become less owing to the depopulation of that section by the northward migration of colored workers.

Moton Asserts That Education Is the Solution to Race Question

ATLANTA, Ga., July 2—(AP)—Education was seen as a solution to the race question by Robert R. Moton, principal of the Normal and Industrial Institute for Negroes, at Tuskegee, Ala., in an address today before the representative assembly of the National Education Association here.

"Two races as ethnologically different as the negro and the white can live together side by side in amity if both are educated," he declared. Dr. Moton said the negro was not interested in what was usually described as "social equality" and was opposed to intermarriage as the white race, but the negro did desire equality in education and citizenship.

The assembly accepted the report of the legislative committee, urging a federal department of education and the report of the committee on propaganda which declared that the public schools must be kept inviolate for teaching children "how to think,, not what to think." Speakers included Dr. Moton, Howard R. Driggs of the New York University School of Education and Congressman John M. Robsion, of Kentucky.

Dr. Moton traced the progress of negro education in the south.

"The reconstruction governments of the southern states," the educator declared, "had many faults but they put on the statute books of practically every southern state provisions for education of negroes and whites alike."

Discussing relations, Dr. Moton said the negro race was not inferior to the white but more backward. "However," he averred, "the white race itself only a little only ten years ago staged an example of backwardness by killing each other in Europe that was not very inspiring."

Mr. Robsion, a former teacher spoke on behalf of a bill he has introduced in congress to create a federal department of education. He said such a department would not interfere with state control of education.

Dr. Driggs spoke on behalf of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association and urged preservation of historic shrines, particularly those monumental in the winning of the west by the pioneers.

The assembly adopted a resolution introduced by Oren E. Long, deputy superintendent of instruction of Hawaii, inviting the world federation of education associations to hold its 1931 convention in Honolulu.

SEEK TO HAVE U. S. MARINES REMOVED FROM HAITIAN SOIL

Washington, D. C., July 12.—Passage of his resolution providing for the termination of the occupation of Haiti by the United States will be pressed at the regular session of congress, Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah, declared Monday. The present arrangement by which Haiti is ruled by the military forces of this government "under pretense of being a

living on the property of Mell Grier, white farmer, for whom they were working a crop on shares.

Other tenants who have been thrown into a panic by the lynching of McDaniel say the youth and Grier quarreled Saturday over the price of blackberries that McDaniel's wife picked for Grier and that the white man threatened McDaniel with a shotgun.

Neck Broken

McDaniel's body was found Sunday morning by a litle girl and upon investigation by the authorities it was learned that death was caused by violent strangulation that broke his neck. The wrists bore evidence of having been bound. Howevere, it was reported that McDaniel had hanged himself and until Wednesday his death attracted little attention.

Unsatisfied with the report of McDaniel's death the newspaper men visited the farm and discovered a path broken through the bushes and underbrush from a place about 150 yards back of the Brier barn to a giant white oak tree. Climbing a tree he discovered on a limb of the oak cuts caused possibly by a sliding rope. From the tree to a spot back of McDaniel's home, the path where the body was dragged across a wide cotton field, could be seen plainly. The reporter's discoveries may lead to a grand jury investigation if there is no indication of an immediate arrest.

JEWS AND COLLEGE FRATERNITIES

JEWS ARE BARRED FROM JOINING desirable fraternities and kept segregated from social contacts worth while, complains "A Seeker for Justice" in a recent letter to *The Yale News*. After stating that Jews are excluded from fraternities at the college proper, and at Sheffield, he deplores that they are forced into organizing their own groups and associating exclusively with members of their own race. Then he exclaims feverishly:

"You Anglo-Saxons are too drunk with power to realize that the Jews are a superior people. They were highly civilized when your ancestors were still semi-barbarians. The Jews have contributed materially to civilization. Such names as Heine, Einstein, Spinoza—yes, and Christ, too—illustrate what the Jews have given to the fields of literature, science, philosophy, and religion.

"You are proud of your democracy, aren't you? Well, the American Revolution was financed by Jews. It would be fitting to give them a little of the equality of opportunity for which the democracy of America—and therefore Yale as an American institution—is supposed to stand."

While all this must have relieved the overcharged soul of "A Seeker for Justice," comments *The American Hebrew* (New York), "it put him and our coreligionists at the New Haven institution in an unenviable light.

"In the first place, the facts do not jibe with his accusations, as the editor of *The Yale News* dispassionately points out. In the second place, even if they did, what is gained by setting up a howl for social recognition? No one wishes to pick his boon companions at the wailing wall, and no one ever will tap into a desired fraternity the too-facile vocalizer of his sorrows and his self-pity. Ululation and initiation do not go together.

"As to the facts. 'If the writer of the above communication,' comments the editor, 'will scan the past records of junior fraternities, he will find Jews listed in several memberships. . . . The writer forgets that many Anglo-Saxons in Yale are not members of fraternities, and that social adaptability is more or less of a prerequisite, regardless of racial extraction. This is true not of Jews alone, but of all races whose members were and are members of Yale junior fraternities. It is well to remember that one is first a Yale man and, secondly, a member of a certain race. The converse does not hold here.'"

It is possible to verify *The Yale News* editor's rebuttal of the complainant's accusation, says *The American Hebrew*, which, with a note of sharpness, goes on to recite that what seems to be the truth is this:

"A very limited number of Jews have been admitted to junior fraternities purely on the basis of personal merit. Their racial and religious connections were not a bar. They were judged by the exacting court of their contemporaries and peers to be socially desirable Yale men. They made the grade and, we hope, lived happily ever after.

"Undoubtedly, too, reading between the lines, it has been difficult, almost impossible, for a Jew to gain the precious fraternity memberships reserved mainly, as 'A Seeker for Justice' claims, for Anglo-Saxons. What of it? The highest type of Yale man, measured by open-mindedness and nobility of character as well as by a passion for the truth and general cultural breadth, will hardly fail to recognize a kindred spirit, whoever and wherever he may be.

"No Jew need beat pudgy, unavailing fists at a locked door. And the open sesame is surely not a grandiloquent mouthing of racial superiority which every one not emotionally concerned properly translates into just 'Ouch!'

"Pride and common sense should have prevented 'A Seeker for Justice' from rushing into print with his undignified complaint. We feel certain that now it sounds as puerile to him as it does to us. A true son of the Maccabees does not indulge in self-pitying squawks.

"Generally speaking, the habit that some of us have lapsed into of shouting 'Anti-Semitism' when we have been personally hurt does us little credit. There are marauders against whom we must be warned. *The American Hebrew* takes full cognizance of this, as our news items and our editorial columns have shown

Race Problem - 1929

United States

Is the Color Line Crumbling?

By KELLY MILLER

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson Nation, has contributed an interesting article of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the to the July issue of Harper's Magazine, under the caption "The Crumbling of the Color Line." He cites numerous interesting if not convincing, instances and reaches a roseate conclusion. The Nation cries out with insistence for the rights of the under man in general and of the Negro man in particular. The Nation is a true successor to the Liberator edited by Mr. Villard's illustrious ancestor, sensibly adjusted to changes of time and conditions. Optimism is the mainspring and enacting principle of the agitator. For, unless he can persuade himself and others that through agitation instant or ultimate reform will result, then his work is in vain and his hope is in vain. We must always discount the optimism of the reformer just as we discount the pessimism of the sloth. Here, as elsewhere, the truth lies in the middle.

Mr. Villard represents the attitude of the philanthropist, whose judgement of occurrences is colored by their reactions on his particular philanthrophy. The pious Christian must needs say the world is growing better in every way, every day. Else he belittles and belies his professed faith in Christianity to save the world. Philanthropy must needs strike an optimistic note altho this note is discordant to the obvious facts of experience and observation.

Mr. Villard is a white man, of pure Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon lineage. Despite his generous disposition, he must needs see with a white man's eyes. This racial tree, like Josh Billing's redwood, is so tall that it takes two persons to see the top of it, the vision of one beginning where that of the other left off. No white man can see the situation as a Negro sees it, because he cannot feel it as the Negro feels it.

"The frog beneath the harrow knows
exactly where the nail print goes,
The butterfly upon the road, preaches
contentment to the toad."

A comprehensive review of the world-wide situation will clearly reveal that the color line is not only not crumbling, but is strengthening everywhere in its essential features.

Ever since the jingles of Kipling about the "White Man's Burden" and the flood of literature, such as "The Rising Tide of Color," "The Clash of Color," the Anglo-Saxon world has been building up dykes to shut themselves in and to shut all non-whites out of their racial territory. Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States have their color bars and bans which make any further non-white intrusion impossible. The obvious intent is to keep such lands white in petuity. A black British citizen of Jamaica cannot take up residence in Canada or Australia by virtue of the bar sinister.

The immigration laws of the United States effectually keep out all non-Caucasians from further reenforcement of our population. Within the confines of this country the only practical question is the operation of the color line within the limits of the races already here.

Immediately after emancipation, it did look, for a while, as if the color line would crumble. The laws and regulations of our national procedure were made to apply—"Without regard to race or color." But, this over-generous attitude lasted for scarcely half a generation. One might say that the color line has been gradually and constantly strengthening itself since the overthrow of the reconstruction regimes in 1876.

Since then, twenty-nine states have enacted anti-intermarriage bars; separate schools have been established in all communities where the Negro constitutes a considerable fraction of the population; Jim-crow roll over the rails of the Southern and semi-Southern states. The Negro is barred from places of public resort and entertainment where his over numerosity makes his presence objectionable. Residential segregation, within the last fifteen years has spread like wild fire from Eastport, Maine, to Key West, Florida, and from Atlantic City to Los Angeles. In industry, the Negro is being more and more pushed downward on the scale, or at least he is being shut out from intimate touch with white men, and shut into something like occupational caste. The North has gravitated to the accepted plane of the South. The Negro has been eliminated from high station under the federal government Even the few remaining clerks are being segregated, jim-rcowed and gradually eliminated. The Civil Service effectually excludes reenforcement. Within the next decade or so, there will be few or no Negroes left in the departments above the level of messengers and laborers.

I might go on indefinitely piling up a list of particulars to off-set Mr. Villard's recital of instances of kindly personal attitude on the part of a few choice spirits of the white race. The interracial conference of which Mr. Villard makes a great deal, frankly operates in harmony with the existence and countenance of the color line. The new Negro and his achievements in the arts, literature, music and dramatics, finds recognition and encouragement mainly among the Sematic element rather than the undaunted Anglo-Saxon.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been battling valiantly against the color line for twenty years, and despite minor indentations, here and there, it holds with the unbroken integrity of the Hindenburg Line in the World war. Nor have we yet isolated any specific remedy. Religion, education, wealth and culture, while yielding their inestimable advantages, have not materially effected the color line. So far as we can now see, this line is likely to hold with stubborn rigidity as far ahead as we are at present able to project our vision.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Negro leaders and his good friends to encourage him to develop a defensive philosophy which will enable him to live cheerfully notwithstanding stubborn obstacles of race.

It is fatuous philosophy that would deceive him with obviously falacious hopes. Our greatest task is to open the Negro's eyes and let him know the truth without discouraging his reasonable hopes and aspirations.

KELLY MILLER
July 12, 1929.

MOBOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

AMERICA is a hysterical country. Every reform, every progressive step, the institution of every new and constructive measure for substantial advancement of the people or to their detriment is only brought about by propaganda calculated to storm the populace and shock them into action, whether it be for the common good or inimical to their welfare.

Mob psychology, mob action, mob rule is characteristic of the Americans. Such habits of thought and action results in chaos and is largely responsible for the annual flood of laws enacted only to be disrespected, annulled or repealed, and, is responsible in a large measure for the weaknesses of our government and the general impotence of our legislative as well as enforcement officers.

Those given to serious thoughts on the stability and performance of our civilization and government, in form and substance, are apprehensive lest the continued spirit of unrest as exemplified by the lack of the spirit of altruism and the continuance of mobocracy and hysteria will tend to sap its vitality ,eat the heart out of the life of our nation and drink its veins dry of its vaunted liberties.

Now comes "The Commercial Law League of America," in solemn convention assembled at Montreal. The burden of its deliberations are at once crystalized and expressed in a set of resolutions adopted and published calling attention to its fear that one kind of mobocracy threatens the very existence of the union. Says this august convention composed of some of our greatest legal and commercial minds;

"Our immigration laws should be amended so in the future only those will be admitted who will make good citizens and if this is not done, popular government in the U. S. may become a thing of the past before the end of the present century.

"We should take the stand before it is too late, that there is only room in America for one Constitution, on flag, one language, one fealty, and that there is not room in America for a racketeering mobocracy whose one and only aim is to force us to surrender to the old world's nihilistic syndicalism," said the report. "The lid should be promptly clamped down so that the misfits and nonfits will be effectively barred from our shores, and so that our foreign undesirables can be promptly dealt with and deported.

"On a proposition to change the Constitption so that an act of the congress could not be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme court, four million votes were secured. We then found we had over 15,000,000 of foreign-born, 7,500,000 of whom had not been naturalized, and 6,000,000 of whom had been rated by the public health service as having a mentality of children of 12. We also found we had a million more of these people coming in each year.

"Our census bureau also disclosed the fact that the present rate of natural increase in population in 50 years we would have 200,000,000 in this country. We have also learned that our melting pot has failed to function and that we are unable to educate and christianize these foreign elements and it is possible that they may later alienize and paganize America."

It is very evident that this convention is aggrieved and perturbed by one phase and one only of our lack of good government and that in its deliberations it is either blind to the real causes of why America has palpably failed as a melting pot or else it is strongly biased against our foreign elements, many of whom have made good citizens and to whom much credit must be given for infusing new blood, industry, thrift and progressiveness into what might have become the sluggish veins and dull mentality of a part of our citizenry.

The resolutions speak of nihilism syndicalism and communism of the foreigners but ignores the same practices of the native Americans.

If there is mobocracy in the United States of a kind that threatens to disrupt and destroy our nation, it is of a kind that is used by white Americans against black Americans; it is of a kind that permits social, civil, and industrial discrimination; it is of a kind that permits the lynching of its citizens; it is of a kind that encourages our Congress to spend billions of dollars to enforce one amendment to the federal constitution and not one cent for the enforcement of those having to do with the human rights of a part of its citizens.

the foiables and failures of our country cen-

In the light of cold reason, tempered by justice and predicated upon right, must or-

ganizations intent upon calling attention to ter their thoughts. Inclusive must be all ills of the body politic. The aims of the eminent gentlemen fall far short of their target, as they have omitted the real objects of mobocracy and some of the evident reasons why this nation suffers from the ailments as indicated by them. If their indictment is true of our foreign elements, they have only themselves to blame; the new citizns have only copied the precepts, exampls and traditions of the old.

Prejudice and Leadership

PROF. KELLY MILLER, in his address at St. James' Church last Sunday, brought out two main points. The first dealt with race prejudice, which Dr. Miller says is increasing. He says we must prepare to meet it more effectually, that education has failed to blunt its edge. Dr. Miller's second point was that the present generation of Negro college men has not caught the spirit of their fathers, who used their education for the advancement of the race; that college men today do not assume the responsibility of leadership.

AS FOR PREJUDICE, it is hard to say just what will end it. For two thousand years the Jewish race has amassed wealth and culture and has supplied many of the world's great men, yet the prejudice against Jews seems as strong as ever. The best the Negro can do is to put himself in a position to fight it rather than woo it. There are too many Negroes now pathetically trying to convince the white race that they are not so bad as they are painted.

DR. MILLER'S other point should be taken to heart by the present set of graduates. Far too many of those who have left college in the past five or ten years have a contemptuous attitude toward their race. Leaving their natural social habitat to strain after the company and approbation of white people, they have forgotten the Negro's epical struggle of the past sixty years. Instead of leading one army they become camp followers of another. The race loses by this, but they lose more. The strength of every leader comes from the bosom of his people, and if he cuts himself off from them he is about as useful as a calf which has strayed from its mother.

White Writer Sees New Side of Race Question in Chicago

Learns Why Real Estate Operators Work to Place Restrictions on City Property

By ZITA LOUISE BAKER

This article is the first of a series by a Chicago writer, who was until recently a a member of the bureau of information of the Chicago World's Fair. There will be ten of them. Each one has been written from the viewpoint of those belonging to the white race, and deals with some specific phase of the race question in Chicago.

LAST fall I had occasion to attend the celebration of a "Better Homes" project in the Savoy ballroom as a representative of the staff of the Chicago Centennial. It was my first visit to any place along South parkway since the old Grand Blvd. days of some years ago.

I had heard lamentations from many sources on the decadence of certain sections of Chicago's South side and some reports from those actively hostile to Colored citizens that would have made it seem the entire area from Madison St. to Pullman was fast going to rack and ruin. I had not believed all this, but I was curious to see for myself what conditions were like along this old south-bound thoroughfare.

From the time that I entered the Savoy ballroom with a friend of mine to the time, three hours later, when I embarked for home, I was given a succession of surprises. All of them were agreeable, I can most truthfully say, and they furnished considerable food for thought.

To begin with, there was the great ballroom itself, noticeable for its exceptional beauty and the tastefulness of its decorations. Its floor was perfect and its spaciousness prevented even the large crowd of dancers assembled from being crowded. The orchestra, needless to say, was excellent.

But far more interesting than the artistic hall were the people who made the celebration what it was—an occasion of joy, clean and wholesome. Neither my friends nor I had ever been in an atmosphere of greater refinement, or one in which there was less of the element of boisterous hilarity.

The balloon grand march, which was the World's Fair part of the program, was one of the most colorful features of a ball it had been my privilege to witness. The gay round balls, together with the bright dresses of the girls and the conventional black of the men, made a picture that would have rivaled many a party at the Casino club.

Visit Theater

During the course of the evening we strayed into the theater next door and were fortunate enough to get in for the vaudeville program. It heid another surprise. Each act was either amusing or picturesque, as its subject warranted, but there was a total absence of roughness and questionable humor.

The men and women whom I met at the Savoy ballroom exhibited as much dignity, intelligence and refinement as might be found in any gathering at the Illinois Women's Athletic club or a similar institution. And all this in the very heart of what had been described to me as "that deplorable south central district."

South parkway, as I see it, has few apologies to make to any one for its present appearance. A portion of it is still run-down and neglected, but considering the fact that it is in the midst of transition from the old order to the new, this condition is not surprising. I refuse to believe that the Colored citizen of the better class does not manifest as much pride in his surroundings as the white citizen around the corner. It is merely left to the Colored man and woman to prove that a racial complexion has nothing to do with bricks and stone, with a front lawn or a cluttered back yard.

Recently I had a most interesting talk with two men well known in the real estate profession, if profession it may be called. Both are authorities on real estate development in Chicago, but neither, for business reasons, would allow himself to be quoted by name. I shall, therefore, have to refer to them as Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown.

"Why," was my first question, "have certain Chicago firms in the Loop discharged their Colored help and given as the reason that a clause in their lease prohibited them from employing Colored people? Has the Chicago Real Estate board done anything to cause such a procedure?"

Both Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown stated that they were in ignorance of the discharge of Colored employees because of specifications in a real estate contract, and both emphatically denied that the real estate board had had anything to do with it. "However," said Mr. Smith, "clauses are frequently added to contracts issued by the Chicago Real Estate board to suit individuals. Any clause prohibiting Colored employees would be of this nature and would be a matter of private interest only."

Mr. Smith then admitted that a great effort was being put forth to restrict the Colored people to certain districts in order that an harmonious state of affairs should prevail in the city. A three-fold objective, he said, was responsible for this attempted restriction.

"In the first place," explained Mr. Smith, "Colored people and white people are much happier when they do not live in too close quarters. Each has certain traits that are objectionable to the other, and objectionable characteristics are more noticeable when the two races mingle constantly, as in residential districts inhabited by both.

"I do not mean," he went on, "that Colored people and white people cannot live in the same neighborhood and be happy. They can and do, but in a neighborhood where every other house belonged to a white person and the rest to Colored people, conditions would not be so good. The two races are in continual contact with each other, and this familiarity does not breed good will."

Another reason for providing definite restrictions on Negroes is, according to Mr. Smith, that white people are antagonized when Colored families begin moving into neighborhoods where, previously, only white families lived. This antagonism, he stated, causes the white families to pack their goods and move out, and the property in such a neighborhood is left to dirt and decay.

Here Mr. Brown spoke up and cited the third reason why restrictions were necessary. "Colored people will not stay in a district," he said, "and that is why we are engaged in trying to enact certain restrictive measures. If they would stay in the districts they have and would keep up their property, instead of moving continually, there would be no need of restrictions.

"Recently we investigated and found in several Colored districts that many houses were empty—houses which would have been good homes if they had been kept up. The families that had owned or leased them had moved into other neighborhoods no better than these, with the result that property thereabout went down rapidly in value. White people and Colored people both need to feel a greater civic responsibility, and these restrictive measures will, we feel, tend to arouse and foster individual pride in the members of both races."

So much for the opinions of two men who have made a life study of real estate and for years have been actively engaged in it in Chicago. Whether or not their opinions are representative of those held by a majority of Chicago real estate operators is difficult to say, but they offer a viewpoint that at least deserves thoughtful consideration by both white and Colored groups.

Regardless of real estate restrictions and questions of the employment of members of one race by another, though, there is a growing sentiment in the minds of Chicago people and people all over the United States to treat racial problems calmly and with unprejudiced thought. This sentiment pictures the Colored man as expressing intelligence, honesty and individuality as truly as his white brother, and with the laying aside of old resentments and false pride, both races will eventually regard each other in the spirit of friendliness and co-operation and will work together for their common welfare.

Race Problem – 1929
United States.

RACE PREJUDICE AS FOUND IN "BLIND SPOTS"–PRACTICAL WAYS TO CURE

BY HENRY SMITH LEIPER.

(Clipped by Marjorie E. Wellborn Smith.)

["Blind Spots" is the National Missions Study Book for Young People 18-23 and for Seniors 15-17 years. The theme is Race Relations. The book is well worth the intense study and application of its principles by adults as well as by the youth of the land.]

"Blind Spots" gets its name from the fact that each person has a blind spot in each eye. It takes the two eyes to see completely and fully what is before us. Try this experiment.

On a piece of paper mark an 0 and two inches from it on each side mark an x. Hold the paper about eight inches from the eyes. Close one eye and focus on the 0. Shift the paper around very slowly until an x disappears. Of course, both x's remain on the paper but due to the blind spot one of them cannot be seen. Many of us suffer from mental blind spots and cannot see the good characteristics of other races.

"Blind Spots" contains a full page picture of Dr. George W. Carver at work, together with a fine appreciation of his achievements. Roland Hayes and Henry Owassa Tanner are also written up most enthusiastically.]

"Race prejudice is not only with those of the white race here in America; it is to some degree universal. That is what makes the struggle against it so hard. That is also what makes it so important.

"This volume is purely and simply an attempt to suggest ways of cultivating fair and brotherly attitudes. The ideals and ideas incorporated here represent the actual processes by which the author has seen men and women of differing races throughout America and in the lands overseas curing themselves of race prejudice, in the effort to make brotherhood real.

"Certainly the world talks a lot about race prejudice, and everybody who believes in the ideals of democracy and brotherhood denounces it. As a matter of fact modern man has practically conquered the weather. The temperature and humidity of our homes are kept almost constant in winter; increasingly our theaters at least, are cooled in summer. Our closed cars, subways, sidewalks, paved roads, street cleaning departments, shower baths, and rain-proof clothing nullify various unpleasant consequences of the weather. Ice boxes, refrigerating machines, and canning processes protect our food against the effects of weather. Really a good deal has been done about the weather!

"There is much talk these days about race prejudice.

Sherwood Eddy says in his recent book, "Religion and Social Justice," 'Let us ask ourselves whether individually we are prepared to recognize and to endeavor to root out any race prejudice that still lurks within us.'

"What he implies is, Let's do something about it!

"What most people find difficult is, first, how to recognize their own prejudices, and, second, how to set about 'rooting out' the prejudice they discover in their own minds.

"This book attempts, among other things, to meet these difficulties.

"By changing experiences people help each other in [illegible] human undertaking. That is what is intended in this book. Of course, it must be recognized that what helps one may not always help another. But all the 'treatments' for race prejudice here suggested are harmless. Some of them, once begun, will work while you sleep. They are not scientific in the sense that, given the same conditions they will always work. Indeed where emotions are concerned, few things wholly scientific can be said about them. Prejudice is pretty much a matter of emotions.

"The book has grown out of a belief that something can be done about race prejudice, not only in society in general and by the Church as an institution, but also by individual Christians in particular."

In speaking of the work of Roland Hayes and Henry Owassa Tanner, Mr. Alexander Hogue, writing in the Dallas, Texas, News, says, "Art knows no color line and by refusing to admit this we miss some of the very finest productions in art."

"We talk about America being a white country; and so it is—predominantly. But would you call a dress white if one-tenth of it were black, and that tenth distributed more or less after the black dots on dotted swiss? That, to use a crude simile, is how white America is. Then, too, there are red and yellow and brown lines which enhance the complexity of the design. It is mosaic! It is that on the score of color and, furthermore, the people of Moses contribute a part of the whiteness which is in some ways distinct from the Gentile white inherited principally from Northern Europe.

"The process of curing race prejudice has to be continuous, and can never be considered complete for all time. You are constantly in the presence of "infection:" the social environment of your life is saturated with the germs of it. Every newspaper you read displays it.

"A good plan, then, would be to test yourself frequently to see whether there are blind spots in your vision as you look at other people.

"Do you take it as a matter of course that certain races are subjects of discrimination in the customs of your town? Do you let the race of a person determine what little acts of courtesy you will perform for him of her? For example—if you are a man—take off your hat in an elevator when a white woman steps in and keep it on if a colored woman gets in? Do you give up your seat in a car for a Nordic and let a Polish woman stand? Do you say, when a crime is reported by some Italian, Turk, Mexican or Negro: 'Oh, you've got to expect that: They're all that way'? Do you think that people of races different from your own would like to be members of your race? Are you surprised when one of them does something fine in art or in science or in business? Does the color of a person's skin determine whether you will or will not eat with that person?

"Facing facts as to what prejudice is helps some people both to understand themselves and to re-educate themselves in unprejudiced attitudes.

"Prejudice is hard to define. Strictly speaking, it includes the idea of making up one's mind in advance; judgment before experience rather after it. Some prejudice is not so much prejudice as antipathy growing out of certain kinds of unpleasant experience.

"If your kind of prejudice is strictly prejudice — judgment before experience—the cure of it is to be found, if anywhere, in experience. If your prejudice is really antipathy—a feeling of dislike based on unpleasant experience—then the only cure must likewise come not from 'kidding' yourself into a new attitude, but by seeking fuller experience.

"Very rewarding as a method of detecting race prejudice is the practice of watching ourselves to see how we tend to act toward classmates, business associates, or fellow travelers on cars or trains who happen to be plainly of another race. Emphasis is put on the word plainly because if you can't see racial differences you are quite likely to be unconscious of them. Prof. Park, who has written much on this subject, says. 'Race prejudice is a function of high visibility of difference.' By that he means, of course, that differences in color, in slanting eyes, thick lips, curly hair, and certain kinds of noses and differences in dress are the principal signs that commonly excite the response of antipathy and hostility. If you were blind-folded, all of these things would be indistinguishable.

"Did you ever think of the curious fact that if you were blind you would have to get some one to tell you the race of most individuals you might meet—assuming, of course, that there was nothing in their speech to give a hint of any difference in race? But the fact is that a great many of the

ordinary prejudices that divide the human family would disappear if the gift of sight would be suddenly taken from us.

"Do we want to let the gift of sight cheat us out of the gift of brothehood? Even sight is not worth such a price.

"Perhaps, if you were white, one of the assumptions that underlies whatever color prejudice you may have is that the white race is the major part of the human family—and all other races represent a sort of 'mistake' of evolution. But nearly two-thirds of the members of the human family, as a matter of fact, are non-white.

"According to an Indian legend the Creator made the first man out of clay and then baked him in a furnace. When he took him out he was black. The Creator was disappointed. He had left him in too long and he was overdone. So he made another man of clay and put him in the furnace. This time fear lest he bake too long led to his being taken out in a short time. When this one came out he was white. Again the Creator was disappointed. Taking a third batch of clay He made yet another man and put him in to bake. Experience helped. When he came out he was a lovely reddish brown. The Creator was satisfied, as He had gotten just the right 'skin color' for mankind.

A silly primitive tale, you say? Perhaps. But back of it is a profound truth. The truth bears not on the Creator and his mysteries but upon the viewpoint of man regarding color. His own is all right; all others are wrong!"

In connection with this, those who attended the Biennial at St. Paul will remember what Mrs. Ruth Maukrat Bronson, a full-blooded Cherokee Indian, said of the various names of Indian tribes. She said that Cherokee means The Big Indian and that as a child she believed the tribe of Cherokees were the only ones that counted. Later she learned otherwise. She also learned that practically every tribe's name had a similar meaning, signifying that each thinks he is all right and the others all wrong. We are always it and you are of no account.

"Here and there a dark-skinned person living among whites, smarting under the rank injustice done him, the disadvantages caused, solely on account of color, may wish he could get rid of it. But note that what he essentially wants is not a different color but a different chance in life.

"An Oriental wrote resenting that anybody who did not genuinely like him should 'love him for Jesus' sake.' 'Take back some of your love and give us a little justice," is the way I heard another Chinese voice this same feeling at a great gathering of Americans. I have talked with other Orientals who feel only bitter scorn because some, even among missionaries, say they 'love' these Orientals but will not eat with them. A remarkably brilliant young American Indian, while a graduate student in Chicago told me of his suffering under the patronizing attitude of certain of the very people who had been his friends. Said he, "They tell me, "All Indians are lazy and dishonest. We expect you to be like a white man.' Evidently they think I have not seen hundreds of lazy, dishonest white men.'

"What am I going to do," a man asked Dr. Cadman, "when I get to heaven and find a lot of Chinks and Dagoes whom I detest?" "Don't worry, friend," said Dr. Cadman. "If that's the way you feel you probably will never get there."

"Strange as it may seem, some of us have found our own pet prejudices disappearing as we cultivated the consciousness that they were not unique.

"If you look down on another simply because of his race, subconsciously assuming that he envies you your racial distinction, only to discover later that he feels the same way about you, it may irritate you, but it will tend to break the fetters of race prejudice—, for then it will dawn upon you that you are both victims of a common delusion. Recognize it as a delusion and it will lose its power over you.

"To assign a person a certain unchanging place in life merely on account of his race or color is essentially to adopt caste. By no stretch of logic can one who claims to follow Jesus build up a Christlike argument to support that argument. Hundreds have tried to rid themselves of the tyranny of caste. I have visited groups of them in many places and have talked with them in many places and have talked with those who then began new experiments toward brotherhood. I have found no one who tried it who has not been rewarded with a new realization of the bigness and richness of Christian fellowship. Those who have tried it would not go back to the darkness of caste thinking for any consideration.

THE SOCIAL BOYCOTT OF THE JEWS

ANTI-SEMITISM AS IT IS KNOWN in Europe is not practised in the United States, but the American Jew is discriminated against socially to such a disturbing extent, writes N. Herman in *The Sentinel*, a Chicago Jewish weekly, as to threaten his economic existence. Mr. Herman is so alarmed at the significance of this social boycott, he says, as to feel like crying out to America, "Watch your step!" and to the American Jew, "Lift the veil of complacency from your eyes and learn the uncomfortable truth."

The social columns of the metropolitan dailies which chronicle the doings of the "Four Hundred" and where "a Jewish name hardly ever appears," asserts Mr. Herman, "are witnesses to the social boycott which the Jewish millionaire must endure here. A little lower in the social scale the situation is no better—perhaps even worse—for these Nordic Babbitts, themselves ignorant and vulgar parvenus, not only bar their exclusive country clubs to the Jew, but even try to keep him out of public hotels—tho nine times out of ten the Jewish Babbitt shows more brains, more intelligence, even more innate refinement, than his dull, sporty Gentile colleague, who usually excels only in table manners." This ostracism is said to extend also to the professions, making it more difficult for the Jew to earn a living or to advance professionally. And, says Mr. Herman:

"The Jew who settles in the West or in the South tries very hard to understand the old-stock American, and to assimilate some of his habits, manners, and ideas. But the Yankee as a rule remains adamant, cold, stiff, and sometimes openly hostile. To him the Jew who buys a home in a better section of the town is an intruder, not because he is taking away the old-stock American's bread and butter, but simply because in the eyes of the snobbish Yankee, the Jew, almost like the Negro or the Italian, is of an inferior race, and therefore 'should know his place,' as the haughty Yankee puts it.

"To-day the Jew suffers from prejudice when it comes to buying a home in a respectable American neighborhood, or when he seeks a summer hotel, where he finds later that Jews are barred. How will it be in the next few years when even more and more Jewish doctors and lawyers and teachers from New York will be emigrating to the less Jewish towns of America in search of a more comfortable livelihood? Will the anti-Jewish prejudice stop with homes, hotels and clubs, or will it be carried over into the medical staffs of hospitals, the faculties of colleges, and the court-rooms?"

The outlook does not appear very promising to Mr. Herman. The New York Jew, he says, has his mind set on emigrating to the "other America," and he believes that economic pressure may soon reduce the present Jewish population of New York by one-half. "This spreading of the Jews throughout the country," he thinks, "will not ease the problem of Nordic racial prejudice, but will, on the contrary, make it sharper."

Race Problem - 1929
United States.

IT SEEMS TO ME

By Heywood Broun

(The Washington Daily News.)

"It is quite beside the point to ask a colored man of our generation to behave as if he belonged to a social order which has entirely passed away."

The leading editorial in an Alabama newspaper recently was given over to high praise of a colored citizen of the town. The article mourned the passing of Jim Swift, born a slave and all his life the servant of the Mallory family. And the editor could not resist the temptation of rounding off the tribute with a few mournful remarks about modern Negroes, who seemed to him not the least like Jim Swift. Even the New York Times, which quoted from the Selma (Ala.) Times Journal, added at least a hint of misgivings on its own account about the passing of a type.

"There is," said the Times, "a large body of opinion among both Negroes and whites which, admitting the rare virtues of Jim, is still unable to lament the passing of a purely servant type as the only Negro unit. They ask why any race should always be in servitude, however much appreciated. It is true that they offer the aspiring Negro little more encouragement than a theory of his equality, but they have induced him—for benefits not yet made clear—to look down on such men as Jim Swift, of Selma."

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The Times, of course, is an organic whole, and its editorial page speaks for the organization and not an individual, and yet it is not impossible in this case to peer through the anonymity and bet with comparative certainty that the man who penned the comment came from below the Mason and Dixon line. I'll devour an entire first edition—week day, of course—if I'm wrong. The attitude is so wholly characteristic of the South. You simply cannot get a Southerner to think realistically about any question which concerns the Negro. Drive him into a hole in an argument and he will seek refuge from the facts by telling you how much he loved the Negro mammy who nursed him when he was a child.

Or there will be words of fervent praise for some old butler who remained with the family for 50 years. Now, in all reason, is there any sense or justice in asking the modern Negro to emulate Jim Swift and others of his type I will not deny that there may have been many fine factors in days which are gone. The white folks sat on the porch, and Sam came out with juleps. "Yas, suh," said Sam, with one hand on his kidneys to denote age and fidelity. At least, that is the way it is done in the plays. "How are you Sam?" said the quality folks, and there was good will all around.

But the Negro of today couldn't be old Jim Swift, of Selma, even if he wanted to. It is quite beside the point to ask a colored man of our generation to behave as if he belonged to a social order which has entirely passed away. One might as well say to Alonzo Parham:—"You have no business going to West Point. It ought to be your ambition to be a faithful Negro butler."

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In 50 years the South has changed out from drummer boy to brigadier, and while this process of transformation was going on how would anybody expect the Negro to stand still, hat in hand, exclaiming "Massa" at appropriate intervals?

Please do not be particularly patient with any Southerner who tells you that it is monstrous to charge him with unfairness toward the Negro and that the disproof of any such assertion lies in his fondness for his old mammy. After all, even in the old days a very small percentage of the Negroes in the South were engaged in domestic service, and the man who pays hearty tribute to Jim or Sam or Aunt Sally is merely testifying that he bore good will to a tiny proportion of an entire race.

The South would like to have the Negro maintain a good humored servility toward the white man. If this condition still existed there would be no need of klans and fuminations. Yet why can't the Southerner see that this condition is impossible, much as he would like to have it. The Negro who goes into a profession or industry is no longer dependent upon the bounty of some single white master, and he would have to be a histrionic genius to stimulate the adoring attitude of old Jim.

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A certain number of Negroes remain in domestic service, and it has never seemed to me that the job of being a servant was fundamentally ignoble in spirit. But there was a need of readjustment, and in New York, at any rate, it has been the Negro who has been chiefly responsible for raising the standard. Proud Nordies from the north of Europe worked as cooks and maids under conditions which a woman from Harlem would not tolerate, even though she were starving.

Of course, certain worldwide economic currents have been responsible for the creation of a living wage in domestic service.

But it is the Negro woman who has led the way in winning the new freedom for the servant. She has insisted that when her job was done she would go back to her own home and return the next morning. Not for her the rent free room, with its obligation of being on constant call to perform some task or other while she was resting. Even at great financial sacrifice colored servants have held to this essential innovation.

It is this factor which has restored self-respect to domestic services, for no man or woman can have proper pride unless at some point during the day or evening it is possible for him to stretch his hands above his head and say "I'm free until tomorrow. I'm going home."

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In the Shriner case, judging from excerpts from the opinions written by Justice Vandeventer, it looked like a sweeping decision, from which, we are told, there were no dissensions on the part of any of the other judges. It was a clear cut decision, far reaching in its effect, and, no doubt, will settle that question forever.

On the other hand, the residential segregation case which the supreme court passed up will not down. It, like the question of slavery, and, by the way, it is a by-product of slavery, cannot and will not be settled until it is settled right.

We understand that the supreme court refused to review the segregation case presumably on the ground that no constitutional rights had been violated or something of that sort. In the

prive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

This looks perfectly clear to us. In the face of the words and language used in the above reference, it looks to us that what is now needed is somebody to protect the constitution of the United States, for, as we see it, the letter as well as the spirit of the document is being flagrantly violated daily.

The Fourteenth Amendment plainly says that no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the rights, etc. of any class of citizens. If the constitution prohibits the state from doing a thing, it also prohibits the state from delegating its power to an individual or a group of individuals and then allow such persons to use the powers of the state to do the thing which the state itself is prohibited from doing under the constitution.

Many of these so-called restriction agreements have been entered into by property owners. We are told that some courts

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The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States' constitution says, among other things:

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Many of these so-called restriction agreements have been entered into by property owners. We are told that some courts

have held that these agreements are legal contracts. It is our opinion that such contracts are illegal and therefore, cannot be enforced. Hence, there must be something wrong with the procedure which has allowed the courts to find some technical way out.

Finally, we would suggest that we, who suffer perhaps most because of adverse court decisions, should not be discouraged. This very identical thing will, someday, be settled in the right way. We have in our short life lived to see the United States' Supreme Court reverse itself on mob law. We see year after year in state as well as local courts a change in the personel.

Someday, in some of these cities, a judge will appear on the bench with guts enough to take a decided stand for right and justice because it is right regardless of the howling of the mobs who have no regard for law and order. And we predict that the day is not far away.

BLACK VETERANS AMONG THE THREE HUNDRED ENTERTAINED BY MRS. HERBERT HOOVER WITH A TEA PARTY

News Service)—Mrs. Hoover entertained three hundred disabled veterans of the World War from Walter Reed Hospital at a garden party at the White House last Thursday afternoon.

All of the patients who were able to attend were invited. Among the guests were twenty-five or more colored soldiers.

President Hoover assisted Mrs. Hoover in receiving the guests.

HILL BILLIES, INDIANS, NEGROES

DURING the summer months President Hoover established a fishing camp in Virginia. This camp drew correspondents and writers bent on picking up items of interest about the President, his companions, his fish. But after exhausting these subjects some of the writers began to look about and probe about in the foothills of the Blue Ridge mountains in the immediate vicinity of the President's fishing lodge, and they found much of interest to write the outside world about, their chief find having been the "Hill Billies" of that neck of the woods.

It is rather pathetic to read of these poor, ignorant, neglected whites, some of whom live in their rough houses in the mountain fastnesses in dirt and squalor worse than the city slums of New York and London. Unable to compete in the fierce warfare for supremacy these "fine bloods" of the Nordics of America, to be found in the mountains of the Virginias, the Carolinas and Kentucky are unequal to the task of meeting the present day civilization and remain in their retreats or live nomadic lives in their wild country. This is one type of American in this country.

Then we have the Indians, the real Americans, only a handful now, herded on reservation, the wards of the government, the prey of dishonest and designing white men.

We hear of the Indian a little more frequently now, that is of the efforts of the government to restore to him valuable oil lands of which he has been robbed by whites. He is proud and also more or less a pure blood, but it is pitiful that he can not protect himself nor does he receive the protection he should.

Then here is the Negro! The greatest problem of the century, he keeps the white man worried and guessing what to do with him, for him and about him. As for Negroes, they never let such serious things as their past, present or future worry them. They survive, flourish, progress, and, need no guardians if given a break.

Will there come a time when the American Negro will send his sons and daughters as missionaries to the "poor whites" and the "po' Injun?" Will it come to pass that the religion, the education, the thrift the white abolitionist taught the Negro will be handed back by him as bread once cast upon the waters in the effort to rehabilitate these unfortunate red and white men?

Strange things have happened. Stranger things may happen. If truth is oftimes stranger than fiction, it is evidenced in the fact that on the whole the colored brother, because he has been and is elastic, has survived and is now superior to the "pure blood" "Hill Billies" and the proud, disdainful Indian. It would indeed be a strange anomaly did the colored brother build a few Tuskegees in the hills and on the reservations while the whites continue to endow our Fisks, Meharrys, Spelmans.

When the Negro considers the short distance he has come, a comparison between himself and the "Hill Billies" or Indian is not odious. He is after all somebody and going strong yet.

Whites Mean by Education, Not by Nature

Pickens Home from Europe Says Race Problem is World-wide.

NEW YORK.—It was announced this week from the offices of the N.A.A.C.P. that William Pickens, field secretary of the association, returned August 27 on the S.S. Olympic, after having attended the Anti-Imperialist Congress held at Frankfort-on-Main, Germany. Regarding the congress and his stay in Germany, Mr. Pickens says:

"A few weeks abroad, convinces an intelligent observer that race problems and all other group problems and struggles have an economic basis and are world-wide in their connections. At the Anti - Imperialist Congress in Frankfort-on-Main it was clear that East Indians and East Africans, Chinese and Latin-Americans have a common and a like cause against the enslavement threat of foreign capital. It was plain, too, that they are beginning to work together for a common good.

"It is also clear that people in European nations, like Germany and England, are keenly interested in the development of the Negro in America. The situation in America serves as a sort of 'test case' for them. Students in German institutions showed as great interest in our 'race problem' as do students in American colleges.

"It is interesting to meet white American tourists abroad and to observe their different reactions to race relations there. Some of them are getting educated and broadened by their travel; a few are being irritated into clamoring for recognition of their superiority complexes when they are in foreign parts.

"Going abroad also broadens the mind and the hopes of colored people. It convinces them, by contrasts, that white people are not mean by nature but only by training and education, like any other people.

"Of course, it amazes a Negro at first to find that he is a thousand times freer in Germany, against which he recently fought, than in the United States of America, for which he fought. He finds more human liberty in Hamburg or Berlin than in the best American cities like New York or San Francisco. But he also finds that at present, the natives have more liberty in Germany which lost the war, than in any of the great white nations which 'won the war.'

"He also finds that where discrimination is creeping in, it is due to the dominance of American dollars,—the plain superiority of money over morality.

"American Negroes are, on the average, the most advanced. More of them should travel, and they should travel everywhere."

THE PILLORIED FILIPINOS.

The United States senate has decisively sat down upon the latest proposal to grant independence to the people of the Philippine islands. Having acquired sovereignty over the islands by treaty and purchase we have assumed a colonial policy and for thirty years have governed the Filipino people as subjects in plain contradiction of the fundamentals upon which the republic was established.

We have them in that subject status and our political and commercial dictators do not wish to get rid of them in the only honorable way. That way is to recognize their inalienable rights to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness after their own will. Every day that we hold the Filipinos in their present relations we violate our original political principles, the solemn asseverations of our Declaration of Independence and the powers accorded by the states to the federal government.

But, frankly granting all that, would the American people not do worse to suddenly withdraw all guardianship from the Philippine islands and release those as yet inept and unequipped people to the obvious perils of independence in a hostile environment?

We cannot rationally give them national freedom and still occupy the role of their protector from outside interference by rival and envious powers. Events that cannot be easily and suddenly reversed have so related this country and the Philippines as to make it practically impossible to segregate their mutual interests. Either both must be absolutely freed from each other, or the United States must carry on as governor and protector of the Filipinos and they must continue dependent upon our people for security and prosperity.

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Mercer Professor Writes Of Georgia Literary Trio

By Joseph Robinson
—In the Macon Telegraph—

The names of Joel Chandler Harris, Harry Stillwell Edwards and Bridges Smith will always be linked together in the minds of those of us who have delighted in their stories. They will be thus associated for various reasons. Each judiciously selected Georgia for his birth-place. Each found here in Georgia the life-material that on the loom of his fancy they have woven into the precious fabric of literature. Theirs was a life long friendship,

"A friendship tried, by wind and sun
Durable from the dust of, of daily life."

It was a friendship based on a community of home background, a provinciality of outlook, the glorious provinciality of outlook that has produced the best short-stories in all parts of the country — the short-stories of Sara Orne Jewett and Mary E. Wilkins in New England, the farm-stories of Hamlin Garland in the Middle West and the mining stories of Bret Harte in the further West. The cardinal tenet of the literary creed of each of this Georgia trio has been to write of the life nearest at hand. "There is a heaven on this side of the stars by men called home" —it is of the homeland that each has wisely elected to write. At the time of Mr. Harris' death it was said of him that it was "his rare good fortune to know definitely his own capabilities and limitations and it was his chief pleasure to be simply what he was, to tell the best stories he knew and not to worry. If the public wanted what he wrote, it was well; if not, he had already enjoyed the pleasure of doing the work." This is all equally true of Harry Stillwell Edwards and Bridges Smith. In all this we find this trio of story-tellers sustaining the best literary traditions of Georgia, the divine right of each writer to the material of his own State and community. . . .

* * *

Of this trio, each is a master of dialect, especially the Negro dialect. As a corollary it may be added that each had that keen sense of humor that goes with a feeling for subtle turns and twists of speech. But lack of this humor there is a serious purpose in the writing of each never to be lost sight of. In *Southern Pioneers*, published last year, Julia Collier Harris in her monograph on Joel Chandler Harris, sees him as a constructive realist. She quotes as his confession of literary faith his words of advice to a young writer:

> It is a great step toward success when a young writer gains his or her consent to treat of things with which he or she is familiar. It is worth while to remember that what is really great in literature is the Commonplaces. Shakespeare is commonplace from beginning to end, so is Thackery.
>
> Again he says:
>
> You ought to jot down in your notebook the words and phrases of patois that you hear—the speech of the common people. You should certainly make notes of what you see and hear—the traditions that are cropping out among the older people.

It is this "neighbor-knowledge," as Mr. Harris liked to call it, and the constructive and reverent use he made of it, that made the generous and noble quality of his writings. Likewise it is this same neighbor-knowledge and the discriminating use they have made of it that account for the work of his Macon confreres.

* * *

Yet, though working in the literary *genre*, and in a similar background, and atmosphere what accounts for the distinctive quality of the work of these Georgians that makes it so different from that of the other? Art has been well defined as a bit of life seen through a temperament. It is the different artistic temperaments and gifts of each of these three writers that accounts for the peculiar quality of the work of each.

The world-wide popularity of the *Uncle Remus* stories is accounted for by the fact that they have caught the fancy of childhood, and most of us, like Lowell, are incurable children, as have the whimsies of humor and treasures of unworldly wisdom that are strewn like gold nuggets through them. If Roosevelt's maternal uncle, a Bullock of Georgia, in' telling these tales, failed to give them currency, it may have been because he did not add to them that precious increment that Harris' artistic contribution to Negro folk-lore.

* * *

Julia Collier Harris laments that "comparatively few people know that the author of *Uncle Remus* recorded with literary skill, inimitable humor and shrewd insight a phase of old-time Georgia life in rural communities in his *Sister Jane, Gabriel Tolliver* and other collections of short stories, some of which are now out of print." It is just this type of story that Mr. Edwards has done with consummate artistic skill as *His Defense* and *Two Little Runaways* will illustrate. The author of *Aencas Africanus* has likewise portrayed with delightful humor the romantic devotion of the antebellum Negro to his master, a devotion that is the golden thread running through the variegated texture of his dark doings. The name of this Georgia author is mentioned in our national magazines with that of Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris as one of the masters of Negro dialect. The *Century* in its palmiest days under the editorship of Richard Watson Gilder and Robert U. Johnson welcomed Mr. Edwards' stories of Southern life. His last story in *Scribner's* elicited the praise of Brander Matthews, an authority on the American short story. The title of his column in the Atlanta *Journal*, "What Comes Down My Creek," indicates that his interest is still in things here at home.

* * *

Bridges Smith, while his *Stories in Black and White* may lack something of the keen humor and epigrammatic terseness of *Uncle Remus* and the romantic glamour of *Sons and Fathers* has compensating gift as a raconteur. He gives us the colored man as he is in all his dusky nigritude and with the inner mental and moral aesthetic kinks and quirks that his outer wooly kinks are but a faint expression of. There is truth of presentment and a richness and variety of the number of sable facts turned to our view such as cannot be found in the work of Edwards or Harris, I should say. Judge Smith's work is thus highly valuable as a social document. In writing of these "images of God out in ebony," he has doffed the judicial ermine for the mantle of charity for he knows that it its needed. He has given us the high social, the religious and the home life of Tybee and Yamacraw. He has even made us honorary member of the Humming Bird Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. It is Bridges Smith's largeness of heart and sympathetic and kindly outlook on life and his fellow men and women that have given him the dramatic instinct that has made possible such clear insight into the lives of the colored man. His has been for forty years out of a busy life an almost daily gift of sunshine and good cheer through his column in the *Telegraph*, to the people of Macon and of Georgia. His is the literary Midas touch that has turned into tapestry of gold the fabric of the commonplace and the near-at-hand

In the past knights went out in shining armour and on richly caparisoned steed to seek the Holy Grail of Perfection in deeds of charity on distant shores. Here in our midst is a knightly gentleman who has done modestly and quietly at home deeds of kindness and mercy. He needs no escutcheon or accolade of prince or king to ennoble him, for God Almighty gave him his patent of nobility. He belongs to the Order of Great Hearts. It is his happy distinction to be Macon's most beloved citizen.

GREAT WAR OF RACES SEEN AS IMMINENT

The Rev. A. T. Bennett-Haines Says Oppression of Colored Peoples Will Bring It On.

BLAMES FOREIGN MISSIONS

Asserts They Impart to Natives the Most Barbaric Characteristics of Our Civilization

A war of the races which will dwarf all the other conflicts of history was declared to be imminent by the Rev. A. T. Bennett-Haines, who blamed the foreign missions for instilling in the colored races the most barbaric characteristics of our civilization, in his sermon at St. Peter's Episcopal Parish House, 1,511 Westchester Avenue, yesterday morning. "If we continue to oppress and exploit the natives as we are doing now nothing can save us from the horrors of another great war," he said. "The colored races will pay us in our own coin; that which we sow shall we also reap."

In his farewell appearance at St. Peter's the Rev. Bennett-Haines took as his subject the new negro film, "Hallelujah," which he discussed in the light of his own experiences among the natives during his three years in the tropics. The unself-conscious sincerity of the native blacks as portrayed in the film is closest to the true Christian spirit, he declared, and contrasts sharply with the hypocrisy of the more sophisticated whites.

"The negro will ultimately take his place in the march of civilization," he continued. "He is dependent on us for the nature of that place, because he derives his ethical ideas from us. What have we taught him? We have taught him to hate, steal and kill. We have taught him how to lie without being detected, and to put pleasure above duty, and to take pride in sharp practices. We have taught him to be deceitful in his relations with his fellow-men, and to make the acquisition of wealth his principal object in life. God help you and your children and your children's children if you do not awake to these facts."

Christians have no right to be comfortable in their devotions while there are millions of human beings who have never heard the truth, he declared, adding that men all through the mission fields are constantly being recalled because the churches at home do not support them. The moral in Christ's parable of the good Samaritan, he said, is missed by nine out of ten persons, who see in the story only the lesson of charity instead of the deeper implication of continuous rather than desultory giving. "I am almost inclined to pray for a spiritual earthquake to shake some horse sense into Christendom," he declared.

"The natives can always be won and led," he said in conclusion, "but they can't be driven. They learn quickly, and too frequently they learn things that we are not proud of. During my stay in the tropics a negro was brought before a magistrate charged with beating his wife. When asked for an explanation of his cruelty, he replied, 'White men beat their wives, why not I?' It is a shameful fact that the magistrate had to answer that question by telling the offender that as long as he was black he had no right to act like the white man."

Points Out Va. Short Comings

Gerald Johnson Writes On the Negro Question

New York, Aug., 9—In the Aug. number of the North American Review Gerald W. Johnson, a well known author and editorial writer of the Baltimore Sun a native of North Carolina, points out many manifestations of prejudices in Virginia which are of especial interest to contributions Virginia has made those interested in the Negro. Mr. Johnson gives full credit to the contributions which Virginia has made, most of them historical ones, but then he proceeds to enumerate certain recent happenings in Virginia which do not add lustre to that state.

Some of these events listed by Mr. Johnson and excerpted from

his article, "A Tar Heel Looks at Virginia," by the N. A. A. C. P. are thus referred to.

"—Even if I might pass myself off for a Virginian, I think I should not do so. It might lead to embarrassment. "For news has been coming out of Virginia in recent years that does not recall memories of Thomas Jefferson. There have been lynchings in Virginia recently. Just as the lower south seems about to cleanse its blood of this luetic poison, the Old Dominion becomes infected. Too bad!

"Then there are numerous minor symptoms indicative of a possible systematic trouble. For example, a year or so ago the Glee club of the University of North Carolina in the course of a tour, sang for the students at Hampton, a Negro school, and had the Hampton students in turn, sing for them. Nobody in Tarheelia gave the matter a thought until a perfectly appalling uproar broke loose around Newport News, and the dumbfounded Carolinians found themselves equality, stirring up the Niggers to revolt, and betraying the sacred principles of the Ku Klux Klan. If Hampton had been in Mississippi, some such reaction might not have been astonishing. But it is in Virginia.

"There are also to be considered the sporadic efforts to enact a bill ostensibly aimed at miscegenation, but which apparently would classify the descendants of Pocohontas with the descendants of Booker Washington. And there is the violent objection to the erection of a statute to Christopher Columbus in Richmond, presumably because Columbus was a non-Nordic and a Catholic.

"But lynching, dread of hybridization by the Negro, dread of hybridization by the non-Nordic, dread of social revolution, dread of religious heresy, all alike testify to the existence of a tremendous overpowering dread of ideas. What is the conventional excuse for lynching? Why, to 'hold the Nigger (or the white man who has violated the communal mores) in his place.' It never enters the minds of lynchers that a new place for the Nigger might ultimatly be to the advantage of the white man. In the minds of lynchers, anything new is necessarily bad, and to be put down, if necessary, with the noose and the torch.—

FEDERATED SOCIETIES

THE NEXT most progressive step of Negroes of Chicago should be the organization of their respective civic, political, religious, fraternal and business organizations together with its press into a federated organization, non-political and non-partisan, in order that at a moment's notice representatives of each society may be called into council for deliberation and action when some public peril impends or racial clashes threaten. Federated action is the only effective and direct method of getting before desired authoritative bodies our side of questions involved and of obtaining effective results when imperative action is needed. Quite recently there was much excitement concerning the attitude of a few white ruffians at the Jackson Park bathing beaches. Immediately the race became stirred. At least a half dozen organizations called mass meetings, drew up sets of resolutions, appointed representatives to confer with the South Park Commissioners and broadcast through the daily and weekly press their respective proceedings. It is now two weeks since the unpleasant Jackson Park beach episode, and still resolutions and indignation meetings seem to be the order of the day and night of some of our organizations and aspiring spokesmen. We have the right to protest against discrimination in public places as a group and our zeal in this regard is to be commended; but it is our own judgment and manner of presentation of those protests that are condemned. At one stroke the representatives of one federated agency, a clearing house, as it were, of all our societies and organizations, could forcefully, impressively and intelligently take up such matters of inter-racial concern with the proper authorities on short notice and dispose of them with satisfaction to all concerned with efficiency.

Our group here is too progressive to adhere to such backwoods, antiquated methods of approach and disposition of public questions affecting the welfare of the race as a half-dozen mass meetings followed by an equal number of delegations, each claiming to represent the race as a whole, to settle or iron out difficulties with public officials. We should know better now that we see the old methods are out of date, our leaders should effect a closely knit federation of colored society with a central organization functioning as the spokesman for the entire race on all public mtters of inter-racial concern. This is indeed a crying need of our group and if we would cease to appear ridiculous, we will organize to this end without delay.

Crossing the Color Line

SEVERAL months ago a Negro ecclesiast, who knows no more about statistics than a calf about calculus, meaninglessly asserted that 5,000 Negroes are annually passing over the racial divide into the white race. This ecclesiastical dignitary doubtless learned in school that the cipher in arithmetic has no inherent value. The difference between 500, 5,000 and 50,000, stated in arithmetical figures, is only a matter of ciphers. Either of those numbers would have served as well as the other to express this divine's actual knowledge of the data with which he was dealing.

The process of race transition is so secretive that there is no possible way of determining, or of approximating, the number of transitions. We know, however, that the number must be exceedingly small. The last census returned 1,600,000 Negroes of mixed blood, including every observable degree of race blending.

The proportion of these who were close enough to the border line "to pass" over without notice would probably not exceed 100,000. According to our wild clerical mathematician, fully half of these would have disappeared during the intervening decade. In the next ten years they all will have disappeared.

It would be a bare waste of while to notice such statistical absurdities, except for the easy gullibility of the public. Irresponsible rumor starts as easily and spreads as rapidly as in the days when Bre'r Rabbit startled the whole animal creation with the report that the sky is falling. The absurdly irresponsible word passes from mouth to ear and from ear to mouth, but at no point penetrates to the brain. I have seen this irresponsible statement repeated in a dozen Negro newspapers as an accepted fact.

A nationally known publicist, whose word carries wide influence



— Kelly Miller —

and weight, in a recent contribution to The New York World quotes these figures as being approved by the N. A. A. C. P. Figures of arithmetic are often used with the same recklessness as figures of rhetoric. In order to reach some intelligent basis of judgment on this problem, let me challenge the reader of this article to take pen and paper in hand and count the number of cases which have come under his personal observation or knowledge during the past year.

However, there will be no need of pencil and paper. The naked fingers, the first text-book in arithmetic, will suffice for this calculation. In no case will all of the fingers be needed to tally the count. Let my gentle readers then foot up the cases which have occurred during the past ten years. The result will be substantially the same.

I will go one step farther, and ask the editors under whose eyes this article may fall to make like calculations. A well-informed editor knows about what is going on in his community. Let Editor Kelley tell of what he knows about such transitions during the last year in New York; let Rhodes speak for Philadelphia; Vann for Pittsburgh; Murphy for Baltimore; Young for Norfolk; Abbott for Chicago; Adams for Montgomery; and John Mitchell, Jr., Richmond. In this way we might get at something like a reasonable basis for calculation. I am willing to hypothecate my reputation for a sane appraisement of statistical values upon the prediction that such observations would reveal that five hundred rather than five thousand would over state the number of actual annual transitions across the color line.

Let us now suppose that 5,000 "passable" Negroes annually leave the race in quest of superior advantages on the other side. In a few short decades the list of eligibles would be exhausted. For no one is allowed on the other side unless he completely hides all tints of skin and kinks of hair which formerly bound him to his mother's race. This would leave the racial gap wider than before, and the residuary race problem would in no sense be alleviated by the transaction. Those who leave the race for the other side not only do not prepare the way for others, but must burn to ashes the bridges behind them. The Afro-American, with all the blood of the white race flowing in his veins, with every degree of admixture short of negligibility, must continue to exist as a distinct group, without any hope of escape through the furtive and clandestine process.

According to my creed, the Negro peoples, regardless of blood admixture, have a physical and social destiny, which they must work out in the next few generations ahead of us. Neither the philosophy of amalgamation nor absorption by stealth will obtain. I will admit that my vision does not reach to the end of eternity. Those who do, or think they do, have a further penetrating ken than mine. But all practical philosophy and programs must deal with the present and the immediately succeeding generations. The more remote future will take care of itself without our help or hindrance.

As a statesman, if I believed in the efficacy of amalgamation or of self-effacement by stealth, I would be very hesitant and cautious about proclaiming that belief. The greater anxiety the Negro exhibits about these things, the greater becomes the determination of the white race to frustrate them. If convinced that 5,000 Negroes are crossing annually into the white race, that race will weave a finer barbed wire screen to obstruct the transition. The best way for Negroes to defeat amalgamation is to extol it.

I marvel at shallowness of the Negro publicists who parade with applause every instance on racial intermarriage. Every such approval makes more difficult the repetition of the transaction which they approve. If they become too jubilant laws will be passed making it impossible. The noise of the hunter frightens away his prey; the stiller he keeps, the bigger his bag. The more ardently the Negro advocates race fusion, the less of it there will be; the less noise he makes, the more of it there will be.

Race Problem- 1929
United States.

A Fervent Amen to "Hallelujah"

By Richard Watts Jr.

IT MUST have sounded something like hysteria when, following the opening of Mr. King Vidor's all-Negro photoplay "Hallelujah," a few of us who pride ourselves on being austere observers of cinema matters lost all of our judicial calm and modestly proclaimed it a masterpiece. After watching the usual succession of easy-going conventionalities, it is so easy for an earnest reviewer to come on something just a trifle better and grow excited about it. You may remember that even such an ordinary, if likeable, work as "The Broadway Melody" was, because it was an improvement on its talking predecessors, heralded as though it were "Hamlet," "The Wild Duck," "Œdipus" and "What Price Glory" combined in one mighty effort.

On the opening night "Hallelujah" struck me as being not only one of the finest of motion pictures, but certainly the most distinctive of all the attempts to transform the synthetic manner of the talking cinema into an original art medium. I said so with what may have seemed shocking immoderation, but the old recollection of first-night ecstasy was still upon me, and so a careful observer might have discerned a shy and hesitant note of qualification about my observations upon the following morning. Filled with a sense of subconscious doubt concerning such hasty raving, I have waited for two weeks and have gone back to watch the work a second time before setting down anything for posterity. After such a preparation please forgive me if I say dogmatically that "Hallelujah" is a magnificent photoplay which is the most striking of the audible productions and isn't so far from greatness.

Any hesitancies that may bring about a touch of restraint in my enthusiasm are entirely due to the last section of the photoplay. What would on the stage correspond to the first two acts is arranged with immense dramatic shrewdness, and in it the action rises with steadiness and a fine inevitability to a superb climax at the revival meeting, which is, roughly, equivalent to the second-act climax of a stage work. Unfortunately, from that point the scenes, though they contain a fine pictorial account of the pursuit through a swamp, are both unnecessary and anti-climax, and they let the work down with the unfortunate approximation of a thud.

For the rest of the time, though, the drama, if neither cohesive nor original, does possess the inestimably valuable qualities of sincerity and a tolerant understanding point of view. Its literary ancestors are quite definitely "Porgy" and "Thais," and even though you may feel that it lacks certain virtues you found in both of these works, still it does have its traces of superiority. Its funeral and revival scenes are frankly reminiscent of the Theater Guild play, but somehow it manages to be considerably more realistic and sympathetic and at the same time less operatic and less given to the exploitation of a racial mood for pictorial purposes than "Porgy" ever succeeded in being. As to the comparisons with "Thais," I certainly wouldn't want to be set down as saying that "Hallelujah" was the equal of the Anatole France masterpiece, but assuredly its brooding contemplation of the interrelations between religion and sex possesses a proud and valiant sympathy that the mighty cynic couldn't, with the best intentions in the world, quite capture.

Even those of us who still insist on considering the cinema as essentially a pictorial form are bound to regard it as pretty important when a photoplay narrative has the poetry, the gallant sympathy and the earnest dramatic straightforwardness of "Hallelujah." To a great extent, however, we still judge it from its visual values, and in these the King Vidor production is exceptional. Never does Mr. Vidor forget that the camera remains his most important instrument of creation. His work has rhythm and pace; it possesses a shrewd and sensitive feeling for photographic values; it employs all the smarter tricks of lighting and design. It is, in a word, the achievement of a man who knows both his camera and his drama.

What causes me to admire "Hallelujah" most of all is that it provides the most definite step yet taken in the direction of making the talking picture a distinctive dramatic form. We have had photoplays that attempted to be photographs of stage plays, pantomime, poetry in motion, music and the dance. "Hallelujah" has something of all of these qualities, yet it welds them into a synthesis that is never imitative. It is drama, poetry and pictorial excitement combined into something that neither stage nor screen, music nor novel has quite achieved by itself.

It seems to me, incidentally, that "Hallelujah!" is obviously the most important work Vidor has yet produced. "The Big Parade" was by far the best of the war pictures, but it had none of the pioneer virtues of the new film. "The Crowd" was a gallant effort to dramatize the common man, but it suffered, on occasion, both from lethargy and confusion. This all-Negro photoplay picks up the promise we enthusiasts have, from time to time, found in the Vidor efforts, and brings about one of the serious modern artistic efforts—a definite American dramatic form.

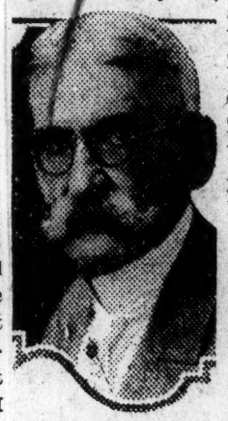
If, as a matter of fact, Mr. Vidor had done nothing more than discover Miss Nina Mae McKinney, he would have been entitled to reverence as one of the most discerning of men. It happens that this dusky Miss McKinney must assuredly be one of the most beautiful women of our time, and I would certainly be the last to deprecate such an estimable quality. In addition to that, however, she is an exceptionally vivid and alluring young person, who can project an amazingly living quality of personality through the screen and, as a sort of climax, turns out to be one of the most superb natural actresses in the recent drama. In a manner that seems utterly without affectation she can apparently do everything conceivable in the way of histrionics. It is safe to say that she is, with but one picture to her credit, one of the important people of the modern theater.

Though it is Miss McKinney who makes the most vivid personal impression of the photoplay, the rest of the cast does remarkably skillful work. It is sometimes said by cultured critics that the work of a group of players seems admirably orchestrated. Certainly the phrase applies perfectly to "Hallelujah!" Daniel L. Haynes is perfect as the rich-voiced evangelist; Victoria Spivey does marvels with the role of his faithful sweetheart, a part that might so easily have been eclipsed by her more showy colleagues; William Fountaine is a grand villain; Fanny Belle DeKnight makes all white players of mother roles seem almost clownish; Everett McGarrity has a beautiful death scene as the younger brother and all of the lesser characters approximate perfection. More important to the success of the picture, though, is the fact that all of their portrayals fit into the scheme of the work so completely and smoothly. That, of course, is another of the things for which you can thank King Vidor.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Drawing a Seine in an Effort To Capture That Long-Fabled Negro Problem.



What is "the negro problem?" Having been born in the south during the slavery era, and having lived all my life in the midst of the dual white and black population of these southern states, I must honestly declare that I have not yet discovered what constitutes the so-called and much talked about "negro problem." It is as undiscernible to me as the fourth dimension and as elusive as the ungetatable Einstein theory.

The only negro problem that I can think of is the negro's problem with himself. And it is his individual and sole-ownership problem. When he settles it with himself he will be settled for him and for everybody else with whom he has relations.

After 64 years of freedom the average negro is still moving in an atmosphere of mystery and of blind misunderstanding of his rights and possibilities. He is still, in the by and large, the victim of his suddenly emancipated imaginations, and of malign misinformation by shrewd fanatics who used him as an animated robot to serve their political and financial profit, and of a racial consciousness inflamed by sharpers of his own breed and crude or corrupt preachers of his own color. No other people in all history, but the Irish, have ever been so misled and misused by those whom they suffered to act as their leaders.

* * * *

Present Status of the Negro.

It is unprofitable to anyone now to hark back and review the sordid scoundrelism of the southern "reconstruction" era when northern adventurers and thieves abused the white people and misused the black people of these prostrate and impoverished states. That dismal and damnable history will take care of itself.

It is equally unprofitable to discuss the status of those negroes who are living north of the Mason and Dixon line. They are among their lovers who think it a downright meanness on the part of the Creator of the human race that he made the negro "a brother in black." And there we may well leave them to work out their salvation with great joy and spiritual comfort.

What interests me is to identify the ingredients of the "negro problem" in the south which is so perpetually discussed in northern circles and publications. There is hardly any discussion of it here in the south, where it is assumed by the northerners to be the main crux of our civilization.

Somewhere near to 40 per cent of our general southern population are negroes whose primary needs—food, clothing and shelter—are identical with those of the white people. But I have neither heard nor read of any "negro problem" of how any honest and industrious negro is to get bread and meat, and raiment and roof. All the "unemployment" we know of in the south is non-racial and voluntary—a sporadic vagrancy as noticeable among whites as among blacks. So far as the right to live safely, labor freely and enjoy earnings and honestly acquired property is concerned, no white people in any nation are more securely circumstanced than the negro people of the south. And that fact defies denial!

* * * *

What They are Yammering About.

Anyone who scans the negro publications will discover that the chief string of their bass fiddle is that the fifteenth amendment is "nullified," or "violated" by southern democrats and that the negroes are not allowed to vote their views and demands.

All of which is notoriously and provably false. Every republican in the congress, except George Tinkham Holden, knows that the aforesaid negro suffrage amendment is neither violated nor nullified by any southern state. If it is, the negro's complaint goes first against the republican presidents and congresses of the past 50 years, rather than against the southern people. But congress knows, and President Hoover knows, that all the talk about negro disfranchisement by intimidation and force in the south is pluperfect poppycock—the whole stock in trade of slick negro editors and traders in federal small-size jobs.

Taking the facts right here in Georgia, even that small bunch of black birds are forced to admit that they are yammering about what ain't so! In 1928, according to the report of the state's comptroller general, poll taxes were collected from 402,623 persons, of which 77,446 were colored taxpayers. As taxpaying is part of the qualification for voting it is plain to see that the white taxpayers were 325,177 more than the negro taxpayers, and in a white vs. black contest at the polling booths would beat the negroes by 247,731 majority, without resort to any force or fraud to accomplish the result. Why, then, should the white voters of Georgia worry and labor to deny any negro his qualified right to vote and be counted?

* * * *

Why They Do Not Assert Themselves.

Last year it is fairly certain that every negro qualified voter in Georgia voted for Hoover and Curtis electors. The votes cast for the Hoover electors and the anti-Smith-Hoover electors were separately and fully returned to the secretary of state. No complaint has been registered from any section of the state that negro voters were intimidated and bulldozed away from the polls.

The republican party seldom nominates a state or congressional candidate so as to give their negro voters an inducement to qualify and vote. And the negroes do not put up candidates for governor, statehouse officers, legislators and congressmen; so who is to blame for their not voting, since they almost unanimously refuse to vote for democrats—the only candidates in the field?

Unless I am wildly mistaken I do not believe there are 40 native white republicans in Georgia who would vote for a negro candidate for governor, United States senator, congressman, or state representative. I know probably a hundred outstanding white men in Atlanta who are straight-up republicans, but I do not know one of them who would openly support and vote for a negro candidate for public office.

White Georgia republicans, under their skin, are no more friendly to a negro's aspiration to be a big mastiff in the political pack than are native white democrats. The average negro of sense knows that and he also has come to know that white men are set to make as good government for themselves as they can, and that good government for the white man is equally good government for the black man.

* * * *

No Genuine Wrongs To Resent.

The "Jim Crow" complaint of the "big nigger" who thinks himself better than the run of his race and craves to ride in "de white fokes kyah" is simply the bray of a sable ass.

Railway trains are not covered by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Nor are theaters, hotels, restaurants, schools, or any other places of private ownership and common congregation, except the polling booths. The supreme court of the United States early, in the famous civil rights cases, put the colored citizens on full notice to that effect.

What our negro fellow-citizens are entitled to are equal rights under the laws of the land. Those rights are legally defined, easy to understand and the courts will support and enforce them.

I am in favor of every negro who can qualify as a voter the same as I have to do being admitted to cast his free ballot as safely as I do and to have it fairly and honestly counted. I have no more tolerance for a white rascal than for a black one. The man in the polling booth who will miscount or throw out a negro's ballot because he is black will just as quickly miscount or throw out mine because it does not read to suit his wish. That sort of rascal ought to spend at least a year on a chaingang in stripes.

The negroes of Georgia own 1,444,294 acres of land assessed for $13,491,117; town propery assessed for $24,726,311; automobiles assessed for $1,963,182; and total taxed property of $48,633,022, which means that the actual property in the state is worth at least $150,000,000. Nothing like that record of progress and solid achievement has been made by any other emancipated race, in like proportion, in all the cycles of history.

RACIAL INTEGRITY

By BISHOP H. M. DU BOSE.

Already much, from certain viewpoints, far too much, has been written concerning those problems of inter-raciality which are of first rate interest to the foremost peoples of civilization. In our own country, the complex of an acute racial situatoin has been made more intricate and impossible thruogh intemperate discussion and more intemperate action. But trite as it is, over-stressed as it has been, the subject needs a new and more sober treatment than it has scarcely at any time received.

Recently, in Harper's Magazine, a writer, in a rather vehement mood, declares that the color line has "crumbled." Whatever may have happened to the color line as a subject of discussion, and something has happened, it has not crumbled. Until interest in race heredity, present race vitality and posterity passes from the minds of men there will be no chance for the breaking down of traditional judgment on this matter. Moreover, the interest referred to is not confined to one race, but is shared by all; for the attainment of ideal in intellect and social consciousness is not, at bottom, a question of race, but of self development, evolution and history. That natural selection which, in the beginning, created varieties of race types must obey its own law in the completion of these types. The weaker races have come to realize this.

It is not a fact of social prejudice, nor of race pride that demands separate race development; but a fact of logic and life, that life which has wrought its own will with reference to both past and future conditions. The lowest race type, the Negritic, presumably so classed, may possess, and doubtless does possess, the latent possibility of an ultimate attainment equal to that of the now superior races. Negroid individuals have developed into very high conditions of intellect and life. But the whole issue rests upon a law having both a moral and a physical side, and which becomes a natural and scientific barrier. What is possible to the races in their separate spheres is impossible to them as an agglomerate of blood and color. This fixes a gulf which cannot be crossed. It is the race question.

First of all, it must be recognized that in America, at least, there are two settled and widely diverging views of the race question; more bluntly, of the negro question. At the point of actual application, these views largely come to a consistency. On the one hand, describing the position of the south, race separation is insisted upon, and the doctrine is rigidly practiced, except where vice and licentiousness break over the barrier. On the other hand, describing the generally reported eastern and northern position, racial unity and social recognition are preached, but seldom practiced, and then, generally speaking, only in exceptional connections and on spectacular occasions.

It is clear that some elemental difficulty lies at the bottom of one or the other of these theories. The conviction is forced to the front that the difficulty must lie in moral consciousness, and must be grounded in the law of life. To be as frank and as direct as the situation requires, the southern view of the social aspect of the negro question must be morally wrong, or else the opposing view is settled in a false and impracticable sentimentality. In the elucidation of these points the race problem, properly so termed, emerges.

Is the southern view of the race question violative of moral reason, and is it without justification in the laws of life? The traditional argument supporting this view may be assessed as follows: First, race excellency and perfectionment are the ultimate ideal of civilization as a human product. Second, the logic of history has allotted this excellency, and assigned the most certain prophecy of this perfectionment, to the great white races, with whom civilization arose, and amongst whom it has been nourished to its present state. Third, a hybrid or amalgamated race has never originated a high type of civilization, nor been able to maintain such when the opportunity has fallen to its hands. Fourth, the elimination of social lines between the white and the black races inevitably means miscegenation, coalescence and the production of a hybrid type. Fifth, over and above ethnic solidarity and racial rights which cannot be denied to each and all the races of whatever blood or color, there inheres in the white race an individuality, the result of evolution, past moral effort and ages of culture, that constitutes a birthright which must be protected both from the subjective and the altruistic viewpoint. In the loftiest sense, the white race is the guardian of the intellectual and spiritual heritage bequeathed through centuries of progress to all the races. The effective discharge of this guardianship requires that the integrity of the administrating race be preserved. The basis of this preservation is obedience to physical law. The security of this law is in a cordially understood, but rigidly practiced, social separation.

This necessitated social attitude of the two races involves everything that can be conceived of in the way of reciprocity, altruism and the pledge of human brotherhood. Social separation does not mean that negroes or members of other backward races are to be doomed to social degradation, or even inferiority. The negroes constitute a corporate racial individuality, and exist in great numbers in our communities. Within their limits they have ample room for development, and no embarrassment is set in the way of their efforts. On the contrary, they not only have the example of their white neighbors; but in a large and growing measure they have their help and sacrificial ministeries. Industrial handicaps have always been few, and constantly grow fewer as the negro advances in intelligence and skill.

It was a vast plan of providence that two races, each so numerous, and so diametrically opposed of nature, should be set together within the limits of the world's greatest democracy. But the very boldness of this province indicates that both the order of their relationship and the outcome of the same are to confirm the wisdom of the rules which have been cited. The white race has needed just such an incubus upon its pride, just such a demand upon its self restraint and just such a test of its democracy and altruism as have come through having an antithetical race thrust beside it; while to the negro race each one of these exactions of fate against the white race has turned to blessing.

What may happen when the backward races come to the climax of development may seem speculative; but it is not so in reality. That law of necessity which is depended upon to preserve the various types in separation, while working through the crux of their destiny will much more hold them in equilibrium, when they have accomplished that destiny. That two distinct races, in complete social separation, have never long occupied an extensive territory together, is no argument that such continuous separation cannot be maintained. Never before in the history of mankind have such racial opposite been assembled in one political body as in America. The white race after 200 years has reached the point where it can maintain the situation which history has created. It will carry the black race upward with it; but as a black race, not as an amalgamated adjunct.

As to the political aspects of this problem, I deem it necessary to say no more than that they should be considered from the viewpoint of high expedinecy. Under conditions like those supposed, and that exist in America, it goes without saying that the superior race shall rule. Actually, a group, or groups, within the superior race itself must accept responsibility for safe and stable rule. This is in the nature of the case, and relates to the highest good. Whatever exception to this rule is to be allowed must have to do with the rights of race adjustment and particular race representation. These privileges and patents naturally increase with increased race advancment; but they go along with the logic of social education. They must not imperil the birthright of the superior race, which is the residum of civilization for all, the whole number of the highest racial integrity.

This is a white man's country, not through physical force or brute mastery; but through the highest demand for order, ideal and human completeness. The white man must legislate and administer, because of the ascendency of traditional merit; but his traditional heritage of religion, social priveleges, industrial liberty and political freedom not only must not be denied to the weaker race, but must be secured to it through the highest moral commitment of those who rule. The white man's burden is the balance-

ing consideration of his assumption of power. As with the individual, so with the race, the greatest must be servant of all. Negro education and negro uplift describe the white man's burden. Recent discussions of the race question have passed these elemental considerations by for a welter of sentimental abstractions that both misinterpret the public mind and mislead the thoughts of those whose impulses follow the cleavages of prejudice and sectionalism.

That the views expressed above, without serious diminution, are held in the private conviction of nearly the whole body of white Americans admit of but little doubt. That they constitute the true basis for the settlement of the race question cannot be disputed effectively by psychologist or publicist. There is no crumbling of the color line, when that line is seen drawn, not through the opaque of prejudice and partisanism, but through the white light of human w[illegible]are and race adjustment.

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

LEADER
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

JUL 18 1929



WAYS OF THE WORLD

BY JOHN D. BARRY

CHANGING POSITION OF NEGROES

In the July Harper's magazine Oswald Garrison Villard has a remarkable article, The Crumbling Color Line. Many of the things he tells there couldn't have occurred 25 years ago. Some of the things though they were true enough, even he might have hesitated to publish.

Villard has the spirit of his grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist. It makes him one of our most conspicuous nonconformists. As such he naturally meets a good deal of opposition. During the war, by refusing to throw up his hat joyously over the widespread slaughter of his fellow beings, he was subjected to some pretty rough treatment that included social penalizing.

Now here he is, speaking for the Negro in a way that will be staggering to a good many people. He begins by telling of a little joke Walter H. Page, well remembered as our former ambassador to Great Britain, once played on some of his friends in North Carolina who were celebrating his return home for a visit.

NEW YORK WORLD

NOV 18 1929

NO RACE PROBLEM, DR. HOLMES AVERS

Pastor Brands "Nordic Supremacy" as Selfish Pride

SEES REMEDY IN RELIGION

Negro Woman Educator Occupies Platform With Him

With one of the most distinguished Negro women in this country, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, on the platform as he spoke, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, in his sermon yesterday morning at the Community Church, denied that there are such things as a pure race, a superior race, an "instinct of race prejudice," or a race problem at all. The so-called race problem, he asserted, is really an educational problem, a social problem, and a religious problem.

"No sillier idea has ever been presented to the ignorance, credulity, and selfish pride of men that the idea of white or Nordic supremacy," asserted the minister. "There is no such thing as a superior race. There are superior individuals, and ecen superior families, but these are distributed more or less equally throughout all races.

Calls Slavery Responsible

"The blacks and whites are sharply separated in this country to-day, not because they are black and white, but because for 300 years the one was a slave and therefore socially separated from and inferior to the other, who was his master. Wherever, as in South American or Mohammedan countries, the Negroes and the whites have long lived together without social distinctions of inferiority and superiority as master and slave, there are no racial distinctions and therefore no race problem.

"Our troubles all spring from the fact, not that the Negro is black, or even different, but that we have always known him in this country as a member of a subdued, conquered and enslaved race. We therefore feel that we must keep him down, so that we, the whites, may step up. The problem is not racial at all but social.

"There is no such thing as an instinct of race prejudice. No man was ever born with any prejudice or aversion for any member of the human family. Children know nothing about this hideous thing. Race prejudice, so-called, is a matter of education, environmental influence, social custom and tradition. We could get rid of this thing in a generation if we would only let our children grow up unspoiled by the vile prejudices that poison our lives.

True Religion Remedy

"Finally, no man who practices his religion has any race problem in his life. Nor would America have any race problem if it took seriously its religion of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

Mrs. Bethune, who is President of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla., and sometimes is called "the feminine Booker T. Washington," also spoke briefly.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y
UNION-STAR

NOV 22 1929

Dubois Addresses Open Forum Upon Future of Negroes

Points Out That Superiority of Whites Has Never Been Proved Scientifically.

Opportunity for development among the colored races of the world is immeasurably hampered by the advantages its inferior position makes for the white race, is the opinion of Dr. W. E. Burghardt Dubois, who last night addressed the open forum at All Souls Unitarian Church on "The Future of the Darker Races."

Dr. Dubois outlined the various methods which have been used in the past to find inherent differences between the negro and the white race which would scientifically establish the superiority of the latter race. The argument used 50 years ago to show this superiority was based upon the Darwinian theory. This was followed by an attempt to show that the negro race was inferior because of differences of bone measurements.

The speaker recalled going into a New York museum some years ago and seeing an exhibition of skulls portraying the development of the white race. A monkey occupied the first position in the exhibit, with the skull of a negro in second place and the skull of a white man last. The implication was that the negro was only a partially developed man, being a specie somewhere between the monkey and the white man. However, differentiation on the basis of the shape and size of the skull was later found to be no criterion of inferiority or superiority and this method was discarded. Many white men, it was learned, possessed heads similar to that of the monkey.

White Superiority Improved

The next method devised to prove the superiority of the white race was by means of the greater weight of the white man's brain. "There is no use of talking about the development of the negro, since his brain is small," Dr. Dubois said was the attitude at this period. This method of differentiation also was lacking because it was based upon the quantity and not the quality of the brain. In addition, the difference in the weight of the brains of the two races was almost negligible.

Dr. Dubois gave several incidents in history which showed distinct attempts to deter the development of the negro and suppress honor which was due. When the negro republic of Liberia was in its infancy, representatives of the government visited England for the purpose of obtaining a loan of $750,000 for the development of the country. When the mist surrounding the transactions had cleared, the representatives of the African state learned that they had received a loan of $250,000 but had signed their names to documents agreeing to pay interest on $750,000.

That an army of 800 negros from Haiti was responsible for saving the remnant of the Revolutionary army in the siege of Savannah during which Count Casimir Pulaski was killed, is a fact, Dr. Dubois pointed out, that was not mentioned a single time during the recent celebration of the 150th anniversary of Count Pulaski's death. The speaker declared that this group of negroes interposed itself between the fleeing and overwhelmed Revolutionary forces and the British, and accordingly saved the former from annihilation. Dr. Dubois interprets the failure to mention the part which the Haitian army played in the siege of Savannah as a distinct attempt to slight the negro race.

Solution of Problem

As to the future of the colored races, Dr. Dubois presented several suggestions which have been advanced at various times for the solution of the problem or adjustment with the white race. The suggestion that the intergregation never will be carried out be racial problem would be solved by because the contact of races is extremely profitable to the white race. The colored races, and in particular the negro, work for practically starvation wages to the profit of the white man.

Continued domination by the white race, however, will continue to breed hatred which has already spread through all the colored races. In answer to a question at the close of the address, Dr. Dubois said that the possibility of the colored races uniting in an armed force against the white race was slight and that before such a condition could arise, the white race would take measures to prevent it.

Dr. Dubois asserted that Great Britain and the United States are maintaining large navies not so much for the preservation of peace as for the preservation of the commercial domination of the white nations in India, Africa and China.

The question which must be answered in order to solve the problem of the devolpment of the colored races is: How can they develop unhampered by profits to the white race?

Inter-racial Marriages

Dr. Dubois does not believe that race amalgamation will solve the negro question in the United States. In the first place, he siad, many states prohibit inter-racial marriages, and secondly, the white half of an inter-racial marriage is outcast by his own race and is not received by the negro race. When a negro marries a white woman, the former's race asks why the negro could not find a wife of his own race.

The attitude of the negro toward the white race is that the whites are hypocritical folks and that if the negro gets ahead it will be against the wishes of the white race. The attitude of the Chinese, he said, is less critical. The more ignorant of the Chinese believe that the white race is kindly disposed toward them, but the more educated feel that the white race is losing no sleep over the colored races' problems as long as good government shall be an abiding passion among the vast majority which constitutes the better class of people.

The first witness in Gore's trial who referred to him as a "nigger" was admonished by the presiding judge to refer to him as the defendant, read the court opinion, and except for occasional references which the court holds were momentary lapses of memory, it found this rule was carried out.

RACE ISSUE NOT BASIS IN COURT CONVICTION

Mississippi Tribunal Restates Its Stand.

Commercial Appeal

NEGRO'S CASE DEFINED

11-12-29

Court Also Denied Right of Sheriff to Change Talesmen—Value of Search Warrant in Liquor Cases Also Reaffirmed.

Memphis, Tenn.

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 11.—Reaffirming the position of the supreme court that no man shall be convicted in Mississippi upon an appeal to a race issue, the high court failed to find such an issue in the sentencing of Ernest Gore, negro, to the penitentiary on a charge of assault with intent to murder.

Gore was being sought by deputy sheriffs for an alleged robbery, courtrecords recite, and during his pursuit, he shot a deputy.

In a lengthy portion of a decision holding that no man shall be convicted upon an appeal to a race issue, the state supreme court declared that this rule had been in effect a generation, "and will continue to be, as we have no doubt,

Is the Color Line Crumbling?

By KELLY MILLER

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of The Nation, has contributed an interesting article to the July issue of Harper's Magazine, under the captain, "The Crumbling of the Color Line." He cites numerous interesting, if not convincing, instances and reaches a roseate conclusion.

The Nation cries out with clarion insistence for the rights of the underman in general, and of the Negro man in particular. The Nation is a true successor to the Liberator edited by Mr. Villard's illustrious ancestor, sensibly adjusted to changes of time and conditions.

Mr. Villard represents the attitude of the philanthropists, whose judgment of occurrences is colored by their reactions on his particular philanthropy. The pious Christian must needs say the world is growing better in every way, every day; else he belittles and belies his professed faith in Christianity to save the world. Philanthropy must needs strike an optimistic note, although this note is discordant to the obvious facts of experiments and observation.

Mr. Villard is a white man, of pure Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon lineage. Despite his generous disposition, he must needs see with a white man's eyes. This racial tree, like Josh Billing's redwood, is so tall that it takes two persons to see to the top of it, the vision of the one beginning where that of the other left off. No white man can see the situation as a Negro sees it, because he cannot feel it as the Negro feels it.

A comprehensive review of the worldwide situation will clearly reveal that the color line is not only not crumbling, but is strengthening everywhere in its essential features.

Ever since the jingles of Kipling



— Kelly Miller —

about the "White Man's Burden" and the flood of literature, such as "The Rising Tide of Color," "The Clash of Color" and "The Menace of Color," the Anglo-Saxon world has been building up dykes to shut themselves in and to shut all non-whites out of their racial territory. Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States have their color bars and color bans, which make any further non-white intrusion impossible. The obvious intent is to keep such lands white in perpetuity. A black British citizen of Jamaica cannot take up residence in Canada or Australia by virtue of the bar sinister.

The immigration laws of the United States effectually keep out all non-Caucasians from further re-enforcement of our population. Within the confines of this country the only practical question is the operation of the color line within the limits of the races already here.

Immediately after emancipation, it did look, for a while, as if the color line would crumble. The laws and regulations of our national procedure were made to apply—"Without regard to race or color." But this overgenerous attitude lasted for scarcely half a century. One might say that the color line has been gradually and constantly strengthening itself since the overthrow of the reconstruction regimes in 1876.

Since then twenty-nine states have enacted anti-intermarriage bars; separate schools have been established in all communities where the Negro constitutes a considerable fraction of the population; Jim-Crow cars roll over the rails of the Southern and semi-Southern States. The Negro is barred from places of public resort and entertainment wherever his numerosity makes his presence objectionable. Residential segregation, within the last fifteen years, has spread like wildfire from Eastport, Me., to Key West, Fla., and from Atlantic City to Los Angeles.

In industry, the Negro is being more and more pushed downward on the scale, or at least he is being shut out from intimate touch with white men, and shut into something like an occupational caste. The drift of public opinion has been steadily retrograding. The North has gravitated to the accepted plane of the South. The Negro has been eliminated from high station under the Federal Government.

I might go on indefinitely piling up a list of particulars to offset Mr. Villard's recital of instances of kindly personal attitude on the part of a few choice spirits of the white race. The interracial conference, of which Mr. Villard makes a great deal, frankly operates in harmony with the existence and countenance of the color line. The new Negro and his achievements in the arts, literature, music and dramatics finds recognition and encouragement mainly among the Semitic element rather than the undaunted Anglo-Saxon.

The N. A. A. C. P. has been battling valiantly against the color line for twenty years, and despite minor indentations here and there it holds with the unbroken integrity of the Hindenburg line in the World War. Nor have we yet isolated any specific remedy. Religion, education, wealth and culture, while yielding their inestimable advantages, have not materially affected the color line. So far as we can now see, this line is likely to hold with stubborn rigidity as far ahead as we are at present able to project our vision.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Negro leaders and his good friends to encourage him to develop a defensive philosophy which will enable him to live cheerfully, notwithstanding stubborn obstacles of race. It is a fatuous philosophy that would deceive him with obviously falacious hopes. Our greatest task is to open the Negro's eyes and let him know the truth without discouraging his reasonable hopes and aspirations.

white man, it was announced by Phillip S. Handy, Post, Commander.

The incident against which the post will protest took place Saturday afternoon while Magistrate Pohlhaus was sitting in place of the regular Magistrate, Joseph H. Ranft.

Lectures White Man

Louis Faulkner, 22, white, 32 S. Carey street, was arrested in a house at 824 Fairmount avenue, together with Mrs. Georgia Baily, resident and a young woman who gave her name as Marie Jones, 25, 852 Fairmount avenue. On a tip Patrolman James Rawlings of the Western District raided the place and found the white man with the young woman.

Called Black Wench

When brought before him Magistrate Pohlhaus told the white man that he ought to be ashamed of himself for cohabiting with the commonest of black wenches. It was his custom, he said, for him to give the maximum fine of $100 in such cases, but he would not do so this time because it would be a hardship upon the parents of the young white man. They were fined $10 and costs each.

In his lecture the Magistrate declared that there were two reasons for the position he was taking in the matter. One was that a white man should not degrade himself by having relations with a black wench. In doing so he degraded the whole white race. As to the colored race, he said, "they are already degraded."

Called Insult

While Post Commander Handy pointed out that respectable colored people hold in lowest contempt men and women of the type to whom the Magistrate was talking, they do not feel that a Magistrate or anyone else should be allowed to hurl the insult that the whole colored race is already degraded, and will put the matter up to Governor Albert T. Ritchie.

Magistrate Pohlhaus was re-appointed three months ago as magistrate-at-large by the Governor and was said to have been recommended by William Curran, East Baltimore Democratic leader. He lives at 319 S. Ellwood avenue.

JAIL N. C. WHITE WOMAN FOR ATTENDING COLORED CHURCH

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Because she frequently took her children to the House of Prayer for Negroes, Mrs. H. A. Kerns, white, of Belmont, was sentenced to two weeks in the Mecklenburg industrial home when she was convicted in domestic relations court one day last week by Judge Wade H. Williams.

The white judge had warned the woman not to take her children to the prayer meeting house made famous by the "Black Christ," Bishop Grace, and she had obeyed the court order for a month until last Sunday.

On that day, however, she took her children, aged 6, 14, and 15, and attended the prayer meeting along with hundreds of colored folk, according to evidence.

As soon as she was convicted of disobeying the court's order, sentence was pronounced and the woman placed in custody.

Legion to Protest Magistrate's Calling Woman 'Black Wench'

Magistrate Poulhous Lectured White Man Who Was Found With Race Girl.

A vigorous protest to Governor Ritchie will be lodged this week against Magistrate John M. Pohlhaus, Magistrate-at-large, by the Walter Green post, American Legion as a result of his use of the words "black wench" in referring to a young woman arrested in a home with a

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

Women's Resolution Denounces Views Of Tom Heflin

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., April 26.—Contents of the resolution passed by the Alabama Woman's League for White Supremacy, which has caused such a stir in Senate circles, has been announced. The resolution, which was passed in executive session Thursday at Birmingham was an attack on Senator Tom Heflin and stated that the people of Alabama are not in accord with Senator Heflin's views.

The league has been made the subject of a speech in the Senate by Senator Heflin and he spent several minutes in denouncing the organization today.

The resolution in full reads:

"Whereas, the senior senator from Alabama, Hon. J. Thomas Heflin has been engaged for some months past in fomenting religious intolerance and in sowing the seeds of hatred and dissension among our people, by his speeches in the Senate and elsewhere directed against the Roman Catholic Church; and

"Whereas, he has, in our opinion, by such a course reflected discredit upon the State of Alabama which, unfortunately for the state, he, in part, represents in the Senate of the United States; and

"Whereas. in this respect we do not believe that he truly represents the spirit of this state,

"Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Alabama Woman's League for White Supremacy, an organization consisting of over 30,000 members, none of whose officers and few, if any, of whose members belong to or are in any way affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church:

"1. That we repudiate Senator Heflin as our representative in any sense;

"2. That we deplore his foolish and fanatical assaults upon those of our fellow citizens who are members of the Roman Catholic Church, and assure them that the lack of patriotism, and dark designs upon the liberties of the country which seem to be attributed to them by the senator, and which apparently fill him with fear and dismay, are not shared by the majority of the people of Alabama;

"3. That, in particular, we regard Senator Heflin's excitement over the long standing custom of flying the pennant of the cross at the mast head of naval vessels during the holding of divine services on such vessels, as the most ridiculous of the many silly bugaboos which he has conjured up, and that we are humiliated that any representative of this state could raise an issue so absurd;

"4. That we resent Senator Heflin's attempt to have the United States Senate as a body allay itself with the campaign which the senator is carrying on against the Catholic people of the United States;

"5. That we apologize to the Senate, and to the people at large, that any representative of this state has exhibited himself in such a light.

(Signed) "MABEL JONES WEST,
"President."

THE NEGRO HAS NEVER HAD A MAN'S CHANCE.

Not the North, or the South, but the United States of America has never given the Negro a man's chance in the struggle for a place in either the community life where he lives and toils, or in the national life. He has been the one factor in American life that has been singled out as the victim of every disadvantage morally, economically, or politically that man is heir to. It has been his misfortune to get the worse end of every deal.

He has been in court without a representative, and in government without a vote as a matter of right and justice. We do not indict the North or the South, but all the white people—North or South.

Laws for the protection of the life, property, and the happiness of the Negro have meant nothing to the white man; these laws have been universally violated and nullified by those in authority and charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law. For two hundred and fifty years, beginning in 1620, the Negro was held in abject slavery both by force and the law and made to work for his white masters under the lash, without pay, half fed, and half clothed—not even permitted to learn to read and write, and could only serve God under such conditions as his earthly masters might prescribe. During slavery, the Negro was treated as property, and not as a human being. They were beaten and sold to the highest bidder like cattle and stock in a mule market. Family ties were not regarded. Families were separated, like cattle, and mothers were taken from their babies and sold to a cruel slave master as a sow from her pigs, or a cow from her calf in these modern times. God ended this barbarity through Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party, as an instrumentality, January 1, 1863. The Republican Party armed the Negro with the ballot as a means of self protection. Hence, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Lincoln pledged all the power of the Federal Government behind the enforcement of his Emancipation Proclamation, including the Army and the Navy. He asked for the Negro equal opportunities to work and the protection of the law. Thence began the second age of unfairness and discrimination by the white man against the Negro. The white man began an era of extermination that has lasted until this day.

The Federal Government clothed the Negro with the ballot and made him an American citizen, the equal of the white man before the law. The white man began an insiduous propaganda to deprive the Negro of his rights, first by shotgun intimidation and molestation, and secondly by theft of his ballot, imprisonment for debt under a system of peonage, ku kluxism, and makeshifts, and by fraud in the form of amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Thus, the Negro has been intimidated, brow beaten, bulldozed, and frightened from the polls by white bullies and outlaws until he is afraid to attempt to exercise the ballot.

In the courts he does not expect exact justice in any section of our common country. He regards the state as a white man's country, and the laws made for the protection of the white man, and for his punishment. He had just as soon take his chances in Atlanta for a square deal as in Boston.

In education, he is discriminated against. His teachers are paid half the salary a white teacher receives for the same service; educational funds divided in a ratio of one to fifteen dollars per capita in favor of the white child; adequate park and playground facilities denied the Negro child—signs are seen at public places "For Whites Only." The Negro is denied the ballot and jury duty, discriminated against on common carriers as a mark of inferiority. In the cities he is denied street improvements and sanitary protection from disease, mistreated by the police and other brutal law enforcement officers, and segregated everywhere like a leper to remind him that he is inferior.

The white man, through the states as an instrumentality, having heaped every indignity known to the ingenuity of man upon the Negro to impede his progress, the Government at Washington seems to be yielding to the demand of the mob to disfranchise the Negro and economically starve him.

The Republican Party that freed and enfranchised him seems to be asking them to take a back seat in the very teeth of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Republican Party says, through Postmaster General Brown, "Negroes lead Negroes North and South, but white men lead the party North and South." The Fifteenth Amendment says, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote on the grounds of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude, but Postmaster General Brown says, he sall be denied a place in the party councils because of race or color. He says, we cannot build a party in the South with Negro leadership, hence, Negro take a back seat. Victory is not what we want in the South. We want a white party, not votes, but white faces; not fitness, but white folks.

REGISTER
DES MOINES, IA.
APR 9 1929

THE RACE ISSUE DEBATED

FROM THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, COLORED.

"Shall the Negro Be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality?"

This was the subject of the debate under the auspices of the Chicago forum, which drew 5,000 citizens of both races to the Coliseum Sunday afternoon to hear two men, both celebrated scholars and writers, different in the color of their skins, but equal in intellectual ability, discuss the question.

The speakers, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his Caucasian opponent, Dr. Lothrop Stoddard, set a precedent in Chicago in frankly debating so grave a question before the vast, but very appreciative mixed audience. It was believed by many that such an undertaking would not be wise; that the reaction from the audience in the frank discussion of the great question by the speakers would result only in embarrassment for and probable insults to them. But not so.

It was an intelligent audience. That vast throng of thousands who packed the hall and the other thousands milling in the street, unable to gain entrance to the building, were seeking light, hungry for information on the subject that for sixty years has concerned so greatly the races throughout America. Thus the two speakers, both sons of Harvard university, each bearing a degree of doctor of philosophy from that famous institution, were cordially welcomed.

Fred Atkins Moore, director of the Chicago forum, presided. He explained that the occasion was one of the regular Sunday afternoon meetings of the forum for the discussing of vital questions of public interest. "That means that the forum is neither white nor black; neither radical nor conservative; that it takes no stand on any question whatsoever, but it does believe in free, open discussion of every question that affects vitally our common life," Mr. Moore said. The question, Mr. Moore added as he introduced Dr. DuBois as the affirmative and first speaker, is the kind of subject "that is seldom brought out into the open to be discussed in the light of day, and to be discussed from at least two important sides as it will be presented here today."

"Shall the Negro Be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality?"

Much applause greeted Dr. DuBois as he rose to tell his audience that members of his race should seek such a thing. "There are certain questions of definition to be considered in this matter under debate," he began.

"Just what do you mean by equality? And what is cultural equality? We might even ask, just what are Negroes? And how are we going to encourage people to this sort of thing? I am going to try to take the broad common sense view of what these words mean. By equality you mean not only the identical, not exactly the same thing, but equal gifts to culture and from culture. By culture you mean that sort of thing that you call civilization. And you encourage to cultural equality by taking

down bars and discriminations—all sorts of things that directly or indirectly keep the people from attaining a certain goal."

The voice of Dr. DuBois, eloquent master of the English language, flowed on, gripping his raptly attentive audiene. "Now, if you were not familiar with the race problem in the United States or in the modern world, you would ask, 'Why shouldn't you encourage Negroes or anybody else in the wide world to seek cultural equality,'" Dr. DuBois continued. "Isn't that what civilization is for? Isn't it the kind of thing you yearn for? What could you conceive as better than a world in which all the citizens of that world were not only encouraged to cultural equality, but accomplished it? Wouldn't it be the best conceivable sort of a world? And yet, you who do know America, know perfectly well that large numbers of people have always denied this to the Negro."

As the speaker progressed it was clear that he was addressing himself directly to the Nordics in the audience. His usually modulated voice rose clearly, penetrating the far corners of the auditorium. His words seemed to come from the depths of soul as he surveyed the Caucasian group before him.

"In the early days, they said, and said frankly, 'No, you shouldn't encourage the Negro to cultural equality, because he cannot reach it; he it not really human in the sense that other people are human,'" Dr. DuBois argued. "You don't encourage dogs to do the things that men do; not because you have anything against the dogs, but because they cannot do them. And in the same way you do not encourage Negroes to share modern culture because they cannot share it; you simply make them unhappy trying to reach to things which they cannot reach.

"But in the last generation things have happened fast. You have had, since emancipation, a bounding forward of these millions of drak people in America, and there is no doubt about the work that has been done by them. It is one of the wonderful things of this generation. Now you would have thought, and perhaps they, too, thought that the going forward of the Negro out of ignorance and out of crime and disaster, that this going forward to a place where you cannot write a history or statement of American civilization and leave the black men out, you would have thought that this thing would have been greeted with applause. On the contrary, all Negroes know that there has been no phase of their accomplishment that has not been greeted with apprehension. People have feared the coming forward of these black men; they have looked upon it as a sort of threat, and if you should ask them just why that is so, they would state the thing they have stated before, but with some modification. They would say the coming forward of these people does not prove they can make as great a gift to culture as the white people have made, but, whether they can or not, they must not be allowed to come forward, because it threatens civilization.

"If you ask how this can possibly be so, how soon the advance of one-tenth of the nation can be a threat to the rest, then you have various answers. In the first place they seem to think of culture—meaning the Caucasian race—as a quantitive sort of thing; that there is a certain amount of culture in the world, and if you divide it up among a certain group of people, you have that much less for other people."

Dr. DuBois illustrated this quantitive theory by that "if black people have motor cars, then there are so many less for the white people to have. If there are good places for the black people to live in there are so many less for the white people to have. And so on. We go through the whole thing, which we call civilization, and count it as a quantity, and we think if it is distributed to certain people other people are not going to have as much. But the whole analogy falls down because after all it is not the things which people have that makes the most part of the real civilization, and so back of that we go with the argument, and we say, it is not perhaps a matter of distribution, it is a matter of domination."

Here Dr. DuBois, with scathing sarcasm, depicted the Nordics as "a few people who have the chance to get unusual advancement, to learn things, to push forward in the world, and then, after they have gone so far forward they consider themselves the chosen people, who think that the universe was made for them."

Touching on their civilization and the care used by the Nordics to keep it untainted, the speaker declared: "You can keep your group closed as much as you want to. Nobody is going to make you marry outside of your group unless you want to marry outside. But the program has been to go out into all the earth, to distribute themselves in every corner of the world. They have not used any self-control in keeping their blood to themselves! they have distributed their illegitimate children everywhere in the world; they have broken down the family life of every class of people in the world. They have kept them from self-defense, from decency, and then they have turned upon and said to us when we demand a chance for civilization, 'You shall not marry our daughters,' and the only answer is, 'Who in the hell asked that we should marry your daughters?'"

Dr. DuBois closed with his argument of thirty minutes after describing the impossibility of the Nordics to keep the colored races of the world in the background. To do this is going to call for ability, brains and genius of the highest order, the speaker said. Prolonged applause greeted Dr. DuBois at the close of his masterful argument. More applause warmly greeted his opponent, Dr. Stoddard, author of the widely known "Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy."

Dr. Stoddard began his argument by asserting that "the Negro had been the victim of delusion ever since the civil war, and nothing is more unfortunate than delusion. At the time of the emancipation certain white enthusiasts promised the Negro full social equality and racial amalgamation. All that has proved a dream," Dr. Stoddard declared "Half a century after emancipation the color line, which, by the way, is the oldest of American social policies—laid down since earliest colonial times more than three centuries ago—remains in full force and in the south a system of race contact based upon segregation has been thoroughly worked out. In practically every social aspect of life the races are completely segregated. Furthermore," Dr. Stoddard declared, "to this system most of American Negrodom has adjusted itself."

Asserting that in the south a full-fledged Negro society has evolved, which is satisfied with what he termed the line of difference separating the races in the south, and is developing on its side of the line. "Yet a minority remains dissatisfied, and most of that active dissatisfied minority is in the north," the speaker said. "The reason for this," he said, "is because until very recently the northern Negroes were too few in number to evolve a real society of their own, such as has been the case in the south.

"In other words, until recent years there have been no large Negro groups in the north where the talented young Negro could find his career and where the successful Negro could obtain the social satisfactions that are to be found in their own groups in the southland. However, as you all know, the situation has changed in recent years because of the great northward trek of Negroes since 1915.

"As a result you have the appearane of an educated intelligentsia among whom is a considerable number of persons with marked artistic and literary talents, and it is in the writings of the northern intelligentsia that you find the eloquent spokesmen who reject the system of the south and demand social equality in white America. These demands, eloquently voiced, have raised fresh hopes and a corresponding unrest. Such hopes will merely mean increased disillusionment, bitterness and unhappiness among these Negro groups themselves. When we look at the situation, whether we survey it north, south, east or west, there is only one conclusion I believe that we can come to, and that is that white America is resolved not to abolish the color line.

"Now why is this determination as strong today as it ever was? Why is it being reinforced by so many arguments drawn from the progress of modern science?" The speaker asked. "The basic reason," he declared, "is not so much theories concerning the Negro's alleged inferiority, widespread as those beliefs may be, but the basic fact is that he is different. It is a matter of racial difference and the vast majority of white Americans feel more and more the necessity of keeping white America unimpaired," Dr. Stoddard maintained.

Touching upon the cultural equality of the Negro, Dr. Stoddard declared that "what the Negro really wants is social equality. He can get social recognition, for that is already being given him, but to demand social equality is about the worst way to attain the maximum of cultural recognition from the white American public. If it be cultural recognition and appreciation that the cultured Negroes want, let them get after their insurgent intelligensia who are today seeking to use their art as a battering ram to smash the color line."

Dr. DuBois was given ten minutes reply to Dr. Stoddard's argument. He answered it by denying that the Negro wants social equality. "The first thing for the white people to do," Dr. DuBois said, "is to get that idea out of their heads. When the Negroes say they do not believe in laws against intermarriage, that does not mean they do believe in laws compelling people to marry anyone that wants to marry them. No, they are asking for the same protection for their women that civilized people give to civilized women and ought to give to uncivilized women."

At the conclusion of the debate the vast crowd gave evidence of its approval of both speakers. The applause was equally divided between the two speakers and at the end many rushed forward with warm words of congratulation. Outside the building a huge throng still clamored for admission.

The orderliness and splendid conduct of the thousands who were fortunate in gaining admission won words of praise from the skeptic ones who had said, "It couldn't be done." Mr. Moore, director of the Chicago forum, reminded the audience that in the forum the truth is always spoken openly and frankly.

"I want to express my appreciation to everyone in this auditorium for confirming our faith that we could have such a debate as this, on this big scale, and that every single person would take it as a good, intellectual, spiritual, sporting proposition, and that nobody has got excited."

MAKE THEM CRAWFISH!

It is high time for the southern people and their representatives in congress to get busy and rid the "damnable iteration" of the charges that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the federal constitution are being constantly ignored, nullified and violated by the people of the southern states.

The radical enemies of our people who are making those charges upon every available occasion should be called down without hesitation and made to produce their evidence to the public eye and judgment.

On Monday President Hoover, addressing the Associated Press, referred in course to violations of the eighteenth amendment, whereupon some of the newspapers promptly countered with references to the alleged "violations" of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments by the southern people as pertinent analogies and aggravations of the national catagory of lawlessness.

The New York World, from which newspaper a better informed judgment should have been expected, said:

> It is the duty of a president to insist that all laws have the same standing and that all must be obeyed, except, perhaps, those laws which have become completely dead letters, like the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

The New York Herald-Tribune says:

> Of far wider significance is the impotence of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, a surrender acquiesced in by congress for many decades.

Now, it would be a crass insult to the informed minds of the writers of those editorial comments to even suggest that they do not know that the two amendments referred to by them are not ignored, nullified or violated in any of their terms by the people of any state of the south.

The reason why republican congresses have not undertaken to enforce those amendments is that, upon investigation, they have found no violations of them against which to level force bills. Individual cases of violation have been treated by the courts when presented to them. But the amendments speak for themselves in their own language and the southern states are giving to them the fullest respect and effect that either congress or the supreme court of the United States have had constitutional warrant to demand. Some southern man in congress should have the courage to demand a thorough investigation of the charges above specified. The south has nothing to fear from such a procedure, but much to gain in honor and immunity.

Race Problem - 1929

United States

SOW TO THE WIND, REAP THE WHIRLWIND

"Crime is increasing. Confidence in rigid and speedy justice is decreasing." Thus spake Herbert Hoover in his inaugural address, Monday. Later he said: "Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law."

That is a high and yet the proper position to take. We hope that we may trust President Hoover's sincerity in this premise. As law enforcement seemed to be the key note of his address, if he had a key note, then we may expect some performance along this line. There seemed to be an air of sincerity that was more impressive in his delivery than was noted in his predecessors.

Having given the subject due consideration, the President gave the cause for the present flagrant disregard for law and order, when he said: "Many influences had increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization long before the adoption of the Eighteenth amendment." Here he put his finger on the "eating cancer" which has spread until our Constitution is not more than a scrap of paper; human life and liberty have no value while intolerance and intemperance reign supreme.

Looking back from the present effect to locate the cause, or name the "many influences" which has "increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization," we must go back to the rise of the original Ku Klux Klan following the Civil War. This organization started the lawlessness which has marked the backwardness of the south. From this foray came lynchings and burnings, disregard for human life and property. The sanctity of the home was cast aside. Then came the gradual disfranchising of the Negro. Peonage supplanted chattel slavery. All of these "many influences" were sown under the personal supervision of former Republican administrations which sowed to the wind and now reap the whirlwind.

The first Ku Klux Klan was comparatively a small organization which operated in the south. The first lynchings and burnings were confined to the south. But as southern prejudice spread northward, the recent and present operations of the Ku Klux Klan cover the country from coast to coast, from the Lakes to the Gulf. It became the whirlwind. Lynchings and burnings crossed the Mason and Dixon line and we have our Springfield, Ohio; our East St. Louis, and Chicago, Ill., and even our Washington, of 1919. Disfranchisement is flagrant over the south. There is peonage from Missouri to Florida, from Virginia to Texas. Men are worked under guard by day. In many places they are shackled and these are not criminals, but honest, hard working men who are deprived of their wages and liberty. A recent cabinet member from Texas has one of the most extensive peonage plantations in this country. These are some of the "many influences" which have "increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization." And the "disregard for some law," Mr. President has certainly destroyed "respect for all law." And this truly "started before the adoption of the Eighteenth amendment." But, it both started and has grown to its present proportions under Republican Presidents, save two.

We are proud to see President Hoover take this exalted position and trust he may have the courage of his conviction in the enforcement of the same. To get to the bottom of this disregard of law enforcement the President said: "I propose to appoint a national commission for a searching investigation of the whole structure of our Federal system of jurisprudence, to include the method of enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment and the causes of abuses under it."

The President will make a mistake if he stops at the 18th amendment. He must go back to the cause and he will find the disregard of the 14th and 15th amendments preceeds the 18th amendment and "The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law." Therefore, the seed for the disrespect for the 18th amendment was sown when the Republicans permitted the flagrant disregard of the 14th and 15th amendments. They sowed to the wind then and are now reaping the whirlwind."

Mr. Hoover evidently realizes his position and the influence he can wield for law enforcement, for he said: "I have been selected by you to execute and enforce the laws of the country. I propose to do so to the extent of my own abilities." We are with the President and shall support him to the limit in the enforcement of "all the laws," for "disregard for some law . . . destroys respect for all law."

Day by Day
With Governor Patterson

I have been requested by several prominent negroes to reproduce an article written for The Commercial Appeal some time ago. It follows:

Behold the negro. Think of his past, watch him as he is today and try to imagine what he will be a hundred years hence.

Caught by the white man in their native jungles or captured by greceless marauders on the hot sands of Africa, when in wonder they came down to the beach to watch the strange sights presented by the white man and his ships, separated from their families and tribes, loaded in the holds of privateers, a sweaty terrified undistinguished mass, transported across the seas to unknown lands and sold into slavery, thus did the negroes begin to cast their shadows into American history, to create problems, to bring on a great war, and at the end to be given freedom, a scant measure of delayed justice and an opportunity to make a destiny for themselves.

Through no fault of theirs for no sin they had committed, they bowed their necks to the yoke of the strong, bore its burden and patiently went about their appointed tasks.

With no aid from themselves and even without the asking, they received the boon of liberty and in their own way they have been slowly leaving its use, they have been growing, changing, reaching out and looking upward.

If it is a greater blessing to become civilized, to partake of the white man's ideas, to imitate his mode of life than it was to remain in his native haunts, then the negro has been blessed in the hands of an inscrutable God who used the cupidity and inhumanity of his captors for great and beneficent purposes, and it is but another illustration how the Almighty moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform. What an amazing and transcendent thing human history has been, what a stupendous maze is humanity itself, as it ebbs and flows for a time in peaceful, regular waves, and then dashes and foams in the cross currents of war and disaster.

How helpless and inadept is any one to measure these human modes, to foretell these changes, to understand these deep and various movements of the mass of which he is a part.

How each one of us must follow with the rest, how wholly inadequate any one of us is to alter the vast processes of time, or change its courses. The astronomer may sweep the heavens with his telescopes, observe the laws of celestial bodies and their variances and be able to foretell the eclipse of the sun or the happening of other material phenomena, but we have no lens powerful or accurate enough to inform us what man himself will do or be in the future, which race will live and which will fall, which human institution will survive and which will perish.

What the negro has been we know, what he is we can conceive, but what he will be no law of nature and no formula of reason can inform us.

We can only wait and see the development and unfolding of a great racial drama whose actors are a part and yet removed from us by certain differences fixed by nature and which should be securely maintained.

An amalgamation of the races brought on by miscegenation should be considered a social crime by both—an impossible and unthinkable wrong, productive of confusion and ultimate ruin. It is true that some very high types of both men and women have come from the minging of the races in the past, and I have often thought of a situation where the mark of the inferior race fixed the status of these though they might have all the pride, ambition and education of the white race, and carry in their veins a larger proportion of its blood.

To preserve and not break down the barriers—to keep distinct the types is a justice no less to the white man than the negro, and it is necessary for the highest development of both.

The negro must have and is beginning now to have a distinct racial pride—the number of those of mixed blood is growing less year by year—the change has become noticeable to all who remember a few years back, when the barber shops were full of mulattos, when they were waiters at the restaurants and hotels, when they were the intelligent nurses and maids in the homes, and when the handsome physiques of both men and women of mixed blood were so often seen upon the streets.

Each year witnesses a diminution of this number. Slowly but surely a difficult problem is being worked out. It will not be long until the color line will be almost wholly distinct—when there will no longer be race mixtures or at least of only occasional occurrences.

Nothing could be juster or more in accord with eternal fitness, and nothing will more surely sustain the negro himself in the long road he must travel to establish his place in the great march of civilization.

I have thought and written much about the negro. My viewpoint has been that of a southern man, but with the wish ever present to be fair to the negro and to encourage him in his efforts at advancement.

Beyond all else I have considered that he was entitled to justice. This is being more and more accorded him, and his own conduct has done much to bring it about. It is a fact that we sometimes overlook, that the negro is a mighty factor in our lives and progress.

With present conditions in the south, we would be almost prostrate without his help. It is the negro who is in the main relied upon to turn up the soil in the spring, to plant and gather the cotton crop, our great staple production.

It is he that goes out into the swamps and fells the standing timber, and conveys it to the mills.

The negro is doing the hard work about our cities and homes, and wherever brawn and muscle are required he stands as a figure of capacity and strength. Here in the south we simply could not get along without his labor.

It is getting to be so in the nation. His services are more and more sought for, especially since the passage of our strict immigration laws which have caused such a scarcity of workers.

The negro though is becoming something more than a hewer of woods and a drawer of water. He has felt the urge of education, other hopes have dawned upon his soul's horizon, and other fires have been kindled on his hearthstone.

Here in Memphis we can find examples of the new dispensation—the apotheosis of the negroes, the unmistakable signs of their future.

We see them as the teachers of the young of their race, they own stores, and have established banks. they are found in the ranks of the medical and legal professions, and soon there will be no avenue of endeavor they will not enter.

Only a short time ago a negro woman from Chicago was admitted as a practicing attorney before the supreme court of the United States. The negroes have already made distinct contributions to poetry and art. We know now that they can not only be educated but they have the capacity to make use of their education.

While pleading for justice to the negro and a recognition of his service and his powers, it is well for him to continue patient and to seek no advantage or claim no privileges that his worth does not entitle him to and to realize that in the stretch of time ahead the black man and the white man will either march forward together or slip backward.

Both should advance, and one can not without the other.

Justice and that alone will give an absolute and final assurance.

Fortunately the negro has no country but this. He has no ties binding him to other associations and other lands, and he is patriotic as one to the manor born. He is here because the white man brought him here, and here he will remain. Here he must be given a full chance to work out his salvation under American institutions and the protection of law.

Behold the negro. He is emerging from the shadows.

Bill for Negro Race Equality

Howard P. Drew, negro, holder of the world's championship for the 100 yard dash and attorney of Hartford, appeared before the judiciary committee of the general assembly late yesterday on behalf of a bill which would "put teeth" in the statute giving his race equal rights in this state which met with the approval of the committee.

The bill was a motif of a hearing held, which was perhaps the most interesting before a committee of the present session of the general assembly, following brief uneventful sessions, had adjourned.

The measure, entered by Senator Dennis, Hartford, Democrat, provides that anyone refusing civil rights to a negro, whether in a theatre, store, restaurant or other place, be fined up to $300, or imprisoned for a maximum of one year, or both, and that the "aggrieved" may collect, as forfeit, any amount between $25 and $300. Senator Dennis appeared, as the hearing opened, with an amendment striking out the words "barber shop" from the bill, thus exempting from the penalty all such businesses.

NEW LONDON
CONNECTICUT

FEB 20 1929

No One Opposes

Julian Harris On The Responsibility Of Southern Editors And Southern Universities

2/26/24 Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

(Excerpts from an address before the Georgia Press Institute, University of Georgia, by Julian Harris, editor of The Columbus Enquirer-Sun.)

"Now I shall confess that I have found it difficult to select a topic for a talk—an address, the program calls it—There are scores of subjects in which newspaper men and women of Georgia are interested, so the choice becomes increasingly difficult. There are also questions with which not only Georgia journalists but editors throughout the South as well as all progressive men and women of this section are vitally concerned. One of these, I hope and believe, is the problem of Southern leadership. And a problem it is, for where the leadership that existed in the days of Stephens, Hill, Toombs, Pettus, Morgan, and their like is concerned, the South is today leaderless, in the political sense. And it is quite certain that the present political grip of the pulpit is a passing phase in our civilization, for when the churches awaken to a realization of the havoc wrought in their ranks by attempts of some of their pastors to grasp temporal power, there will be a reappraisal of the conditions and the spiritual aspect of religion will once again claim the devout attention of its temporary diverted guardians.

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"It would seem that during this period of readjustment the responsibility of leadership in the South must rest on the press and the universities. Indeed, during the past few years the colleges and the newspapers of the South have been in a state of preparation for just this emergency, but the universities of the South cannot render full service unless they have the hearty support of an honest, open-minded and fearless press.

Unquestionably, many colleges in the South are under heavy handicaps of various kinds. Particularly is this true of various state-supported colleges. Yet we find that the University of North Carolina, with its superb school of social sciences, under the direction of a native Georgian, Howard Odum, is contributing in full measure to the development of the young men and women of the Carolinas and proving an invaluable aid to the writers and editors of the South. Emory University has established its annual citizenship conferences and in addition has encouraged its professors to cultivate a spirit of freedom of expression. And this meeting here of leading journalists from many points under the auspices of the University of Georgia is a fine and progressive gesture.

"It is obvious that the colleges of the South have an opportunity to develop leaders of intelligence, vision and social consciousness—leaders whose actions will be guided by a thorough knowledge of present-day problems and who will instinctively desire to further social justice. No young man or woman of today is equipped for the political sphere or the journalistic field unless, in addition to being acquainted with political history, he or she has a working knowledge of economics, civic government and problems relating to social welfare. In short, the intelligent journalist must be on speaking terms with the complexities of modern life and the efforts that are being made by disinterested experts to meet and ameliorate conditions.

"This type of knowledge is being cultivated by the progressive editors of the South, many of whom did not have an opportunity to go to college. These liberal and wide-awake men are not only striving to measure up to their responsibility through their newspapers, but have shown a willingness to cooperate fully with the civic programs of the universities. Further, an increasing number of newspapers in the South, and particularly in Georgia, do not hesitate to speak out even when they tread on the toes of tradition or combat the trend of thought in their community.

* * *

Stereotyped Phrases

"It is a very fine thing when a newspaper's editorials are honest and fearless, but it is a finer thing when honesty and boldness are combined with a sense of logic and an ability to analyze the cliches—the stereotyped phrases—which pass for truth and are blindly swallowed by the unthinking. Let me give an illustration of the editor's need to think logically. Without discussing its merits or demerits, I shall use as an example the question of Federal prohibition. It seems certain that the majority of Southern editors and voters are heartily in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It is also true that the editors who oppose Federal prohibition regard it as an invasion of state's rights. What happened when the question of a Federal child labor law came up in the South? Editors who endorsed Federal prohibition immediately attacked the proposed Federal child labor legislation on the ground that it invaded states' rights.

"To the editors who are here today, I offer this thought: If you agree to the violation of a fundamental principle when that violation is for a purpose you favor, then do not be surprised if that principle is violated again in order to enact legislation to which you are opposed, and which may prove oppressive if not actually tyrannical.

"The readiness of the public to swallow cliches and to act under their influence is often encouraged by editors and this, it seems to me, is one of the most dangerous disservices an editor can render his community. For example, to cite the threadbare cliche about Nordic supremacy and the right of 'pure Nordics' to the guardianship and leadership of the South—a cliche, by the way, which was largely responsible for the spread and cancerous clutch of Ku Kluxery.

"This misleading talk about the superiority of the Nordics and the 'pure' Nordic type which is supposed to be found exclusively in the fastnesses of the Alleghenies was set going largely through the writings of such pseudo-scientists as Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. Their assumptions have been completely exploded by such American anthropologists as Boas and Herskovitz. Dr. Boas, by the way, is the curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, and a world authority. The fallacy of the super-Nordic theory is put simply and clearly in 'Man's Life on Earth,' a book by Dr. Samuel Schmucker, emeritus professor of biology at the State Normal School of Pennsylvania. This author, in expanding on the racial make-up of the Western world points out that three racial strains contribute to Western civilization: The Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic. And he adds:

* * *

Fed Pure Nordics In U. S.

"'There is a group of people in the United States who are anxious to prevent all admixture of any other blood with the Nordic. The truth is that there is very little pure Nordic blood in the United States except that of the Scandinavians of the Northwest.' Previously he had stated that the Nordic type in this country was represented about equally in the 'Yankees of New England, the Hoosiers of Indiana and the mountaineers of the South,' but, he says, not even these are of 'pure' Nordic strain.

Melville Herskovitz, one of our most authoritative writers on anthropology, whose specialty is research on racial variability, says in an article entitled 'What is Race?'

"'To what extent, in fact, is race really defined today? To speak of racial intelligence, or of a more or less desirable race, or of a race having a culture that is better or worse than that of another race, obviously pre-supposes knowledge that the group spoken of actually is a race, and that a definition of a race can be constructed which will be scientific. Up to now, unfortunately, this has never been accomplished.'

"And our highest authority, Dr. Franz Boas, says:

"'The claim made for the superiority of pure races has never been substantiated. As I have pointed out, the purity of any given racial type is a debatable question, and the claim that only extreme types are pure is founded on a misconception. Ethnological evidence is certainly not in favor of the assumption that mixed races are in any way culturally incapable.'

"And to illustrate this point, Dr. Boas cites the great cultural contribution made to the world by the people of Central Italy which was for very long periods the meeting grounds of different races. Dr. Boas also neatly punctures our bombastic assumptions of race superiority by calling attention to the high civilization of the Maya Indian at a time when the Nordics of Northwestern Europe were little better than savages. The Mayas were thoroughly entitled to exclaim, 'Lo! the poor Nordic! uncouth barbarians without any arts or knowledge that could be compared with ours.'

"It is plain enough from the foregoing citations that the assumption of 'pure' Nordic superiority comes down to the following status: there is as large a percentage of so-called Nordics in New England and Indiana as in the Southern mountains. None of these Nordics is 'pure.' If they were, they would not promise any higher or better achievement than people of mixed strain. Moreover, the vaunted civilization of the white race, made up of three distinct racial strains, while now in the ascendant, was not always so, and as time goes by, it is most likely to wane and pass as that of other races which were supreme in ages past.

"So let us curb our racial arrogance, along with our tendency to swallow cliches. Let us not imitate the barnyard fowls who were thrown into a state of hysteria because Chicken Little announced that a piece of the sky had fallen, when merely a rose leaf had dropped on his head. Our vision and our sense of responsibility ought to be greater than that of the excitable little chick who, with loud peeps and much flutter, easily infected his staid, dignified and credulous elders with his infantile fears.

* * *

Nordic Supremacy Bunk

"Now such bunk as the Nordic supremacy myth and other more dangerous fallacies will thrive unless editors insist on getting facts and printing them. James Harvey Robinson says that when we get at the sources themselves we begin to consider what may be safely inferred from the statement before us and so develop the all-important faculty of criticism." Dr. Robinson's words are worth pondering.

"In conclusion, it ought to be said that whatever the changes in customs or methods, the great majority of editors in our section have opposed injustice and fought to preserve liberty of conscience and freedom of speech. Never has there been a greater need than now exists to hold firm against all efforts to cripple justice and blindfold truth. Georgia expects her editors to remain loyal to the soundest ideals of the past and at the same time to be the supporters of those objectives of today that bear the stamp of truth and liberalism. I am among those who are confident that this expectation will not be disappointed."

The hearing drew a dozen prominent negro men and women and several prominent Democrats and Socialists, all of whom favored the bill. No opposition was recorded.

Negro speakers included Myra Logan of the Hartford Y. W. C. A.; John Taylor, Old Hartford resident; and Mr. Jones, of the Urban league

Senators O'Connor of Waterbury, Hackett of New Haven, Hart of Bridgeport, Conroy of Hartford.

Each of the speakers cited examples of discrimination and resulting grief and pain, and pointed to the existence in both New York and Massachusetts of acts on which the proposed statute amendment is based.

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Stereotyped Phrases

"It is a very fine thing when a newspaper's editorials are honest and fearless, but it is a finer thing when honesty and boldness are combined with a sense of logic and an ability to analyze the cliches—the stereotyped phrases—which pass for truth and are blindly swallowed by the unthinking. Let me give an illustration of the editor's need to think logically. Without discussing its merits or demerits, I shall use as an example the question of Federal prohibition. It seems certain that the majority of Southern editors and voters are heartily in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It is also true that the editors who oppose Federal prohibition regard it as an invasion of state's rights. What happened when the question of a Federal child labor law came up in the South? Editors who endorsed Federal prohibition immediately attacked the proposed Federal child labor legislation on the ground that it invaded states' rights.

"To the editors who are here today, I offer this thought: If you agree to the violation of a fundamental principle when that violation is for a purpose you favor, then do not be surprised if that principle is violated again in order to enact legislation to which you are opposed, and which may prove oppressive if not actually tyrannical.

"The readiness of the public to swallow cliches and to act under their influence is often encouraged by editors and this, it seems to me, is one of the most dangerous disservices an editor can render his community. For example, to cite the threadbare cliche about Nordic supremacy and the right of 'pure Nordics' to the guardianship and leadership of the South—a cliche, by the way, which was largely responsible for the spread and cancerous clutch of Ku Kluxery.

"This misleading talk about the superiority of the Nordics and the 'pure' Nordic type which is supposed to be found exclusively in the fastnesses of the Alleghenies was set going largely through the writings of such pseudo-scientists as Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. Their assumptions have been completely exploded by such American anthropologists as Boas and Herskovitz. Dr. Boas, by the way, is the curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, and a world authority. The fallacy of the super-Nordic theory is put simply and clearly in 'Man's Life on Earth,' a book by Dr. Samuel Schmucker, emeritus professor of biology at the State Normal School of Pennsylvania. This author, in expanding on the racial make-up of the Western world points out that three racial strains contribute to Western civilization: The Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic. And he adds:

* * *

Fed Pure Nordics In U. S.

"'There is a group of people in the United States who are anxious to prevent all admixture of any other blood with the Nordic. The truth is that there is very little pure Nordic blood in the United States except that of the Scandinavians of the Northwest.' Previously he had stated that the Nordic type in this country was represented about equally in the 'Yankees of New England, the Hoosiers of Indiana and the mountaineers of the South,' but, he says, not even these are of 'pure' Nordic strain.

Melville Herskovitz, one of our most authoritative writers on anthropology, whose specialty is research on racial variability, says in an article entitled 'What is Race?'

"'To what extent, in fact, is race really defined today? To speak of racial intelligence, or of a more or less desirable race, or of a race having a culture that is better or worse than that of another race, obviously pre-supposes knowledge that the group spoken of actually is a race, and that a definition of a race can be constructed which will be scientific. Up to now, unfortunately, this has never been accomplished.'

"And our highest authority, Dr. Franz Boas, says:

"'The claim made for the superiority of pure races has never been substantiated. As I have pointed out, the purity of any given racial type is a debatable question, and the claim that only extreme types are pure is founded on a misconception. Ethnological evidence is certainly not in favor of the assumption that mixed races are in any way culturally incapable.'

"And to illustrate this point, Dr. Boas cites the great cultural contribution made to the world by the people of Central Italy which was for very long periods the meeting grounds of different races. Dr. Boas also neatly punctures our bombastic assumptions of race superiority by calling attention to the high civilization of the Maya Indian at a time when the Nordics of Northwestern Europe were little better than savages. The Mayas were thoroughly entitled to exclaim, 'Lo! the poor Nordic! uncouth barbarians without any arts or knowledge that could be compared with ours.'

"It is plain enough from the foregoing citations that the assumption of 'pure' Nordic superiority comes down to the following status: there is as large a percentage of so-called Nordics in New England and Indiana as in the Southern mountains. None of these Nordics is 'pure.' If they were, they would not promise any higher or better achievement than people of mixed strain. Moreover, the vaunted civilization of the white race, made up of three distinct racial strains, while now in the ascendant, was not always so, and as time goes by, it is most likely to wane and pass as that of other races which were supreme in ages past.

"So let us curb our racial arrogance, along with our tendency to swallow cliches. Let us not imitate the barnyard fowls who were thrown into a state of hysteria because Chicken Little announced that a piece of the sky had fallen, when merely a rose leaf had dropped on his head. Our vision and our sense of responsibility ought to be greater than that of the excitable little chick who, with loud peeps and much flutter, easily infected his staid, dignified and credulous elders with his infantile fears.

* * *

Nordic Supremacy Bunk

"Now such bunk as the Nordic supremacy myth and other more dangerous fallacies will thrive unless editors insist on getting facts and printing them. James Harvey Robinson says that when we get at the sources themselves we begin to consider what may be safely inferred from the statement before us and so develop the all-important faculty of criticism." Dr. Robinson's words are worth pondering.

"In conclusion, it ought to be said that whatever the changes in customs or methods, the great majority of editors in our section have opposed injustice and fought to preserve liberty of conscience and freedom of speech. Never has there been a greater need than now exists to hold firm against all efforts to cripple justice and blindfold truth. Georgia expects her editors to remain loyal to the soundest ideals of the past and at the same time to be the supporters of those objectives of today that bear the stamp of truth and liberalism. I am among those who are confident that this expectation will not be disappointed."

The hearing drew a dozen prominent negro men and women and several prominent Democrats and Socialists, all of whom favored the bill. No opposition was recorded.

Negro speakers included Myra Logan of the Hartford Y. W. C. A.; John Taylor, Old Hartford resident; and Mr. Jones, of the Urban league and Mr. Jones, of the Urban league

Senators O'Connor of Waterbury, Hackett of New Haven, Hart of Bridgeport, Conroy of Hartford.

Each of the speakers cited examples of discrimination and resulting grief and pain, and pointed to the existence in both New York and Massachusetts of acts on which the proposed statute amendment is based.

Race Problem – 1929
United States.

Is the Color Line Crumbling?

By KELLY MILLER

WE had just begun to congratulate ourselves that race clashes were things of the past. The outbreaks at East St. Louis, Chicago, Omaha and Elaine had all but passed out of our memory. The number of lynchings had been reduced to negligible proportions. A dozen different agencies and influences were claiming credit for this gratifying reduction.

It did begin to seem that the races had ground arms and had agreed to live together in peace and harmony, and "study war no more." The N. A. A. C. P., the Federation of Churches, the Anti-Saloon League, the Interracial Commissions and the like were congratulating themselves that their labors had borne abundant fruit, and that in the future race clashes would be heard of no more.

But, lo and behold, we were startled beyond belief last Sunday morning on reading of what had happened in North Platte, Neb., the day before. A Negro had beaten his wife, who lodged complaint with the police authorities. A policeman was dispatched to effect his arrest. As outcome of the contention, the officer was killed. Penitent for what he had done, or frightened by popular outcry, the criminal, like Judas Iscariot of old, eliminated himself from the picture by committing suicide.

This act of self-effacement, it would seem, should have appeased all righteous wrath and satisfied the just demands of vengeance.

Further South, the enraged white populace might have mutilated the dead carcass and given it to the devouring flames in satisfaction of the savage thirst for blood which still lingers under the fair exterior of white civilization.

But not so with North Platte. The self-inflicted punishment of the criminal does not suffice. The cry for vengeance is not confined to the perpetrator, but is inflicted upon the black community to which he belonged. Every Negro must be driven out of North Platte.



— Kelly Miller —

From the press dispatches, it does not appear that there was a single minister of the gospel, Y. M. C. A. secretary, or Christian man or woman in North Platte who did not join the mob, either actually or potentially, to drive the innocent Negroes from their midst. At least, the whole white citizenry of North Platte was as guilty of culpable involvement as the Apostle Paul when he stood by and consented to the death of Stephen.

The governor of the State guaranteees the exiled Negroes protection in their citizenship rights after the evil deed has been done. The honor and reputation of the State are thus safeguarded.

Scarcely had we finished reading the outrageous proceeding at North Platte than were we startled again by all but identical outbreak at Princess Anne, Md. The whole white population became enraged at the Negro contingency over a street fracas between a white and a colored man. The blacks were summarily ordered to vacate certain portions of the town.

The significant thing is that two communities, a thousand miles apart, one North and one South, could be moved at the same time by the same racial sort of animosity. Curiously enough, these racial outbreaks fully sustain my contention in my last release that the color line is not crumbling.

In the olden day the South wanted the Negro as a slave, but not as a freeman; the North wanted him as a freeman, but not as a slave; the West did not want him, as a slave or as a freeman. That same spirit is dominant today. In the open spaces of the West, outside of the larger cities, the Negro finds no assured place. The whites are sufficiently numerous and willing to perform all types of tasks to meet the requirements of the community. There is no disposition to share industrial opportunity with the Negro.

Mr. Villard, in his Harper's Magazine article, states that race prejudice is increasing in the North but diminishing in the South. Let North Platte and Princess Anne be the sufficient answer. One thing is obvious, and that is—both North and South are basically alike when the animosity of race is aroused.

Segregation is fostered perhaps more readily in the North than in the South, according to provocative numbers. Race prejudice in Chicago and in New Orleans acts in precisely the same way so far as concerns penning up the Negro into residential inclosures. Oscar DePriest has no more control over its determination in the Windy City than Walter Cohen has in the Crescent City.

All of these things should conspire to convince the Negro to throw off his sense of false security and to face the situation squarely as it faces him. The North is saying to the Negro—"There is no hiding place up here." He must not be discouraged or overwhelmed, but must develop an optimism which is consonant with the actualities of the situation. He must learn to utilize the winds of prejudice to propel his bark in the contrary direction as the skillful sailor manipulates the winds on the high seas.

Social Equality

By a Mississippian.

When you read the vituperations of Senators Blease, Heflin, and other representatives in the halls of Congress, relative to social equality, you would think that the Southern whites would rather be burned at the stake than to intermarry with colored people.

The facts in the case are that some of the South's leading statesmen have had two wives—legal white wife and a colored mistress, who in most cases was treated better than the legal white wife by her Senator "Daddy."

The white wife had servants and so did the colored concubine. The white wife lived in a palatial home and so did the colored mistress. The white wife carried the sons and daughters to school in her buggy, and the dear white fathers carried us to school in his buggy.

Senator Money.

Among the leading United States senators of Mississippi who had colored sons and daughters were Senator Thomas J. Money, of Warren County, whose son Tom was my playmate. Thomas, Jr., and I attended Baine's private school together.

When "Tom" finished this school at the age of sixteen, Senator Money groomed him for Harvard. It was not customary for colored girls to attend white schools in those days, so "Tom's" sister, my sweetheart, was sent to New Orleans to a colored school and was there the classmate of Mrs. Maud Miller, who is now the wife of Dr. Miller, of Detroit, Mich.

Alcorn College.

I can well remember when the battle started in Mississippi to make Alcorn a college. I think Mr. Thomas Calloway, of Maryland, was president of Alcorn then or had been a few years prior. Senator Anse J. McLaurin, who was then governor and who was later sent to the United States Senate, came to my white grandfather's undertaking establishment to get him to use his influence to have the Mississippi legislature appropriate money for Alcorn College.

I can well remember Senator McLaurin's word to "Grandpa" John: "We have got to have a good colored school in the state for our sons and daughters. I want you to help me get this thing through."

It was agreed that after I finished high school in Omaha, Neb., I should return after a couple of years in the University of Nebraska and be made president of Alcorn College.

Host of Children.

James K. Vardaman, who became infamous in Mississippi by reason of his Negrophobia, was later elected governor of the state. One of the senators died (I think McLaurin,), so Vardaman appointed LeRoy Percy of Bolivar County for the unexpired term. Percy, who was a big cotton planter and who was very rich, had a host of colored children by a colored mistress.

Percy, who loved his colored wife, took issue with Vardaman on the race question. This was his doom. Vardaman and Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina were the chief apostles of race hatred in those days. They kept the south hot with Negrophobia. When Senator Percy came up for re-election, Vardaman defeated him and sent John Sharp Williams to the senate.

During this campaign, my white second cousin came to "Grandpa" John and borrowed money to finance his campaign for Congress. He won on his platform of Negrophobia, but "Grandpa" John never would allow him to come to his home any more.

Explaining.

There have been numbers of senators and representatives in Congress who have colored common-law wives and colored sons and daughters, who had to listen to the late Senator Tillman of South Carolina, Senator Watson of Georgia, and the erstwhile James K. Vardaman rave on the race question, and later return to their respective states and say to their colored common-law wives, "Honey, you know I could not say anything lest they cause me to lose my seat."

I can well remember when I was about ten years of age, the father of one of my pals was running for governor. He raised the color question. One night when he was going to speak on the court house lawn, my pal's mother took him and two smaller sisters and occupied seats in the front row. The speech was delivered from another angle.

Psychology of Race Prejudice In Advertising

THERE has appeared in several recent issues of a local daily paper an advertisement sponsored by a group of Norfolk's less well-known laundries which bases its appeal on distinctly questionable subject matter. This is the more objectionable because they insinuate their argument for dealing with them, not upon merits which they doubtless have and undoubtedly should employ instead as advertising appeals, but upon the subtly pictured disabilities of their indirect competitors.

These indirect competitors are colored women. Evidently they are, for in several observed samples of the advertising campaign, Negro women are pictured, ill-kemp in ap-

pearance and working in none too inviting surroundings. The tenor of the advertisements runs in this manner: would you have your laundry done in such places as these, and by such women as these? The places and women obviously were not delineated so as to invite an affirmative answer.

Advertising of this sort borders dangerously near the unethical appeals a charlatan would use. Negro women have been laundresses in Virginia for over three hundred years and no dire results have come of it. To dilate upon their living standards and home environments is to criticize a situation over which they have no direct control. Where muddy streets exists, it is because the municipality ignores the wretched thoroughfare situations of a tax-paying group of its citizenry. Where unattractive apartments are built, they are built by landlords whose high rents and other living costs so burden the tenants that they cannot themselves make expenditures for independent improvements. Restricted as they are in their employment possibilities, these women often must of necessity remain laundresses on a small scale. Granted, then, the truth of the conditions painted, it is cruelly ironical to have a portion of that group which bears responsibility for the conditions to employ them in a campaign designed to displace the Negro laundresses.

On the other hand, the JOURNAL AND GUIDE seriously questions the inference of the laundry group that families having their laundry done by colored women or in colored homes are running sanitary or other risks.

The advertisements in question are far less questionable, however, in their method of appeal than some that have been used in other instances by similar groups. That indicates some regard for justice and ethics even with reference to a racial group with which neither of those principles has been brought into play often enough. And it is just this fact which leads this paper to believe that when attention is brought to the offending advertisers of the objectionable and unjustified appeals they are employing, they will use other methods, more ethical and less potent in their appeal to baser prejudices.

whites get about the same treatment as poor blacks. In the cotton mill districts of the South, where there have been strike activities recently as a protest against the 12-hour day, reduced wages and the stretch-out system, these poor whites, suddenly and painfully aware of their peon status, have revolted only to find themselves faced with mobs of well-armed deputies ready to jail or kill them. Scores of them have been beaten up and arrested, and at this time many of them are festering in Southern jails because they fought for a living wage. At least, reports lead us to think so.

This experience ought to be very enlightening to the white working population of Dixie. For long they have been led to believe that they have nothing in common with the Negro and everything in common with the rich whites, but now they know different. Many who at first opposed Negroes joining their hastily-formed unions have since seen the light. It is a rare spectacle to see Southern white and black workers speaking from the same platform in favor of industrial democracy.

Of course there will be no general overnight change of attitude on the part of these white toilers. They have been doped too long with Negrophobic propaganda for anything like that. The change, however, is bound to come. As industrialism increases in the South, the demand for collective bargaining will also increase, and with it the class struggle will come out into the open and become apparent to even the most ignorant poor white. Already the American Federation of Labor is announcing the beginning of a campaign to unionize 100 Southern textile mills. Self-preservation will dictate the organization of the blacks as well as the whites because their economic interests are identical.

The Race All Dressed Up, No Where to Go

The Afro-American is all dressed up with no place to go according to George S. Schuyler, in the current issue of the American Mercury magazine.

Schuyler says,

"There is not a single public amusement park in the late confederacy today in which Negroes are admitted. Jim crow has also poked its head into Atlantic City, Asbury Park and other northern summer resorts."

Describing the situation in Baltimore, Schuyler says,

"A Negro is simply not admitted to a white moving picture house, cabaret, restaurant, soda fountain or amusement park. In the legitimate theares, one may buy a balcony seat in the last row or last two rows.

"At the soda fountains in the five and ten-cent stores, Negroes may buy soft drinks but they are served either in paper containers — glasses for white — or they are served in glasses marked with red or blue rings in the base.

"One may not sit down at lunch counters to eat."

Jim crow of this type has steadily been on the increase since 1919, Schuyler declares.

"So long as the Negroes were satisfied with the amusement afforded by shouting the spiritual and by the Bible-beating and bench-jumping pulpit-prancing calisthenics of the sable ministry, or had desire for no higher form of recreation than passing the galloping dominoes, parking in the back room of a honky-tonk or perforating each other with blades and bullets, only a handful minded the fact that they were barred from other entertainment.

'It is different nowadays. Illiteracy has been reduced to a point where less than twenty per cent are unable to read headlines. the Negro press has grown by leaps and bounds, and three-fifths of the Africs, tired of praying to the white God without relief, have deserted the churches.

"Countless Ngroes are rationalizing the situation. In a tone of bravado some of them will even say that they do not mind, but the denial isn't convincing. Every day thousands of them have their pleasure spoiled by a curt, 'We don't serve colored people' or 'Are you looking for someone who works here?' or 'Well, what do you want?'

"The average Negro just turns away when refused, curses the entire white race under his breath, and steers his wife or sweetheart to some other place where there are better prospects."

"They will never wake up in a thousand years."

Will Not Train Them

Another wealthy merchant said, "I do not intend to train colored people in my line of business because they would then know enough about my kind of business to start one of their own and keep it going. As it is now they start in a business like mine and not knowing all of the short cuts fail before they have had their doors open a few months. As long as they are not able to gain the experience I'll never have to worry about them as competitors."

What was still more illuminating was the chance remark of one dealre who had been in the neighborhood for some years. This man in boasting that when he began he lived in the back of his store said that he now owns real estate on the Northside where he lives and is able to go to Europe when he wants because he has been able to fool those d——n fools. This man, resplendent with diamonds, told how he had purposely appeared to be poor for years, so that he would not be suspected. Now, he brazenly admits, that the pickings are too good to leave even though he is independent for life.

Yet another remarked that he had no competition in his line because he know that black people would not pass by his store to go to one conducted by one of their own race. "These people," he remarked, "really believe that I have better goods because I am a white man. I make them think my goods are better and cheaper than the man of their own race and they fall for it. All I have to do is keep them thinking that and I need not wory about that Whip. They won't keep it up long enough for the people to get stirred up about it."

Editors's Note: THE WHIP will keep up its fight for more employment on the south side until the original goal is reached—that is, thousands of colored people working in stores that sell almost exclusively to us. It is to be understood that the remarks made by many dealers, like these quoted above do not represent ALL of the merchants on the south side, but it is worth while to know what some of them think when their actions toward us prove it.

Caucasian Merchants Call Colored Patrons Fools and Laugh at Their Gullibility

BY HARRY HULL

What has turned out to be the most startling development in the investigation being conducted by The Commercial Service Employment bureau is the attitude taken by some white business men in the district when they are talking behind our backs. One of the investigators for this bureau happens to be of a color of skin such that he is easily mistaken for a Caucasian. In talking with some of these dealers he managed to get some very interesting sidelights on what some of them who are taking our dollars from us really think of us as a race.

Call Us "Fools"

It was illuminating to note that the merchants who refused to give us employment are the ones who hold us in the greatest contempt. One man, thinking that he was talking to another white man said, "We do not have to worry about what the Negro (he said 'nigger') leaders and preachers tell these fools—they won't remember it long and won't follow them anyway. I don't have to employ any of them because they do not think enough of themselves to want to be waited on by their own people. I help them keep thinking that their own cannot do for them what I can. If I took in a colored clerk I could make him feel that his own people did not want him to wait on them. He would quit and go out having a bad opinion about his own people. It's so easy to pull the wool over these N..rs' eyes that it makes me laugh.'"

When asked the question, "What if these people should get wise to what you are doing to them," he very smoothly replied,

THE EDUCATION OF POOR WHITES

FOR some few decades the poor whites in the South have been led to believe that because they happen to be of the same color as their employers the interests of the two groups are identical. They have listened attentively to the professional Negrophobes like Vardaman, Hoke Smith, Blease, Simmons and Heflin and lost no opportunities to whoop it up for white supremacy and the perpetuation of the organized avarice and stupidity that marches under the label of "peculiar Southern institutions."

Now they are beginning to wake up to the fact that when the economic interests of their employers are threatened, poor

Race Problem — 1929
United. States.

Jackson, Miss., Ledger
Thursday, July 18, 1929

NEGROES SOLVE RACE PROBLEM

Black in South Mississippi Rapidly Aiding In Development

In South Mississippi the negroes are really solving the so-called race problem as has been reported by Anselm J. Finch, Mississippi negro journalist, who has just completed a survey of negro homes in that section of the state.

The report of Finch follows:

"It seems that the philosophy of Booker T. Washington which was plainly given in his Atlanta speech, 'We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life' was met with much favor in south Mississippi by the negroes who do not live in the country as they once did with dilapidated homes and no barns for the live stock. Probably the most gratifying picture was an accurae survey made in Marion county not far from Sumrall owned almost exclusively by negroes and which is named the Watt's settlement in honor of a family of negroes who settled there with the firm determination as the world's greatest leader, 'Upon this rock I build my church and all the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

"They made no mistake as one clearly sees from their accomplishments. Other negroes have been encouraged to buy homes and since that time very little soil is going by untouched by their brawny arms. Seeing the good being done in this direction the chamber of commerce of Marion county decided to encourage the motive by giving to any negro boy or girl at least 250 chicks who would equip the surroundings with the necessary facilities, thus creating a worth-while spirit for poultry raising, Since that time (which was only a few months ago) those who took advantage of that opportunity have increased their number of chickens and the profits from the sales recently made have geen gratifying indeed.

"Probably the best all-round farm is that of Sidney Craft, who has 60 acres of cotton and no doubt the same amount of corn showing signs of prosperity. Craft was once a school teacher and has a fair knowledge of diversified farming. He too, 'cast down his bucket' and does not regret having done so. A recent sale of cucumbers from an acre plot brought him a profit of $220, and the same ground is now producing an abundance of peas. Sugar cane and potatoes also hold a conspicuous position on his farm to say the least of a variety of canned fruits and vegetables.

"Craft has been successful with the co-operation of J. H. Dean, who is the county instructor of vocational education, and to whom much credit is due, in having his two boys see the advantage of project work. Hence, one of his boys manages the modern poultry farm while the other one is making no little profit from his hog raising enterprise. This boy has discouraged the continuance of scrub sires by leading off with registered big-bone Poland China. For miles around farms are being supplied with registered pigs coming from Craft's farm which is under the supervision of his sons, ages 18 and 20 respectively.

"When asked about the exodus another leading farmer replied: "Don't say anything about any extra dust here, its been raining here all the week." In fact, they are kept so busy on their own farms they have not time to think of race friction. They believe devoutly in vocational guidance and the Booker Washington element of negro leaders. When the whites are seen in this community it is generally believed that they want to buy a pig or a chicken and as Booker Washington again said: 'Any man who has something to offer the markets of the world is not long in any degree ostracized." The negroes in Marion county have learned that to gain permanent recognition races like individuals must have something of value to offer the public in exchange. They have something to sell. They have created their own jobs and realize that the man who can make jobs is thought more of by society than the one with hat in hand begging to hire him despite what section of the country he may care to live in. They have taught the community the difference between working and being worked.

"They are happy and prosperous. The schools and churches are well supported. While in this same community the writer spent two days at a gathering with approximately 750 persons witnessing the day and evening programs, I never saw even the slightest indication of the usage of intoxicants. My suggestion to the government in spending millions of dollars to enforce prohibition through forse might be better expended for the good of all in creating better homes, better schools and churches with prepared ministers. This would do much more to raise the standard of American homes than a law placed on the statute books for people unable to appreciate its worth. Doubtless the negroes in the Watt's settlement know little of the word 'prohibition', but in truth and righteousness they have set a standard for many members of both races who are most familiar with its technicalities.

"Those who are skeptical of the negro's progress in Mississippi and what the negro is able to add to the worth of his community should take a ride through the quiet and peaceful and industrious Watt's community just a few miles out of Sumrall."

Social Equality

Dr. R. R. Moton, speaking before the National Education Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, July 1, is quoted as saying: "The Negro is not interested in what is usually described as 'social equality.'"

On the other hand, Mrs. Lou Henry Hoover's entertainment of Mrs. Oscar DePriest at tea in the White House was termed "social equality" by the legislatures of Florida, Texas, Mississippi and Georgia; and was such condemned severely by the daily press of the South.

But the *Afro-American* printed two weeks ago excerpts from editorials in twenty-five colored weeklies which showed unanimous approval of Mrs. Hoover's tea and therefore of "social equality" as defined by the white South.

In spite of the above, the Negro press and Dr. Moton are not on opposite sides of the fence, for Dr. Moton believes as firmly in "social equality" as does the *Afro-American*. Has he not eaten at the tables of hundreds of white people at Tuskegee, in the North, and abroad, and slept in their beds? If that is not "social equality," what is? Was not his appearance on the platform of the N.E.A. convention exactly what the South calls "social equality"?

"Social equality," says Dr. DuBois, "means moral, mental and physical fitness to associate with one's fellowmen. . . . Every self-respecting person does claim the right to mingle with his fellows, *if he is invited*, and to be free from insult or hindrance because of his presence."

The South has its own ideas of race superiority.

The Negro must be kept segregated and apart from the white race except where the two meet as master and servant, employer and laborer. The right to vote, to travel first-class, to hold office, to intermarry with other races, to be entertained in their homes, or in public hotels is a defiance of segregation and racial superiority.

The South lumps all of this together, calls it "social equality," and opposes it at every turn.

The *Afro-American* believes it time to quit quibbling about definition of terms. The Negro wants the same equality any other citizen has, be it race, social, economic or political. As poor as the race is, it is downright silly to emphasize things we *don't* want. Like Bert Williams's "down and outer," we need "everything from our hat down and from our overcoat in."

Press
MEMPHIS
TENNESSEE
JUL 2 1929

NEGROES WILL MEET ON RACE PROBLEMS

Forty-second annual session of the National Rural Industrial Assn., Inc., will be held in Memphis Sept. 5 to 6. Negroes from every section of the country will meet to discuss conditions confronting the negro race.

Plans to reach the homes of nine million negroes of the South with advice will be adopted. Churches, schools and other negro organizations are requested to join in the meeting.

Raleigh, N. C., News and Observer
Tuesday, July 9, 1929

DURHAM NEGRO PAPER AIRS IDEAS

Says Southern Negroes Hope For Same Things As Northern Negroes

Durham, July 8.—In an editorial entitled "No Difference," the Carolina Times, local Negro weekly with a reputedly wide circulation in North Carolina, and with its slogan, "The Truth Unbridled," sets forth in its current issue that there is no difference in the hopes of the Southern Negro and the Northern Negro. Social equality is not mentioned.

Following is the editorial content:

"In order that we might settle for once and for all a thing which apparently is about to be a serious misunderstanding, we take this opportunity to say that the hope of some of the opposite race that there is a difference of opinion and a division in the contention of Negroes of the North and South concerning things vital to the race is only a fanciful dream. There is no difference in the soul burnings, desires, hopes, or aims of the Northern and Southern Negro. The only difference that exists is the manner in which the Southern Negro, because of conditions attacks and resents the injustices. The contention for an equal opportunity and an equal amount of citizenship rights by the Northern Negro is not sectional; it is universal, and if the Negro living in the North is bitter in his denunciation and more outspoken in his contention for those things desired most for the race, his Southern brother at heart is even more so, and only because of necessity does he submit to those injustices.

"No human being can be satisfied in the South with its lynching, its deplorable school system, its despisable treatment of Nebro laborers—an example of which was shown when Negro brickmasons were driven from their jobs in the city of Mount Airy by one of its pious ministers of the gospel.

"The greatest misunderstanding that is going to be made in the South is the White Man's misinterpretation of the play being enacted by the Negroes in the South, the art of which has been promoted by necessity. So, there is no difference, but a most profound understanding that exists in the soul of the most ignorant in the backwoods plantation of Mississippi or Georgia, and the most radical Northern Negro."

The Week

Who's Tragic?
Why Not?
Cowards
This Is Modesty

G. PEYTON WERTENBAKER, a southern white man, secure in his eminent position of being white, writes in the July American Mercury that the educated "Negro" is a tragic thing because he has been taught just enough to make him cognizant of the things that he can't get. He pictures your educated members as the Moses who was led up to the Promised Land, allowed to look therein but refused entrance.

Immediately Heywood Broun, astute columnist with the New York Telegram, comes back with his side of the question.

"After all," says Mr. Broun, "a Negro who has had the privilege of outdistancing his white rivals in the classroom and of shaking the very teeth of Nordic half-backs upon the gridiron cannot possibly be humiliated by having Caucasian supremacy dangled in front of him. No Negro is truly a tragic figure merely because some white man informs him of inferiority. He becomes tragic only if he believes it. But the skeptics are hourly increasing. It is a curiously simple game which the southern white has played upon the Negro. By main force he holds the black man's head close to earth and then he says: 'See, you are a member of an in-

ferior race, and I can prove it to you by pointing out to you that you insist upon holding your nose in the dirt.'"

And so the friendly debate goes on. The sympathetic southern white thinks we are tragic, and the sympathetic northern white knows we are laughing at our superior brothers. It's a great game if you don't weaken, and the debate certainly makes fine newspaper and magazine copy. You ought at least be happy that you can provoke a discussion between your good white folks, and in a small measure, cause them to disagree between themselves.

THE New York Evening Post, once most liberal and progressive newspaper in New York, deplores the fact that Congressman Oscar DePriest of Chicago has appointed a young man to the United States Military academy at West Point.

Everyone knows that they (meaning your boys) cannot command white troops. Their opportunity for real service in the army or navy is nonexistent.

And why, you should like to know? Why can't you command white boys? Why is your opportunity for service nonexistent in the army or navy?

The Post has gone a long way from the paths its founder laid for it. Never could such an editorial have appeared in its columns when Oswald Garrison Villard was at the editorial helm. It seems that some one has blundered. The above statements are as foreign to the real Post as the Catholic creed would be to a Kluxer. They just do not seem to fit.

In the meantime, as to whether your boys can command white boys, we'll just wait and see. There will yet come a humbling influence over this land, and America will learn that color of skin is not the most important thing in life. That is our prophesy.

HAD the Senegalese soldier who recently preferred death by drowning in France to immodesty been an American, this story probably would not have been written. But you see, there is some real modesty left in the world in spite of the inroads of civilization.

Pieolu, the native of Africa who had made his residence in France, was swimming in the River Tarne, near Paris. Since there was on one in his vicinity when he decided to go in he neglected the formality of a bathing suit. While he was in the river some French men and women came along. They jeered the African when they saw him. They stood on the bank of the river waiting for him to come to shore. He went under, seeking to keep himself from view. His strength gave out and he went to the bottom. Even today French people in the neighborhood of the Tarne searching for this man's body remember him as an unusual person. They can't understand him.

Isn't this a contrast between civilization and savagery? Do you remember the famous champagne bath in New York in which a young white girl allowed herself to be stripped and seated in a bathtub of champagne while guests at a party drank the liquor from the tub? Of course, the man who gave the party was sent to prison; not for this reason, but because he had enough modesty left when questioned to deny the facts. But the white girl not only has not denied it, but went on a theatrical tour on the strength of her immodesty. And many other American people paid good money to see her after that trial. That's civilization.

THERE can be no respect for the hundreds of people who packed their bags and crawled out of North Platte, Neb., and Princess Anne, Md., over the last week-end because some hoodlums of another complexion ordered them to get out. You must be heartily ashamed of your folk who lack even the guts to stand their ground in protection of their home and hearth.

Every form of law from the time of Moses through the Greek, Roman and common law of Great Britain has given man the right to protect his home. His home is his castle, say these laws, and the man who does not defend his castle is less than a man. Yet, when a group of white rowdies in seeking revenge for some real or fancied wrong, decides that it can with impunity drive whole colonies of residents from their home, it is acting without sanction of law and without authority.

You might do well to remember that the worm is more abused than the snake. Where people and other animals do not love the snake they respect its ability to protect itself, and they govern themselves accordingly. But the poor worm—why, even the harmless bird defies this animal. If you can't win both love and respect, take the latter and let the love go hang. But remember in running you win neither love nor respect. You do earn the everlasting contempt of your neighbors and place a wreath of thorns upon the brows of those who must follow you.

RECORD
COLUMBIA, S. C.
JUL 8 1929

Crumbling Color Line.

Oswald Garrison Villard writes in *Harper's* for July an article on "The Crumbling Color Line," which misses the real point about as far as did an elder Garrison in pre-Confederate War times, and misses it with an overweening zeal that knows no possibility of error, and vicious condemnation of all opposition that does great harm to the cause which his unwisdom would advocate.

He begins by telling of the attitude towards the Negro problem of Walter H. Page, who was none too wise in his generation and in whom there was a streak of disloyalty that leaves a yellow thread through his memorials. He tells how Mr. Page today, if he were alive, would rejoice in the liberal sentiments of the University of North Carolina, which is accentuated by its having a Northern man at its head. Why the University of South Carolina had a Northern man at its head. Why the University of South Carolina had a Northern man as its president one hundred years ago, and a he was well nigh run out of the North, and Northern man of such liberal sentiments that whose sentiments today are probably quoted more frequently than those of any other president the institution has ever had.

He then proceeds to tell of incidents in which the Negroes are receiving Christian fellowship, and notes these as evidences of the crumbling of the color line. Does he know that before the Confederate War Negroes were members of white churches, sat at the same communion table and received the same spiritual ministrations? They remained members of the white churches until the Negroes themselves withdrew and joined their own churches. He tells of how recently a white minister asked for appointment to a Negro church. Why, sixty years ago the most eloquent and one of the most learned of Southern Presbyterian preachers, Dr. John H. Girardeau preached regularly to Negro congregations, and one of the most spiritually minded men who ever lived in South Carolina, Archdeacon E. N. Joyner did his work among the Negro congregations of the Protestant Episcopal church, under that distinguished and universally beloved Bishop and Confederate General Ellison Capers.

All of the nobler things which Mr. Villard is noting have always existed in the South. In some variations of them, expression of them are freer, and freer because of lessening of misunderstandings, and lessened dangers from their exercise.

When he cites the attendance at the concerts given by Roland Hayes, the Negro singer, as an example of the crumbling of the color line, he shows his ignorance of conditions, and consequently the error of his conclusions. The attendance by white people upon Roland Hayes were as nothing to those upon Blind Tom fifty years ago, and not nearly as enthusiastic. When he speaks of the funeral of Florence Mills in Harlem, again he shows his ignorance. The attendance upon the funeral of Wade Hampton was greater, the greatest in the history of Columbia, but there never has been another larger in attendance, or in respect shown, all stores closed, all bells tolled, than at the funeral of Uncle Jaggers, a humble Christian but dignified Negro minister who had done God's service for many years in this community.

The people who are shocked at lynchings are doubly shocked in the South as compared with those in the North, shocked at the crime, and shocked at the disgrace to their section. *Tu quoque* arguments do not go for much. But lynchings have been more nearly suppressed in the South than gangster murders in the North.

Again he is wrong when he tells of the regrets at migration of Negroes from the South. There is nothing that has been a greater blessing to the South, a greater salvation to the South, permitting freedom of action, liberality of expression, and greater development. It it will but continue the South will indeed be free, and from it will come greater liberty of action for whites and blacks, more rapid advancement for the Negroes, and more rejoicings in it by the Villard in their self-righteousness and pride

It is just such men as Oswald Garrison Villard in their sub-righteousness and pride of opinion, in this and preceding generations, who have caused bloodshed, and hatreds and proved to be stumbling blocks in progress and goodfellowship. There is no crumbling color line and there should not be. Neither race for its own intergrity should desire it, and those who advocate it have misconspetions.

Race Problem – 1929

United States.

THE MIRROR

By C. F. RICHARDSON

* * * *

RESOLUTIONS FOR WHAT?
NEGROES AND CRIMINALITY
HOUSTON'S NEGRO INFLUX
ANOTHER NORDIC RAPIST
CITING FROM THE RECORDS
FIERY FIRE FUNCTIONARY

Writing in a recent issue of the Houston Press, Editor M. E. Foster (Mefo), after informing the Houston Negroes that their race had been disgraced by the recent alleged criminal attacks upon white women here by Negroes, suggested that local blacks "call meetings of your brotherhoods, your associations and your churches and put forth ringing resolutions condemning the ghouls of your color who committed these acts."

What right have the Houston Negroes to pull off such a stunt, when it has not been proven that a Negro attacked the woman in question, and who has empowered the editor of this local daily newspaper to sit as judge, jury and executioner in this case ever before the culprit is arrested, or ever before it has been proven that an attack actually took place?

Negroes have nothing to do with the law-making bodies and law-enforcing agencies of this state, nor are they heard when they protest against the crime breeders and vice dens which men of other races, as well as the Negro race, maintain and operate as contributory causes to much of the Negro delinquency and criminality.

We wonder if the good editor knows that there are many such places doing a thriving business within a stone's throw of the city hall; and that many Negro gamblers, bootleggers and dodgers of honest toil have better standing and can often get more consideration from some of our leading white people than some of the leading Negro business and professional men?

* * * * *

Negroes do not condone crime, not even among their own people, but they are loathe to rush into print and condemn and convict some unknown black man accused of a crime; for the Negro has learned that often when some one yells "Wolf" the animal is very conspicuous by his absence.

Bestiality and criminality are not confined to any one race or people, yet it is a fact that much of the criminality charged at the door of the Negro race, even in Houston, could be reduced if the officers would padlock these joints which are so prolific in producing criminals.

It is preposterous and absurd to permit Negroes to raise hades among themselves and with each other, and then expect these hades-raisers to confine all their depredations and hell-raising to members of their own race. Neither crime nor disease is any respecter of persons or races!

The conductor of this column is as anxious as any person in Houston to see the guilty culprits arrested, given a fair trial and, if proven guilty, assessed the penalty which the law provides for such horrible and unspeakable crime; and this view is shared by every right-thinking, law-abiding Negro in Houston and elsewhere.

* * * * *

Houston has grown by leaps and bounds within the last decade and in its phenomenal growth and expansion thousands of Negroes have gravitated to this city—some good, some bad, some indifferent.

Yet during all this municipal growth Houston has done practically nothing to improve the living and recreational conditions among its large Negro population—the largest of any city in the state.

Where Negro men or youth have been accused of criminally outraging Negro girls, as in the case where whites have been accused of attacking white girls, they have either received light sentences or escapd punishment, under the Southern philosophy that "they are only 'niggers' and what difference does it make!"

It was inevitable that the pendulum would swing in the opposite direction ere long, and, while we can not pass judgment upon any one for his part in these alleged attacks at this stage of the game, we are against criminals of all sorts, whether black or white rapist.

* * * * *

Since the editorial referred to above was written by Mefo, a white youth was arrested by two county officers near Camp Logan Park, last Friday morning, trying to take advantage of a young white girl; her screams attracting the officers, who rushed to the scene with guns drawn to kill a "black, burly brute" and discovered to their amazement and chagrin, that it was a member of the "superior" race trying to ravage a member of the same race.

Perhaps it is a good thing that this white youth was apprehended literally in the act, for had he been able to escape another criminal attack might have been laid at the door of some fiendish black ghoul.

The white citizens of Houston know that the vast majority of local Negroes do not condone such attacks, and there is absolutely no need or necessity of Negroes holding condemnation meetings; for the vicious act of one Negro does not any more represent the bulk of honest and law-abiding Negroes than the recent act of the 43-year-old Dallas white man, who criminally outraged his 15-year-old daughter, is typical of the white race.

We hope our position is clear in this matter: We are against both criminals and crime, but we can not subscribe to the mobocratic sentiment in such reported attacks that nabs some black man, tries and lynches him before he has had a chance to establish his innocence; for the records prove that many innocent Negroes have been mobbed, hanged, electrocuted and assessed prison sentences for crimes they never committed—just because some white girl or woman charged that she was attacked by some "big, black, burly Negro."

Anent the Houston "attack case," why has it been dropped, since some late developments, like a torrid brisk?

Were bloodhounds put on the trail of the alleged "black beast?"

If these dogs were employed, what were the results?

Did they follow the trail to any nearby house occupied by whites?

Why not give the public some more facts in this case, Mr. Press Editor?

Did the examination of the attending physician disclose where the woman had been criminally outraged?

* * * * *

A few years ago this city was thrown into excitement by the charge of a young white woman that a Negro attacked her on the premises of a home in Montrose, and an arrest was made. One daily newspaper carried the picture of the victim of the alleged attack and gave in detail her version of the outrage; but when a thorough investigation was made of the incident, it proved to be a hoax.

The case of Luther Collins, local Negro youth, is still fresh in the minds of Houstonians of both races, and if the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had not employed an able white lawyer (Judge John M. Mathis, Sr.) and fought the case, another innocent Negro would have been dead and forgotten—legally lynched by the courts of Harris County for a crime he never committed; in fact, for a "crime" which was never in reality perpetrated!

Suppose in both of these cases the Negroes had held condemnation and pre-trial conviction meetings. The outcome of the "attacks" would have placed all participating in such gatherings in the role of blockheads, jackasses and pussyfooters.

There are Negro rapists, we admit, but the mere making of the charge and recital of details do not presuppose that the allegation is always founded on truth and actual facts; for Coffeyville, Kansas, was almost thrown into the throes of a race riot by a reported criminal attack upon a white girl by the usual "burly black," but later she admitted that it was a hoax, and that her white male companion failed to satisfy her financial desires after a wild party and she conceived the attack story.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, had one of the most sanguinary race riots in the history of the South, all because the papers "played up" a criminal attack upon a white elevator operator by a "black, burly Negro;" but after the city had regained its composure and the case was investigated it was proven that no attack had even been attempted, and the girl in question denied that she had even been approached by any Negro.

We could cite numerous cases, but what's the use? Let's wait and see the trend that the various rape cases (six reported here already during 1929: four where all the principals were white and two where the assailants were said to be Negroes and the victims white) take here, and if any Negroes are desired as special officers to assist the city and county officers to apprehend the culprits, or to serve as members of the trial juries when the culprits are brought before the bar of justice, it is our guess that there are thousands of Houston Negroes who will be more than willing to serve in either capacity and see that justice is done in the matter.

* * * * *

According to reports appearing in two of the daily newspapers, Houston's new fire commissioner created quite a disturbance last Saturday night, striking a Negro several blows in order to inform the black that he was "a white man;" also hitting at a police officer who sought to restrain him for striking the Negro, and then of trying to run his automobile over another police officer in front of the police station, after said officer had arrested the fiery, fightin' fire commissioner for an alleged violation of a traffic ordinance.

If this is the calibre of men who must direct administrative affairs in Houston for the next biennium; whether as "citizen" or "commissioner," if this community is to be treated to such alleged antics and disturbances on the part of its elective officials, then we can look forward to some wild events in this city; for even the bellicose fire commissioner may strike the wrong Negro, or hit at the wrong officer, or endeavor to drive his car over the wrong policeman, and then "faw down and go boom!"

We can hardly conceive of a man holding such a high municipal post, in a city like Houston, pulling off the reckless stunts charged against this city commissioner; and if the charges are true, he should be tried like any other violator of the law and suffer the consequences of his deeds or misdeeds.

Thus far, taking the present city administration by and large and even giving them every benefit of the doubt, it begins to appear as if the white Democrats of Houston did not improve local conditions much by changing the city administration; for whatever might have been said of the former administration, we never heard of any commissioner going about the city "jumping on" Negroes and trying to assault police officers with his fists and automobile.

We suggest that the fiery, fightin' fire functionary reserve some of his surplus energy and pep to tackle some of the weighty problems now facing the city council, as well as those which will be submitted later.

LEADER
St. Valley Ga
JUN 27 1929

Tribute to Southern Negroes

The Chattanooga News notes the return of many of the southern negroes from their temporary residence in the north, where they were lured by the prospect of higher wages, but found that expenses consumed nearly everything they made and left them in poorer condition than they were before they were lured to the north where they had to endure the discomforts of rigid cold weather and very few comforts. "One of them who returned to Washington county stated that he did not want any more of the north, and he intended applying for a job on a farm and would ask his boss man to give him the longest mule he could furnish, as he preferred farming to any job that he could obtain in the north," says the Sandersville Progress. The News reproduces Henry Grady's fine tribute to the ante-bellum negro, which is as follows:

"History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the South during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety, and the unprotected homes rested in peace. Unmarshaled, the black battalions moved patiently to the fields in the morning to feed the armies their idle-

ness would have starved, and at night gathered anxiously at the big house to "hear the news from marster," though conscious that his victory made their chains enduring. Everywhere humble and kindly; bodyguard of the little ones; the observant friend; the silent sentry in his lowly cabin; the shrewd counselor; and when the dead came home, a mourner at the open grave. A thousand torches would have disbanded every southern army, but not one was lighted. When the master, going to a war in which slavery was involved, said to his slave, "I leave my home and loved ones in your charge," the tenderness between man and master stood disclosed. And when the slave held that charge sacred through storm and temptation, he gave new meaning to faith and loyalty. I rejoice that when freedom came to him after years of waiting, it was all the sweeter because the black hands from which the shackles fell were stainless of a single crime against the helpless ones confided to his care."

Dawson, Ga., News
Tuesday, June 18, 1929

N NEWS

A Court Room Scene.

Judge W. B. Jones in Montgomery Advertiser.

Those of us who preside over your courts witness many scenes as the years come and go, and not all these scenes are happy ones. Many of them, such as this one, make your heart sad:

Over there in the corner of the court room sits, in the place reserved for prisoners, an old negro farmer who has never been in trouble before. He has worked hard all his life, his face is seamed, his hands are calloused, his shoulders are bowed and the reward of his labors has been just a bare living—not more. He is still in debt to his landlord. Crops had been poor, boll weevils had been active, prices had been bad, all the gamblers' chances which farmers have to take had broken against him, so he made a little "white lightnin," knowing the good price it would bring, figuring he'd make one "run," get enough to pay his pressing debts and then quit. But the "law" (as the negroes out in the country beats call the officers) swooped down upon him, caught him running a small still, and now the great state, of which he had been a hard working, law abiding citizen for over sixty years, has said through its courts that the old man is a felon—has classed him with murderers and thieves—and has written it in the big books that five years in the penitentiary wouldn't be too much punishment for the old man, even on his first offense.

The judge has done the best he could for the old darkey. He has given him a fair trial and the lowest sentence, and there the prisoner sits, a year and a day at Kilby before him. They are about to take him back to the county jail across the street, in front of which waits the penitentiary van with its black sides.

The Widow's Mite.

And now a poor old illiterate darkey, her hands hardened by years of toil in the field, her black face ineffably sorrowful, leaves the little brood of six or seven pickaninnies who surround her, and whose mother she is. Fearfully and tremblingly she makes her way to her "ole man," for what to her and the little pickaninnies will be a long, long farewell. And as you sit on the bench and see the sorrow and the sadness of the little old woman, and wonder how she is going to keep bread in those seven hungry mouths and clothes on the backs of that little helpless family you see her dig into her breast, pull out a faded and dirty old bandanna handkerchief, empty into her husband's hand a few small silver coins, perhaps two or three dimes and a nickel, all the money she has; and then silently she makes her way back to her seat in the court room. The officers come and take the old man out, the little pickaninnies hover close about the mother, mercifully too young to know what it's all about. . . . Another sad scene is stamped forever on your memory, and you thank God that He sent One into the world to tell men who deal with the poor and lowly: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me!

STUDY THE CONSTITUTION.

A few weeks ago Representative Oscar DePriest of Illinois urged the members of his race to study the Constitution of the United States. This advice to study the laws governing the Nation was coupled with the injunction to support only those candidates for Congress who are willing to support every section and amendment to the Constitution. To make this study feasible, the Chicago Congressman announced his intention to send out ten thousand copies of the organic law, which he had ordered printed at his own expense, for distribution among his people.

That Representative DePriest has sound reasons for his reliance upon the Constitution as the bulwark of manhood rights in this country, was attested by several rulings handed down by the Federal Courts last week. These decisions included the upholding of the rights of Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries in Virginia and also the use of the name and insignia of the "Ancient Egyptian Arabian Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine," in Texas.

The first ruling in the United States District Court at Richmond followed the Texas case, decided by the Supreme Court some months ago. It strikes a blow to the disfranchisement of the Negro in Virginia, and affirms the right of Negroes to divide their votes and have them counted for either party. The white primary is the place where Southern elections are decided, the regular voting at the polls being merely a confirmation of that result. Hence the importance of this Virginia decision, along the same lines as those of the Texas case.

The case of the Shriners has been long drawn out, having started in 1918, when the white Shriners secured an injunction against the Negro Masons, which the Supreme Court now overrules on the ground that there was no evidence of fraudulent intent on the part of the Negro order, and that the obvious and long continued lapses on the part of the white order barred it from asserting any exclusive right to the title and insignia. As we said when this suit first came up from Texas, it seems the height of absurdity for the white Texans to claim any exclusive right to array themselves in oriental trappings and hold forth as ancient Egyptians or Arabians, when these roles could be so much more appropriately played by the Shriners of darker hue, who looked more at home in crossing the desert sands, wearing a fez of brilliant hue. But the court has decided that such honors must be common to both races.

The most important thing about these decisions is that the implicit faith that the race has reposed in the power of the Constitution seems about to be vindicated in the matters of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as exemplified in the important matters of voting, segregation and becoming a Shriner. These are all things that enter largely into the development of the race, and none of them should be ignored.

Representative DePriest's advice to study the Constitution is sound and should be followed. Our people should know their rights, but the matter must not stop there. Knowing their rights, they must appeal to the courts to secure them and their plea will be answered, as we may see by these recent decisions. In this day of reliance upon the fundamental law of the nation for the protection of all life and property, the rights of the Negro can no longer be ignored. Knowing his rights, he must proceed along the proper lines to secure them.

TELLS OF USURY ENSLAVEMENT OF NEGRO IN SOUTH

Governor Roosevelt Deplores Unfair Financial Dealings

WARM SPRINGS, Ga, May 30.—Deploring the widespread practice of usury Governor Roosevelt of New York told the following story about a colored American at the annual convention of the Credit Union League meeting here.

Sought To Buy Home

"I want to refer to an incident that happened to me when I was here a few years ago. An old Negro up here in the mountains, an aged faithful old Negro, who had brought up a large family of children and was a good Negro, as my investigation showed, was working for wages as a farmhand. He was a tenant former all his life, and finally he got a chance to buy a little place on the side of the mountain. It was to cost $400. About $10 an acre.

"The Negro, of course, didn't have the money, but he was a wage earner and had saved a little, so he went to various people around here and tried to borrow the difference between his cash payment of $100, the $300 loan to be secured by mortgage.

Wanted 14 Per Cent

"The best he could do with the banks or individuals was 14 per cent interest. He decided this was pretty high, something unusual, and I did a thing which I have never regretted, although it was the talk of this vicinity for some time.

"At that time money rates were low and about all you could get on good bonds or for good mortgage was around 5 or 6 per cent. The old Negro came to me and he said 'Will you lend me $300 secured by a mortgage on the farm?'

I had investigated and found he could do would be about 10 per cent, as that was all he could afford was deserving, and I said, 'Yes, I to pay; and I said, 'Well, suppose find that your record is good and you could get it for 6 per cent;' and you are an honest old soul and I am going to let you have it.'

"'Well,' he said 'How much would the interest be?' And when I asked him how much he thought he ought to pay, he said that the best he could do would be about 10 per afford suppose him almost paid off now."

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

THE STAMPEDE

When scores of people were crushed and maimed in the milling and jamming at the Chicago Coliseum last Monday night it was to be expected that many of the addled-brained protagonists of race prejudice would cry out race riot. There was no riot at the Coliseum. It is true that a prize fight between a white and black man was in progress but the white people were almost to the man pulling for the badly battered bronzed scrapper. It was a good natured crowd and when some unexplained disorder threw the house into a stampede and uproar the incensed spirit of peace and order shrieked out that mixed bouts should be banned.

This writer holds that fisticuffs and fights are to be expected whenever gladiators try their strength in the roped arena. Whites will fight among themselves as will blacks and they will fight each other upon slight provocation but these are individual disorders and by no means take on enough importance to be described as race riots.

What happened at the Coliseum could happen in any public place when some sudden upheavals occur. Humanity will stampede in theaters, churches and in private homes. It was the thought of fire and falling timber that caused the regrettable casualties but no race riots. Mixed bouts may be banned but stampedes will break out as long as human nature runs wild when danger from unknown and unseen sources threaten.

Wanted: A Leader For The Masses

The Negro masses suffer from a scarcity of intelligent and sympathetic leadership. There is not one agency nor a single individual to whom the Man-in-the-Street can turn for understanding and beneficial guidance.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dr. Alain Locke are leaders of the intellect. The N.A.A.C.P. offers no solution to the everyday problems of the Negro laborer. Marcus Garvey offers the only program in America designed to appeal to the masses and his ideas are of no benefit to the black man who would remain in America, his native land.

Yet there are those who strive to lead. They will tell you that the Negro will not have leaders. Such men eventually become bitter, disillusioned, and unmeasurably cynical regarding the race's future. Rebuffs beat them down.

The black laborer will tell you that he has no leaders, that he has to struggle alone against his problems. He cries to the stars for intelligent guidance. And he, too, eventually becomes bitter, disillusioned, and unmeasurably cynical regarding the race's future.

Why, then, the cry on the one hand of no masses to lead and on the other hand of no leaders to follow?

A lack of understanding and of confidence is the answer. He who has the qualifications of intelligence and ability has obtained them at a loss of contact with the black masses. He forgets the things in which they are most interested: making a living and enjoying life unmolested. He aims at those things that appeal to only a few.

The man of color soon loses confidence. He is not the child the educated man of his own race pictures him. He looks, and he sees many of the so-called leaders selling out to the white politician and it sickens him. He believes that they are not really seeking racial advancement but instead want to use him to line their own pocketbooks with gold.

Some claim that at present there is no need for a great national leader. They claim that the plantation laborer in Alabama does not have the same problems to face as the Harlemite. They say that sectionalism has developed many types of Aframericans and that geographical differences make national leadership impossible.

Such a conclusion is wrong. The problem that the Negro faces all over the country is the one of segregation and discrimination. It rears its head in Chicago as well as in a country hamlet in Georgia. It varies only in intensity. The Negro laborer in Mississippi is discriminated against. The worker in Philadelphia is denied many jobs because of his color. They limit the residential areas of New Orleans colored families. There are organizations in Detroit for the sole purpose of keeping all Negroes confined to a few districts. An attempt to expand may be met in Florida with a lynching. It may be met in the north with a bombing.

There is a need for a leader broad enough or for an organization big enough to get down and fight the everyday battles of the everyday Negro. And such an individual or group must cast aside all patronizing methods and shun the gold of politicians

DuBois and Stoddard

Under the auspices of the Chicago Forum a debate was recently conducted in Chicago between Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dr. Lothrop Stoddard on the subject: "Shall the Negro be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality?"

A report of the affirmative address delivered by Dr. DuBois shows that unlike his opponent, he was very informal in approaching the question. For this informality he have no criticism. We are concerned only with the subject, the arguments, and the men who presented them.

Looking at the subject as presented we say at once that it was not a debatable one; and Dr. DuBois himself proved it by his futile efforts to define "Cultural Equality," the most important term involved. As applied to the general merit of individual men, races and nations such a term is inherently undefinable, just as is that trite and worn out term "equal opportunities." He is reported to have essayed a definuition of the term in this way: "Just what do you mean by equality? And what is cultural equality? . . . . I am going to try to take the broad common-sense view of what these words mean. By equality you mean not only the identical, not exactly the same thing, but equal gifts to culture and from culture. By culture you mean that sort of thing that you call civilization." Stripped of all verbal fringes, the definition of our eminent and versatile leader runs thus: "By **equality** you mean . . **equal gifts**," etc. Where is the definition?

Now, that's delicious nonsense! And we are not going to call it anything else because Dr. DuBois said it. The pity is that he should have said it on so important an occasion.

No man will ever know just when and how the opportunities or culture of any one man, race or nation equals, in a general sense, that of any other, for these are things that cannot be measured. That is the reason for the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. If we are debating general standards of special gifts the question, of course presents a different angle.

The arguments of Dr. DuBois that the Negro should be encouraged, and, therefore, left unhampered to seek the advantages of a common civilization will be heartily applauded by all rationally-minded men. His analysis of the methods of the Nordics in breaking down their own moral standards by that lack of self-control of which they have made weaker peoples their victims; their program of legislative protection and legal safeguards, placed Dr. Stoddard on a defensive which he has not yet met. Stoddard's arguments that the Negro is a victim of delusion since the Civil War raises this pertinent question: Has the Negro, by his achievements, so far, proved his ability to avail himself of, and to appropriate the advantages of the common civilization of which he is a part? If so how can he be deluded? If not, what have his achievements in this civilization proved? We suspect that he would not ask Boaz or Herskovits for an answer.

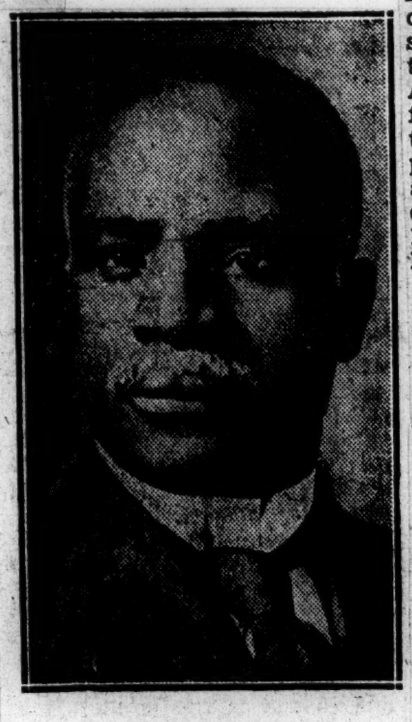
Despite the weakness of Dr. Stoddard's position, however, we are not satisfied that DuBois destroyed it as much as it could and should have been destroyed.

The acceptance of the invitation, or the challenge (we don't know which) to debate shows the very high premium which DuBois himself places on himself as a versatile leader of the Negro race. A leader more clever in the arts of humility would have exercised far better grace by suggesting either a finished platform speaker, such as Dr. Mordecai Johnson, or that celebrated master of logic and English, Professor Kelly Miller.

DuBois has yet to learn that he is a master of the pen—not of the platform.

Who Is a Negro?

By KELLY MILLER



— Kelly Miller —

THE best definition which I have been able to devise of a Negro is any who would be jim-crowed in Virginia. More comprehensively, a Negro may be defined as a non-white person of African descent. All such definitions must be based upon common observation and acceptance. There can be no scientific or legal definition that will hold water. The judgment depends wholly upon individual observation. Blood composition cannot be definitely determined.

A good but sensitive lady friend of mine expressed the hope that the Fact-Finding Conference at Durham did not brand its participants as Negroes. "What," I rejoined, "should they call themselves?"

"Americans," came the quick and self-satisfying reply.

But, I insisted, Americans are divided into various groups with appropriate designations for a multitude of reasons. Some groups we can characterize by the geographical location from which they were derived, such as the Italian, the Greek and the German. Others are designated by cultural ri[illegible] such as the Jew, the Catholic, etc. In some instances geography and race are connotative, as with the Chinese and the Japanese.

The Afro-Americans, a century ago, preferred to be called "Africans," as witnessed by the African Methodist Church. Single structures were described by geographical names as the First African Church of Philadelphia, or the Abyssinian Church of New York. Such designation today would be more offensive to the fastidious than the detested term Negro.

The term Negro has become so firmly fixed in our language and expression that one can hardly see how it can ever be eradicated, however much it may be objected to. It is used by every writer and speaker, white and black, who uses the language powerfully and persuasively. It does not carry with it necessarily reproachful significance. It is necessary to use some descriptive terms separating the so-called Negro from the general body of American citizens.

The race, so-called, constitutes the most distinctive group into which our population is divided. Various synonymic terms are in vogue: "Colored" serves the purpose in some applications; "Afro-American" in others; at least one journal suggests the use of "race men."

All attempts to omit the word Negro from discussion of the problem which his presence constitutes is but verbal gymnastics, leading from nowhere and to nowhere. In some applications the term is imperative to give forcefulness and meaning. How else would one describe the 'Negro Year Book" or "The Journal of Negro History"?

I have heard serious and sincere persons express the belief that all of the evils of the group grew out of the fact that they were called "Negroes." Change the name and you improve the status. It is hard for me to respect this view, although some highly respectable people entertain it. It has ordinarily seemed to me to be a waste of while to quibble over the senilities of race nomenclature. There used to be a floating saying in South Carolina, "You may call me what you please, since you call me in time for dinner." This, of course, implies that no insulting meaning is conveyed by the epithet.

The several Southern states have their own legal definition of a Negro. In most instances, it includes all persons of African descent to the extent from one-sixteenth to sixteenth-sixteenths of African blood. And yet there is found nowhere any exact blood tester to determine the prescribed proportion. Evidently, it cannot be ascertained from the putative parents nor from physical appearance. It all depends upon guesswork and haphazard.

For many reasons, social and sociological, it is highly desirable that we be able to fix the racial placement of an individual. But I do not believe that any legal distinctions among American citizens should be based upon race and color. Just so long as the states insist in imposing such invidious distinction, just so long should the disadvantaged group embarrass the courts to fix a scientifically ascertained discriminant.

Who is a Negro? How does the jury know but that any given person of color has the requisite quota of white blood? What right have the authorities to make an unintelligent conductor a judge of ethnological values?

I see that Louis Marshall has injected this troublesome query into the instance of segregation in a case now on its way to the Supreme Court. The court of last resort will probably dodge the definition. There is no possible excuse for the Federal government to make race and color distinctions among citizens. Whatever color justifications the states with heavy non-white contingencies may feel they have for setting up these distinctions, the general government is under no such pressure. The element under discussion constitutes less than ten per cent of the total population.

The Federal government does not deal with the intimate social and personal relations of its citizens, but mainly with those broad and general features which apply to all alike, The Federal government cannot afford to set up separate cars, separate schools and separate residential areas for the different racial varieties within its borders. In so doing it stultifies its high pretensions of the equal protection of the law, which can only mean the identical protection of the law for all citizens.

It will be interesting to watch the sparring match between Mr. Marshall and the Supreme Court over the issue—"Who is a Negro?" I predict a skillful piece of judicial dodging.

Are Congressmen Above Constitution?

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, —(C. N. S.)—On the eve of the opening of the special session of Congress, called for April 15, one local paper with an appropriate cartoon propounds the following questions:

"How sacred is the Constitution to Congress?"

Isn't the fourteenth amendment to the federal Constitution just as SACRED, just as BINDING upon Congress as the eighteenth amendment?

The Constitution declares that representatives shall be apportioned every ten years, but since 1911 Congress has DELIBERATELY VIOLATED both the letter and spirit of this mandate.

Instead of setting an example in obedience to the organic law of the land, Congress FLAUNTS it openly and then wonders why others show a contempt or disregard for other parts of the Constitution.

Some states have more representatives than they are by law entitled to; others are deprived of their rightful representation. And all because some congressmen might lose their jobs if reapportionment were passed.

Reapportionment has been waiting since 1911 at the doors of Congress. There he sits, forlorn, forsaken, forgotten, as Winsor McCay pictures him while his ears hum with speeches about the "sacredness of the eighteenth amendment."

Some of those who shout loudest when the eighteenth amendment is mentioned are quite mum when the fourteenth is brought up.

Are congressmen above the Constitution and a law unto themselves?

POST
CINCINNATI, O.
APR 9 1929

The Negro Problem

THE negro problem is not really one problem but a large set of puzzles, all connected with one another. If, for instance, the negro health problem is discussed it is found that more negroes are dying of tuberculosis than any other group of people in the city. Then when it is asked, "How is this tuberculosis death rate to be reduced?" the problem comes to the matter of negro housing. Tuberculosis kills many negroes because of the slums in which many negroes are obliged to live.

And when it is asked, "How is the negro to be rescued from the slums? Who will build decent habitations for him?" There is no answer.

Negro education is a problem that has occupied the best minds and this city is providing the negro with educational facilities as good as any in the land. But now it is asked, "What is the negro to do with his education? We educate him for a good job, but where is the job? He goes to seek employment adequate to his education and all doors of opportunity are closed against him. How may we provide opportunities for the negro?" But there is no answer.

Many white men have been working on the negro's problems, but seldom is the negro himself consulted. It is becoming evident that the white man is not going to save the negro and, perhaps, the negro himself can be organized to work out his own salvation.

Since there are no opportunities for educated negro boys and girls in the white man's commerce and industry, it may be possible for the negro himself to build commerce and industry within his own group. Ought there not be a survey to determine just what industries and businesses the negro population could sustain here and what financial assistance can be given to such enterprises?

A step in the right direction has been made by City Manager Sherrill, who has appointed a committee of representative negroes to work with the Public Welfare Department on negro problems. From such co-operation will develop negro leadership which has been sorely lacking and from this leadership may come the initiative that is needed before the negro may commence to build here a life that shall be independent of the favor of the grudging white man.

Race Problem - 1939.
United States.

Publisher Denies Prejudice Against Negro Writers

Only Interested in Good Books, Declares Guinzburg

NEW YORK, July 25.—Speaking to a group of representative Negroes and summer students at the 135th Street Library here tonight, Harold K. Guinzburg, President of The Viking Press, a well-known New York publishing firm that has brought out several books by James Weldon Johnson, declared that there was no prejudice against Negro writers on the part of publishers today. On the contrary, he said, the Negro writer who has something to say enjoys a distinct advantage. He held that this had been and is a good thing because it has brought out much new and promising talent.

"The publisher," continued Mr. Guinzburg, "follows the trend of the times. It makes no difference to him nowadays whether a writer is white or black. By and large, his only interest is in good books. It is my good furtune to be James Weldon Johnson's publisher. I do not think of him as a Negro. I only know that he has written some superb books. I don't care what he writes about, I shall be glad to publish any manuscript he submits to me."

Mr. Guinzburg then went on to say that some Negro authors he had met were anxious to show that they are not limited to writing about Negroes. He considered this an unfortunate point of view because, he declared, "all writers write best about things they know best." While he felt that it was perfectly all right for Negro authors to write on general scientific or artistic themes, when it came to the field of fiction it was best for them to deal with the side of life with which they were most familiar. By adhering to this rule, he said, the Negro writer will write better books.

The publishers attitude toward the Negro writer, said Mr. Guinzburg, will not long be preferential. Soon he will be given no more consideration than a white writer—be considered not from the point of view of uniqueness but of artistry and interest. He warned, however, that "certain types of books dealing with Negro life will only be published if the Negro helps" by buying those books. Here he was referring specifically to works dealing with Negro history. He asserted that for such books a real audience must be created and that the Negro public must give its own writers encouragement by buying their books and talking about them to their friends.

Walter White, author of "The Fire In the Flint," "Flight" and "Rope and Faggot," and Jessie Fauset, author of "There Is Confusion" and "Plum Bun," had previously spoken on this latter point. Mr. White held that the Negro public can do much to assist in the development of a very significant body of American literature by encouraging the Negro writers, through purchase and discussion of their books. This, he said, gives an author inspiration. Such a body of literature, according to Mr. White, will not only acquaint white people with us but will hold up the mirror in which we can see ourselves as we are. It means a lot, he concluded, to find aspects of our own life and activities in other people's struggles as protrayed in literature.

Miss Fauset (now Mrs. Harris) spoke at greater length. "There are two divisions among Negro writers," she said. "Those who want to write and are looking for something to write about, and those who have something to write about but are trying to learn to write. The publishers first preferred Negro literature that bordered on the pronographic. Those Negro writers who would not cater to such a demand were handicapped because the bulk of the publishers didn't think that the sort of Negroes they portrayed in their books and stories actually existed. Many of them are still slightly skeptical and it is up to the Negro public to assist the higher type of Negro writer by buying his books."

"If a publisher can depend on fifteen or twenty thousand Negro readers," she continued, "he will publish anything about Negroes." The brilliant authoress of "Plum Bun," who is a teacher in one of the New York City public schools, stressed the necessity for perpetuating in books the ever changing life of the various Negro groups. Many Negroes, she said, have lived lives and performed deeds worth recording. Strong, courageous Negro types, battling against the obstacles of their environment, should not be allowed to pass on forgotten and unsung. It is the task of the literate Negro, she concluded, to write about these Negroes, truthfully and faithfully, that the world may know of the beauty and strength of American Negro life.

An audience of well over one hundred persons packed the auditorium of the library and danced until midnight. Several Negro spirituals were rendered by the Hallelujah Quartette.

H. MENCKEN SAILS INTO PREACHERS

Says Their Leadership Is A Retarding Force To Progress Of Race

CALLS THEM "GANTRYS"

Advises Banding Behind Men Who Have Money

Henry L. Mencken, leading essayist of modern times, and vituperous editor of the American Mercury, in the current issue of his magazine takes occasion to launch a cathing attack on the colored ministry of today. Dating the shortcomings of these ministers back to slavery times, he deplores the fact that the American colored people flock behind ignorant and immoral pastors whose sole ambition, he intimates, is to collect money and ruin women.

Referring obviously to the recent Fact Finding conference, Mr. Mencken begins his remarks thus:

"The colored brother, sweating up from slavery, pauses now and then to take stock of himself. Such a stock-taking engages him today, and I gather from the reports issuing out of it that there is a considerable satisfaction in dark society." After admitting certain evidences of advancement, referring incidentally, with pardonable inaccuracy, to Oscar DePriest as "an Aframerican lawyer," the fiery editor continues:

"For all their progress, economic, political and cuitural, they have yet failed to accomplish two things that are of the first importance—indeed, more important than any other. The first is the organization of their people into a coherent and reasonably steadfast bloc, capable of acting, when the common interest is at stake, as a unit. The second is the formulation of a programme for it, with clear and attainable goals."

Flies Into Ministry

Shortly thereafter, Mencken flies tooth and nail into the colored ministry, blaming them largely for the inability of their people to form into any sort of working organization. Says he:

"Elmer Gantry, of course, marches after Mr. Babbitt, and at his usual respectful distance. He is, like his white compeer, half ignoramus and half knave. His victims are the hordes who are even more ignorant than himself. Ostensibly, his purpose is the promotion of virtue and the saving of souls; actually, it is the advancement of his own fortunes. Religion among the lower classes of blacks thus becomes a form of exploitation, and it has probably cost them far more than any variety ever practised by their white masters. Not only in the villages, but also in the big cities, they are kept poor by the endless squeezing. It goes on week in and week out, year after year; there is never any let-up. The moment they have paid one bill, they are preented with another. The leadership that manages this evil business is inordinately bold, callous and vicious. It is not only responsible for the slow economic progress of the Negro toilers; it is also responsible, quite as much as the dearth of schools, for their simian ignorance."

Advises New Leaders

The salvation of the colored people in America, Mr. Hencken believes, will come only when they band in a solid phalanx behind the men of their race who handle the money—the business men, insurance magnates, policy wheel operators, and bootleggers, who, he says, "are accumulating a fund which, in the long run, will achieve more for their race than any conceivable white philanthropy." Going further, he says:

"The Negro leader of today is not free. He must look to white men for his very existence, and in consequence he has to waste a lot of his energy trying to think white. What the Negroes need is leaders who can and will think black."

When these leaders appear, Mr. Mencken thinks, backed by the money of the black business men, bootleggers, and gamblers, they will attract attention and may prove more useful in the long run than either Booker T. Washington or W. E. B. DuBois.

National Guard Mobilized For Eufaula Tria!

Machine Gun And Three Infantry Companies On Way To Scene

Special Train Run

Every Precaution Taken To Protect Negro

By CARL ROUNTREE.
(Staff Correspondent.)

EUFAULA, ALA., July 22.—(AP)—While uniformed National Guardsmen and State Law Enforcement officers paraded the streets and filled the cafes, hotels and boarding houses of this little city tonight, the populace retired early.

The rumored assemblage of crowds bent on mob violence failed to materialize. Whether any secret move is afoot to thwart the hand of justice is not known, but authorities feel confident that adequate precautions have been taken against such a development.

Leslie Bouyer, alias Charles Harris, is to face trial at 8:30 a.m., tomorrow, for the confessed brutal slaying of A. J. Hines and the attack on his 18-year-old girl companion, Miss Beatrice Clark.

"Everything is in good shape and I don't expect there will be even a demonstration," Circuit Judge J. S. Williams stated when interviewed tonight at his home in Clayton. "Every person who enters the courtroom will be searched and every precaution taken to see that the law takes its course."

The courtroom is small, with a capacity only of between 200 and 300 and Judge Williams stated crowds would not be permitted to form in the corridors. The negro probably will be taken into the courthouse handcuffed between officers and passing through a double line of soldiers. A company of machine gunners is with the four companies coming in from Birmingham, expected to arrive with the negro in the morning.

Sheriff Teal left tonight for Montgomery to accompany the negro to Eufaula from his cell in Kilby Prison.

There was considerable talk of violence up to noon today and feeling was running high, but the arrival of some 50 members of the National Guard and about 25 state law enforcement officers during the early afternoon seemed to have a decidedly quieting effect, according to Chief of Police W. H. McGilvray.

Col. E. W. Norton, leading Clayton attorney, has been appointed counsel for the Bouyer defense while every attorney in Eufaula has been retained by the prosecution. Tom Patterson, circuit solicitor, will lead the prosecution.

Judge Williams indicated the trial would be brief. Only seven or eight witnesses have been summoned. Among them are Bob Turner, young negro, who aided in the search for Bouyer, and the negro to whom Bouyer traded his shotgun for gasoline on the night of the killing.

National Guardsmen here are under command of Capt. John A. Schneider.

Hines and Miss Clark were waylaid by a negro Wednesday night, July 10, on the Montgomery Highway and forced to drive their car to an isolated spot some

distance from the main highway. There Hines was slain and the young girl attacked.

Bouyer was arrested several nights later and confessed to the crime. He was taken to Kilby Prison where he has been since, lodged in the condemned cell.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., July 22.—(Special.)—Four companies of the National Guard—three of infantry and one equipped with machine guns—were mobilized here tonight awaiting a special train which was to take them to Eufaula to protect a negro on trial for his life.

The negro is Leslie Bouyer, alias Charlie Harris. He is facing trial there at 8 a.m. tomorrow for the confessed murder of A. J. Hines and the brutal attack on his 18-year-old girl companion, Miss Beatrice Clark. Feeling is reported running high in Eufaula and through Barbour County.

The four companies entraining here tonight are Companies I, K and L, infantry outfits, and Company M, machine gun company widely known as the Birmingham Steel Jackets. The four companies form a battalion under command of Maj. H. L. McMeans. With them also is the Third Battalion Medical Detachment.

The companies mobilized at the armory between 9:30 and 10:30 p.m. From there they were to march to the station and board the special train bound for Eufaula, by way of Montgomery. There they were to be joined by Regimental Headquarters Company, under command of Capt. John Schneider.

Gen. Walter E. Bare will be in command of operations in Eufaula. With him will be Col. Walter M. Thompson, Lieut. Col. James A. Webb, Capt. C. L. Ragsdale, Capt. Ben Smith, First Lieut. Fred S. Tillman and Second Lieut. James Wall.

The Steel Jackets, in command of Capt. Harry Smith, will be fully equipped with machine guns. Company I, of Ensley, is under Capt. Herbert Brush. Company K, of Birmingham, is under Capt. C. R. Flemming. Company I, also of Birmingham, is under command of Capt. W. J. Hanna. The Third Battalion Medical Detachment is under Capt. William S. Armour. All companies will have full field equipment and will be prepared to stay in Eufaula as long as is necessary, it was stated.

NO TROUBLE EXPECTED

"I do not anticipate any difficulty in carrying out the duty to which I have been assigned. I am sure the people of Barbour County desire a fair and orderly trial in this case, and that they will cooperate with me in every way to that end."

This statement was made here last night by Gen. Walter E. Bare, of Birmingham, whom Gov. Graves has placed in command of National Guard troops called into active service by the chief executive to protect against any attempt at violence, Leslie Bouyer, alias Charlie Harris, negro, who is under indictment for the murder of Jack Hines and attacking Hines's young woman companion, near Eufaula, on the night of July 10. The indictment was returned against Bouyer by the Barbour County Grand Jury yesterday and trial of the negro is now pending.

In response to the request of Circuit Judge J. S. Williams, at Clayton, order was issued by the governor yesterday morning for the mobilizing of as many guardsmen as were deemed necessary to meet the situation.

Order for the mobilizing of the National Guardsmen, to assure an orderly trial and furnish adequate protection for the accused, was issued yesterday morning by Gov. Graves at the request of Judge Williams. The chief executive immediately placed Gen. Bare in charge with directions to employ as many troops as he thought necessary to meet the situation.

Last night Gen. Bare declined to state how many guardsmen would be used, but said the number will be adequate to take the prisoner safely to Eufaula, preserve order there during the trial and bring the accused safely away. He also declined to state when the negro will be transferred from Kilby Prison to Eufaula, or by what method. A detail of troops left Montgomery for Eufaula yesterday afternoon to see that order is maintained in and around the courthouse at Eufaula, he stated, and again repeated that the force in charge of Bouyer's safekeeping to and from Eufaula and during the trial will be "adequate."

Gov. Graves yesterday evening had no further statement to make except to say that the whole matter is in Gen. Bare's hands, and that he has given instructions that the defendant must be protected at any hazard.

It was learned last night that all the National Guardsmen who will serve during the emergency are picked men. Gen. Bare is himself an overseas World War veteran and was formerly second in command of the One Hundred Sixty-Seventh Infantry, famous Alabama World War combat regiment.

A squad of state law enforcement officers will accompany the guardsmen when the transfer of Bouyer is effected.

Crossing the Color Line

(In the New York World)

In a small town in Texas two automobiles, one driven by a Negro and the other by a white man, collided. The white man was responsible, but this was Texas, and he demanded redress for the damage done to his car. He felt so strongly about it, in fact that he pulled a gun and was threatening to shoot when another man intervened. This bystander said that he had seen the wreck and that the white man was in the wrong. The crowd that had gathered took his word for it and the aggrieved driver put away his gun and pursued his way in peace. Had he discovered that the evidence had been given by a "light nigger" his fury would have known no bounds. The masquerader, after having averted the catastrophe, went home to the Jim Crow section of town.

Suppose that some day he should decide not to go home, but to join the ranks of the privileged Caucasians? His life would be much easier. At present his status is very uncertain. With the increasing confusion of race-mixture in the United States the government finds it necessary to change the definition of Negro every ten years for the benefit of the census-takers. In 1910 the department of commerce report said: "The census classification is necessarily based upon perceptibility, qualified by the ability of the enumerator to perceive."

In other words, it is up to the census-taker to decide offhand just how much black blood runs in the veins of a suspiciously high-yellow citizen.

The problem seems to have developed in complexity in the last few years, for in 1890 the government had much more definite ideas.

"Be particularly careful," read the directions, "to distinguish between blacks, mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. The word 'black' should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; 'mulatto,' those persons who have three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; 'quadroons,' those persons who have one-fourth black blood, and 'octoroon,' those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood."

Even these directions are not explicit enough; another part of the records gives this guide: Black, 10-16 or more; mulatto, 6-16 to 10-16; quadroon, 3-16 to 6-16; octoroon, less than 3-16.

It all looks very pretty and scientific, but as a mater of fact the proposition is not so simple. Any conscientious census taker would be baffled by the problem, for there is no law governing the color of a child of race-mixture, or of his children after him. I was brought up in the belief that any family with a trace of Negro blood, be it ever so slight a taint, would produce one child of the darkest possible hue every fourth generation. This romantic idea probably owes a large part of its existence to Mendel, although I believe that in some parts of the country the legend is changed to the extent that it is every seventh generation, rather than every fourth, that is thus unfortunately affected.

The truth is that after the first generation the results are impossible to prophesy. A "mulatto"—that is, the child of a white and a black—runs pretty generally to type, but second-generation children and the succeeding generations are likely to develop any sort of variation. The features may resemble that of one race, while the color is that of the other; and there are all possibilities in between. It is common to see a "high-brown" of very fair skin with the characteristic thick lips and dark eyes of the Negro; on the other hand, many a black man has the features of the Nordic—light eyes, narrow lips and prominent slender nose. Sometimes in a family of mixed pedigree a child will be born that resembles in all ways a child of pure white blood. It is just as likely that a family with the same pedigree will produce a black child of Negroid features.

It is likely that many of the pale masqueraders are never discovered. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has estimated that about 5,000 people a year decide to drop all claim to Negro blood and enter the world of the white man. Financially speaking, it is decidedly to their advantage to do so. An educated Colored man finds the economic struggle exceedingly difficult. If a Negro is a lawyer or any kind of scientist he has a hard time getting a job, and when he has found it he is usually underpaid. If such a man is light enough to pass as a white it is only natural that he find some way of making a permanent adjustment.

The statistics of the association are not official. Naturally, those who intend to "pass" do not inform their people before doing it. The only way of arriving at any estimate is to watch the discrepancy in the number of light-skinned Negroes that have been born and accounted for up to the time of their disappearance, and the number of those who are actually there to be counted. In the Negro districts of our cities there are not as many light Negroes as would be expected.

Often the Negro who can "pass" will pretend to be white only for the moment, when it seems expedient. Certain difficulties and annoyances are always facing Colored people in this country. The Jim Crow rule which prevails on Pullmans, for instance, makes it very uncomfortable for a Negro to travel; the restrictions of theateers and restaurants are always with them.

I remember that when I was a child in the St. Louis public schools there was a red-haired girl in my class who kept very much to herself. One day a rumor spread that her mother was a Negress and that the authorities had just discovered it. For two or three days the little boys spent the recess hour chanting "Nigger! Nigger!" and than she disappeared. I did not know if she attended the Negro school hereafter; it was two or three miles from her house. But I am willing to wager that she found some way, ultimately, of leaving her environment and living more comfortably elsewhere.

Some years ago, in the West, I knew a boy who looked like a Spaniard. I was not aware that he was a Negro, although as a matter of fact he never denied it. He never spoke of such things. He was very quiet; he said that he came from the South; he mixed with white people and no one thought of questioning him. The next time I saw him he was a Negro and had allied himself with Negro propagandists. He has never again tried to "pass," but if he should want to, he could certainly get away with it. I suppose he did it for several years, trying to make up his mind which he would be, and then a pride of race swung the balance. It is somewhat inconsistent to speak of Race pride in a matter like this. Surely the boy was more white than Negro. But one drop of Negro blood settles the matter in the mind of the American.

There was a reporter on a Middle Western newspaper at the same time that my brother worked there, and they became acquainted. After a time they both left the paper and my brother's friend went to another city, where he continued his newspaper work. He has become mildly successful and more or less well known. I have only lately discovered that he is, according to our standard, a Negro. He first started to "pass" when he came to the Western town on business. He had often tried to write for publication, but had no success until he sold a story to a local paper. He did not say that he was a Negro and the editor was enthusiastic about his work, offering him a job immediately. Why not? He took it and has since lived as a white man without even changing his name. He married a white girl from a southern state. It is likely that he has qualms at times. He is not unknown, and many Negroes are aware of his masquerade, but such cases are an old story to them. They will not interfere.

If I have happened on such cases how many more are probably in existence? There must be many people whose positions in the white world are firmly intrenched. Our whole idea of segregation is based on one line of difference. At first there was a definite distinction between white and black. With increasing miscegenation the dividing line shifted; whites were distinguished from all other people by the expedient of putting together all those with any black blood and labeling them Negroes.

Now, after some generations of confusion, there are two extremes, the white and the black of pure direct descent. In between is a rapidly growing company of people who represent the mixture in all possible proportions. There is no more reason to call them Negroes than there is to call them whites. The distinction between the full-blooded Negro and the mulatto does not exist in the mind of the white man, who claims that it is so obscure as to be inperceptible.

The same rule can work the other way. Where the difference between a white and a light Negro is inperceptible, it is only natural that such a distinction will be ignored by an individual who will profit by stepping across the line and joining the privileged race. Our own jealousy guarded segregation is a myth.

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

A Man Who Says "Nigger"

By ZITA LOUISE BAKER

This article is the third of a series by a Chicago writer, who was until recently a member of the bureau of information of the Chicago World's Fair. Each one has been written from the viewpoint of those belonging to the white race, and deals with some specific phase of the race question in Chicago.

IT is difficult sometimes to put a finger on people. By that I mean that some people defy analysis, being of a shrewd, clever turn, and one may never understand them. On the other hand, there are more who can be read at sight, or who will betray their characteristics by some saying or mannerism.

I met one of these latter individuals recently, but before I made his acquaintance I had him spotted. He was exhibit A without a doubt, and I found later I was right in my opinion.

Perhaps no other field offers a greater opportunity for "sharpers" than that of real estate loans. There are so many crooks and turns involved in loaning money and collecting it again that numerous unscrupulous men have found ways of making a most profitable livelihood from it.

That the subject of this sketch is unscrupulous, I will not say, for I do not know. He is, however, the type of cheap, small loan maker who impresses one by his pettiness.

Two or three weeks ago I was told that an advertising postcard—the kind used to solicit new business—was being sent out to the banks in the Chicago area by a man named Stutsman. Now, the name means little or nothing, but one sentence on the card was worth investigating, according to my reasoning. It was this: "No Nigger Loans."

That one sentence described Mr. Stutsman to my entire satisfaction, but I decided to call upon him and see for myself exactly what a human being looked like who would use the word "nigger" in his advertising.

Mr. Stutsman was not in the first time I called, but the second time I caught him in the act of carrying on a hurried telephone conversation before leaving his office with a friend. I detained him but five minutes, but five minutes were quite sufficient.

In as tactful a manner as I possess, I inquired what he had in mind when he sent out his recent postcard and specified on it, "No Nigger Loans." Mr. Stutsman, who was anxious to get away, came to the point at once. (I forgot to mention that he was short and stocky and resembled a certain bull-necked type of gambler very closely.)

"Yes, I said, 'No Nigger Loans' and I meant it. I won't have nigger loans because I can't sell 'em. Haven't any market for 'em an' therefore I won't make 'em." Mr. Stutsman was emphatic.

"But why," I persisted, "haven't you a market for them?"

"Nobody wants 'em. That's the only reason I know. Ask this fella—he pointed to his friend who was waiting for him—"ask him. He can tell you how folks feel about buyin' nigger loans."

The man designated mumbled that he would not make any, and that was all I could understand of what he was saying.

"But why don't people want to buy loans on Colored property?" I inquired.

Mr. Stutsman explained. "Niggers don't take any care of their property. Comes a cold day and they're as apt as not to tear off the baseboards and burn 'em up for fuel. When they move, they take everything with 'em—chandeliers, fixtures an' stuff of all kinds. They leave their houses half torn down sometimes, an' nobody wants that kind of property. It don't mean anything for a loan."

"Do you think Negroes are more unreliable than white people?" was my next question.

By this time Mr. Stutsman was growing impatient. He hastily got up from his chair—he had been sitting on the extreme edgee of it—and put on his suit coat. While he was doing so, he shook his head.

"Oh, I don't about that," he said. "I wouldn't put it as broad as that. They may be all right that way, but I won't make nigger loans. It don't pay."

In another minute I was gone and so were Mr. Stutsman and his friend, but just as I was leaving he was kind enough to suggest that I visit a Loop firm that made a number of so-called "nigger loans" and apparently profited by doing so. "They can tell you all about 'em," he finished by way of adieu. "They make money on 'em, but I can't."

To get the viewpoint of a large bank, I stopped in at the First Union Trust and Savings bank and had a short chat with W. L. Whitcomb of the real estate loan department. Mr. Whitcomb was very refined and pleasant and answered all I had to ask very obligingly.

"No, we never make Colored loans," he stated frankly. "However, we have nothing against the Colored people—not at all. We don't make such loans for the reason that our customers are not interested in property owned by Colored people. Naturally, we have to cater to our customers' wishes. We couldn't afford to do otherwise."

This same policy apparently holds sway at several of the large Loop banks, although I nowhere found any enmity voiced against the Colored race in general. One real estate loan oficial said that his bank frequently was embarrassed by requests from well-to-do Colored customers for loans. "They think if they have their accounts with us, we should oblige them with loans, but we can't do it. Our other customers are not interested in purchasing loans made on Colored people's property."

But there is a brighter side to the story, thanks to Mr. Stutsman's suggestion. Several mortgage banking concerns make Negro loans regularly, and so the next article will deal with one of these.

In Little Old New York.

On the first page of Monday's edition of the New York World, in the first column and under what to newspaper men is known as a "top head," signifying that the story starts at the top of the page, there is an account of a riot in Harlem, the thickly populated negro district of New York. It is an interesting story. It details the difficulty several squads of thoroughly efficient New York policemen had before peace was restored.

It was not a riot between members of the two races, but entirely among negroes. The number involved according to the World was 600. When the battle was over more than 20 were in the Harlem Hospital, several so badly injured that they are expected to die. The rioters were armed with rifles and sabers. The rifles were empty, but their butts made effective weapons. The sabers did what one might expect of them.

Here are two paragraphs from the more than a column story:

"Police sent riot calls to the West 105th Street and West 152d Street stations, but policemen and detectives under Captain Dracken had difficulty in quelling the fighters . . . failing to restore order a call was sent for the emergency squad. Police then read the riot act to the group and threatened to shoot if the rioting did not stop."

It appears to have been a pretty serious melee—far more serious than any we ever have here in the south. The relationship between thickly populated negro settlements in the north and surrounding whites is tense at its best. When the negroes start rioting among themselves, they evidently are not very happy. Down here they get along with us pretty well, and certainly they get along among themselves.

The last paragraph in the World's story is the most significant of all. It has a warning in it that even a blind man would recognize:

"Police are in possession of hundreds of rifles and sabers, as many of the fighters dropped their weapons when the riot was finally quelled after an hour of chaos."

PROPOSES TO ABSORB INDIAN INTO NATION

Secretary Wilbur Outlines Policy Looking to End of Bureau Within 25 Years.

Secretary Wilbur of the Department of Interior, in announcing recently the appointment by the President of Charles James Rhoads of Phildelphia, to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs, outlined his policy of Indian administration. This policy has been considered by the Board of Indian Commissioners, created by Congress to advise it on Indian problems, and haos the general approval of the board. tI is as follows:

"The fundamental aim of the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be to make of the India a self-sustaining, self-respecting American citizen just as rapidly as this can be brought about. The Indian shall no longer be viewed as a ward of the nation, but shall be considered a potential citizen. As rapidly as possible he is to have the full responsibility for himself. Leadership should be given the Indians, rather than custodianship. The Indian stock is of excellen quality. It can readily merge with that of the nation.

"In order to bring this about it will be necessary to revise our educational program into one of a practical and vocational character and to mature plans for the absorption of the Indian into the industrial and agricultural life of the nation.

"Decentralization of the activities of the bureau shall be brought about as rapidly as possible. Viewed over a term of years, the Indian agent, as such, with his abnormal powers, shall be dispensed with.

"In so far as it is feasible, the problems of health and of education for the Indians shall become a responsibility of the various States. Certain assistance for these purposes should be provided the States weherever it is equitable and desirable to do so.

"New Indian schools should only be provided if it is not possible to merge the training of the Indian into the school system of the States. In so far as it is possible, scholarships in the institutions of higher learning of the country shall be provided for those Indian boys and girls who are capable of going beyond the ordinary high school training.

"The educational program for the Indians should be placed under the supervision of the Bureau of Education. The health program should be placed under the Public Helath Service.

"In so far as it is possible, except on a few large reservations that are appropriate for a satisfactory life for the Indians, there should be continued allotment of land with full ownership rights granted to the Indians.

"It shall be the aim to provide employment for Indians for all occupations possible in connection with Indian communities.

"The general policy should be to increase the facilities for the care and development of the Indian for a short period of time, with the general plan in mind of eliminating the Indian Bureau within a period of say twenty-five years. No new appointments should be made in the Indian Bureau except in following out the above program.

"In so far as it is possible, general legislation and general appropriations from Congress shall be sought, rather than specific legislation for specific Indian groups or to solve individual Indian questions.

"A survey shall be made of all existing laws with which the Indian question is involved, so that proper laws can be drawn rescinding former actions which are no longer necessary, and an adequate legislative program developed for the future."

TEACHERS ATTEND MEETING OF NAT'L EDUCATION ASS'N.

Race Schools Show Cooperation With the Organization

BY MARY E. JONES

ATLANTA, Ga., July 18. —The 67th Ann'l Convention of the Nat'l. Educational Association was held in Atlanta, Ga., June 28, July 4th. The theme of the convention was "Education for a New World." Principal

R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute spoke on "Progress in Negro Education in the South." Negro Melodies were contributed occassionally during the convention. On Saturday evening, June 29, the melodies were rendered by some local talent assisted by some out of town talent. On July 2nd following Dr. Moton's address, the Tuskegee quartet rendered several enjoyable selection of Folk songs. A solo was rendered by Miss Anola Miller accompanied by Miss Emily Goins, which received many pleasing comments.

It is reported that most of the Atlanta Negro teachers are members of the N. E. A. and some of the colored schools were the first to report 100% membership in that city, only a small area in an upper gallery was reserved for colored teachers. The following race people were in attendance:—

Pres. J. R. E. Lee, A and M. College Tallahasse, Fla. Pres. and Mrs. W. J. Hale, State College Nashville, Tenn., Mr. W. W. Saunders, Supervisor of Negro Schools Charleston, W. Va., Miss Fannie C. Williams, Valdena C. Jones School, New Orleans, La., Miss Mary E. Jones, teacher, E. St. Louis, Ill. Miss Rosa Martin, teacher, Atlanta, Ga., Miss Eva Cole teacher, Atlanta, Prof. S. F. Harris Supervisor of Negro Schools, Athens, Ga., Mrs. S. F. Harris Prin. of Teacher's Training and Industrial School, Athens, Ga., Miss A. L. Barton, Home Economic Dept., National Soft Wheat, Millers Ass. Nashville, Tenn., Mr. W. B. T. Williams, Dean, Tuskegee Inst. Mr. C. E. Roberts, Tuskegee Inst., Mr. J. A. Williamson, Tuskegee Inst., Miss Emily Goins, Tuskegee Inst., Miss Anola Miller, Tuskegee Inst., Tuskegee Quartet Tuskegee, Inst. Mr. G. Lake Imes, Tuskegee Inst., Dr. and Mrs R. R. Moton, Tuskegee Inst.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
TOPEKA, KAN

July 5, 1929
BEAUMONT TEX. JRL

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Random Notes.

THE NEW SOUTH, like the old, resents attempts by Dubuque, Iowa, and Kalamazoo, Mich., to interpret and champion the southern negro. But it also resents arrant bullying and persecution of negroes, north or south. Beaumont jurors this week turned Good Samaritans and paid a debt of $6.80 for a negro who was alleged to have been set upon and beaten by two white collectors. The white men were fined $20 and costs each. That will not raise any difficult questions of social equality for the negro. It will make whites with money claims against negroes a bit dubious about taking satisfaction out of their debtors' hides.

* * *

The jury incident probably will be reported widely, because the notion persists in many parts of the United States that there is no justice for the negro in the south. The south will profit by all forthcoming publicity, perhaps doubly. It will be worth while to correct error in public opinion elsewhere, for one thing. For another, the course taken by the Beaumont jury will set a goodly standard for white jurors in other southern communities.

* * *

Incidentally, Tuskegee Institute reports that lynchings are less popular this year in southern states than heretofore. The northern states should be informed of that also, and will be. But the south must present the report with some apology. There should be, year after year, no lynchings to report. Until some thousands of white southerners abandon the conviction that lynchings, under many circumstances, are justifiable, the rest of the nation will listen with distrust to southern protestations of good will between the white race and the black in these parts.

CONSTITUTION
ATLANTA, GA.

OCT 6 1929

LOOKING AND LISTENING

BY SAM W. SMALL

Why the South Is What She Is and Will Not Become Darker.

It is impossible now to segregate the Great South from the national equation. Our section and people are bound into the "indissoluble Union" in ways that defy all solvents of secession or segregation—all spirits of alienism and ostracism.



Politically we may have been peculiar in the past half century, but let them take the responsibility who forced us to be so peculiar. If we have been iron-hearted against the republican party, it was that party which sunk the iron into our souls. They should have known from the start that the white and responsible people of the south, even in the chains of conquest, were of a spirit to resent dishonorable treatment and to resist oppresson at any risk.

When the Summers, Wades, Stevenses, Boutwells, Chandlers and Ashleys of the north threw to the dogs the wise and constitutional policies of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, usurped the powers of the presidency, proclaimed the doctrine of "conquered territory" as to the surrendered south, and imposed upon us more indignities and tyrannies than any proconsul of Caesar ever imposed upon beaten barbarians, God in heaven and the civilized part of mankind could have expected no less reactions than came forth from the southern people.

* * * *

White Rule Is Our Religion.

Here is the gospel text of the southern people: "Let the African heathen rage and the republicans imagine vain things, but white supremacy is our religion and in its defense we will, if need be, go to the stake!"

Sounds harsh, does it? Well, it wouldn't sound so to the ghosts of Charles Sumner, and Beast Butler and Grant, and Phil Sheridan, who preferred hell to Texas!"

The most satanic crime in the history of Christian civilization was the work of the republican radicals who bayonet-pinned negro rule upon the southern people after the War Between the States.

There is no reference here to the emancipation of the negro slaves. That was an event prefigured by the principles of God and His Christ. Nobody but a southern fool has ever made a protest about that. It was the fiendish infamy of putting tyrannous power into the hands of four million untutored, irresponsible, fanatic-fired and directed negroes, drawn from kitchens, stables and cotton fields, to dominate, harrass and rob the intelligent and competent white people of the prostrate south.

That hellishness could not be re-enacted today. The people of the north would not consent to it. The fifteenth amendment notoriously could not find the necessary 36 states to ratify it. Even the negroes who are its special beneficiaries do not think enough of it to avail themselves generally of its benefits. It is practically functus officio except in spots.

* * * *

The Negroes Know Their Rights.

The negroes of the south know that the white people mean to hold government in their own hands and have long since consented that that is best for all hands concerned in southern peace, progress and general welfare. The negroes are not seeking to contest it anywhere in the south.

Nor do the southern negroes need that any northern white men or negroes should come among them to tell them what are their rights and how to get them.

They have the same rights as the white people and the mass of the white people see to it that they enjoy them. They have their labor rights and no one can lawfully interfere with them the white people will not permit it.

They have full liberty and opportunities to acquire and enjoy and protect property, and the white people are glad to have them become more generally land and home owners. They they are thriftier and happier, and more eager defenders of peace and property rights.

They have their own social and religious rights, as fully as have the white people, and the intelligent and moral among them are as jealous of racial segregation as are the whites.

Politically they are under the same laws as the whites. Any one of them who can qualify as a white person must do can vote without fear of intimidation or fraud.

Some day I want to tell here exactly how all these things have worked out and how they have brought actual benefits to the negro people of the south. It is a bright and romantic story.

* * * *

The Future of the South.

No one needs to worry himself about the future of the south, for the future of the nation is the future of the south. Our people will show their aptitude to apply new science and new mechanisms to agriculture and are educating their children to make the southern planter again "the nabob of the nation." We have the soil, the climates and the products that can do that very thing.

God has blessed the southern states with natural products that all men need and the greater our national population grows will grow the demand for them. Freed from the all-cotton slavery now the south cannot be bankrupted by a "bad season" of any sort, and he is not wise who sells the south short.

Our manufactures and foreign trade are steadily expanding. The former in most of our states already exceed the agricultural crops. Raw materials and power in inexhaustible supply guarantee the continuity of our industrial prosperity.

But all these great and beneficent things would go to smash with the reversal of white supremacy and the substitution of negro rule in any southern state. Political, industrial and social peace would resolve into bitter confusions and conflicts. And of what worth would it be to anyone anywhere in America to bring on that cataclysm to win a victory for "a damned barren ideality" in politics?

Race Problem - 1929
United States.

Is the Jew a Friend To the Negro?

(Copyright, 1929, by The Gary American, Inc.)

By RABBI SIMON G. KRAMER

I am assuming that the question, placed at the head of this column, though unfortunately provocative in tone, means nothing else than to bring forth an expression of the attitude of the Jew toward the Negro. American 3/15/29 Gary, Ind.

Having come in contact during the five thousand years of his existence with almost all the peoples and races, colors and creeds, civilizations and cultures that make up the history of human kind, the Jew has, of necessity, by tradition and by tried experience learned the one great lesson of a long and eventful history, namely that of tolerance.

Himself the victim of untold suffering and persecution, the Jew has always championed the cause of the downtrodden and the discriminated against, regardless of color or racial and social difference. It is for this reason that a special mete of sympathy goes out from the Jew to the Negro because of the immense difficulties that the colored race has to meet in its path toward a better economic and cultural adjustment. The large sums expended by Julius Rosenwald, the great Jewish philanthropist, for the establishment of schools and colleges for the Negro, are sufficient evidence of such sympathy.

It is questionable, however, whether sympathy alone coupled even with financial aid, is desirable or desired by the Negro. The Jew looks upon the Negro also with watchful interest, and with hopeful expectancy.

The Negro has made such rapid strides in such a comparatively short time toward winning for himself slowly but surely, a position of independence in the great milieu about him, that have aroused the admiration of all right thinking and liberal minded observers.

In his struggle against immense odds increased by the handicaps of color and environment peculiar to his race, the Negro is not only rapidly coming into his own in labor, business, education and culture, but Negro influences are felt in modern American art, especially in music, in drama and in the dance, to an extent as yet little appreciated.

It is this steady growth of the Negro that the Jew watches with great interest, and does his utmost to further to the end that every racial and religious group in America develop to its highest possible limits and contribute its finest and best toward the sum total of a richer and fuller American life.

Reaping the Storm

"OF THE undoubted abuses which have grown up under the Eighteenth Amendment, part are due to the causes which I have just mentioned, but part are due to the failure of some states to accept their share of responsibility for concurrent enforcement and to the failure of many state and local officials to accept the obligation under their oath of office zealously to enforce the law. Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law. For our citizens to patronize the violation of a particular law on the ground that they are opposed to it is destructive of the very basis of all that protection of life, of homes and property which they rightly claim under other laws. If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is to work openly for its repeal."

THESE ARE WORDS of President Hoover's inaugural address. They are noble words, and if he lives up to them they will lead to nobler actions. It is noticeable that every word he says regarding the Eighteenth Amendment applies directly and with equal force to the Fifteenth Amendment. There is more connection between the violations of those two amendments than is generally supposed. Disrespect for one law leads to disrespect for other laws. In fact, wet citizens of the North have defended their violation of the Eighteenth Amendment with the argument that they have as much right to violate it as the South has to violate the Fifteenth Amendment. The Government, by allowing the violation of the Fifteenth Amendment for so many years, established a dangerous precedent. For the first time in the history of the Constitution the citizens learned that a large section of the country could openly disobey the Constitution and get away with it. If the Government had resolutely put its foot down when the Fifteenth Amendment was first violated, it would not be having so much trouble now with the Eighteenth. The Government sowed the wind and now it is reaping the storm.

Racial Study To Be Made In Tennessee

News 3/7/29 Knoxville Tenn.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., March 4.—A study to determine the comparative physical stamina of the Negro and white races will be made in Tennessee by Dr. E. L. Bishop, state health commissioner assisted by Dr. W. S. Leathers, of Vanderbilt University, Dr. L. R. Williams, of New York Academy of Medicine, Dr. Kendal Emerson of the National Tuberculosis Association, and Dr. H. R. Landis, of the Phipps Institute, Philadelphia.

STAR
ELMIRA, N. Y.

FEB 11 1929

Attacks Race Prejudice as 'Most Foolish'

Mrs. Roland M. Wendell, in Husband's Pulpit, Pleads for Better Understanding — Outlines Negro's Rise in This Country.

The dogma of white superiority was attacked by Mrs. R. M. Wendell, wife of the minister of St. Luke's Congregational Church, during the morning service Sunday.

"What is the difference," she asked, "between a white man browned by a Summer at the shore and a man browned by ages in Africa? There is inherently none."

Calling race prejudice "one of the most foolish, unfounded and unloving things in the world," Mrs. Wendell pointed out places where evidences of prejudice are common today.

CITES EXAMPLES

"A swimming pool in a California city is barred to Japanese because whites object to using the pool after them. The Rochester YMCA does not permit Negroes to use its pool. There are still Jim Crow cars in the South. In southern cities elevators are separate. A Negro college graduate cannot stop overnight in many towns, while traveling, because hotels will refuse him admittance. A minister of the gospel of Christ preached a sermon on race relations, just one year ago, and at the close a deacon of his church remarked: 'Pastor, I thought it was your business to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and not the praise of Negroes.'"

Mrs. Wendell called attention to the natural friendliness with which children of different races will play together. "Race prejudice is not natural," she said. "It is handed down by the generations. That 'feeling' was not born in us. We acquired it. And for the sake of Jesus Christ we can uproot that prejudice and become filled with nothing but admiration for other races."

Mrs. Wendell outlined the rise of the negro since Emancipation, and stated that in six decades the negro had come as far as any group had in six centuries. In closing her address, the pastor's wife suggested that a good observance of Race Relations' Sunday might include the invitation of a negro speaker to the pulpits of the white churches each year, and the invitation of negro families to a meal in white homes on that day.

SCHOOL RESOLUTION

The following resolution, to be sent the Mayor of Elmira, was read to the large church congregation:

Mayor David N. Heller,
President of the Common Council, Elmira, New York.

Honorable Sir:

You have under consideration in the Common Council of the City of Elmira a petition of the Board of Education for authorization of new grade school buildings in No. 3 and No. 4 districts.

WHEREFORE, We, members of the congregation of St. Luke's

Congregational Church of Elmira, in morning worship assembled on February 10, 1929, do hereby unanimously submit the following resolution, and instruct our Church Clerk and Pastor to so inform you and the Council:

WHEREAS, Having the utmost confidence and faith in the wisdom and impartiality and humanity of the members of the Common Council of this city, and

BELIEVING that the Council can readily see what is glaringly apparent to ourselves namely that School Number Four is in serious need of immediate replacement by a new and modern building in order to secure the safety and sanitation and progressive education our children deserve,

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED That our church go on record as believing in the discernment and discretion of the members of the Common Council, and their willingness to relieve with the greatest possible expediency the distressing school-building environment of 650 of Elmira's future citizens.

FLORENCE M. TABER,
Church Clerk.
ROLAND M. WENDELL,
Minister.

THEY CAN'T STOP US

The Hattiesburg (Miss.) American tells us in one of its recent issues that a group of Mississippians have started a drive for funds for a magazine to fight the propaganda "being disseminated by The Chicago Defender." On the staff of this magazine will be A. M. Williamson and L. O. Crosby, a white lumberman. Our first observation on this would be that if Williamson and Crosby can function together on the staff of a magazine, whatever its nature, there is a catch in it somewhere.

And the catch becomes obvious when we read this quotation from Williamson, the Mississippi race leader: "There are probably 100,000 copies of the radical Chicago Defender coming into the state of Mississippi each week, spreading radicalism among Mississippi Negroes. It is doing inestimable harm to the Negroes of this state as well as others, putting pernicious ideas into their heads and seeking to stir up strife. The Negro has a place in the South, and as long as he stays in his place the white people are his best friends."

Whatever propaganda the Defender has disseminated in Mississippi, it seems to have passed over Brother Williamson entirely. But we have no quarrel with him. If he can persuade white people, who, after all are pretty gullible, to give him money in the belief that a magazine will turn our people away from their winning fight for real freedom of mind and body, let him do it. It's an ill wind that blows nobody good, therefore, away down the line, we expect some members of Williamson's race will profit even from this magazine if it is started.

THE DEBATE

THE DEBATE at the Chicago Coliseum between Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Mr Lathrop Stoddard on the question, "Shall the Negro Be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality," was notable in many respects The audience was exceptional, distinguished, representative, and deeply interested The sight of two races antagonistic in some respects but displaying a tolerant attitude toward the champion of each other's spokesman with forbearance and attentiveness and charity marked by a spirit of fair play was admirable and commendable. The high spirit of interest and enthusiasm manifested, evidenced the deep interest Americans have in the solution of the perplexing phases of the race problem in America and the world over.

Both of the speakers presented their cases well and with the philosophies of their respective points of view well in hand and to the satisfaction of the proponents of each camp. Without bias and after weighing the facts as marshalled by the respective debators, it must be concluded that Dr. DuBois, the affiirmative speaker, presented the winning arguments because he represented the side of right and justice, because he was filled with information on the subject and because he brought to his presentation, an enthusiasm innate, born of keen observation and bitter experiences.

The late Thomas Nelson Page, F. Hopinson Smith, Thomas Dixon, Ben Tillman and that fiery Georgian, John Temple Graves discussed on the forum and in the public prints the negative side of this question for years with a bitterness and antagonism born of deep-rooted hatreds, rawness and candor that startled and rocked the nation and upset the civilized world. Mr. Stoddard representing the newer school of thought and the Nordic white hope of that group of modern Anglo-maniacs who still hold to the traditions of their prejudiced forbears spoke without rancor or bitterness and presented his side without passion.

By far the strongest argument in favor of the affirmative side of the question discussed was the sight of five thousand white and black citizens seated promisciously together (and other hundreds turned away) without friction, soberly seeking truth and light of this mooted question, and consciously lending by their contacts, deportment and cultural bearing strength to the philosophy that there is no appreciable racial differences or distinctions where equal cultural opportunities abound and where racial separations are not practiced.

The fact is during the process of evolution of our present day civilization there is no doubt but that education and contacts are gradually beating down the prejudices of old and in years to come, America can be expected to emerge freed of much of its hysteria and false pride about the race question. Such public debates as the one Sunday under the auspices of the Chicago Forum and its allied sponsors does much to clarify the situation and inform the public of all the facts from both sides.

There is yet much to be done by American Negroes in the way of backing up in a practical way the strong, invulnerable arguments of our great and glorious champion, Dr. DuBois. We must get culture all along the line. We must greatly improve the public manners of our group, especially the masses and our students especially in the mixed schools of the northern and border states. No greater argument could be urged for the separation of the races than the prejudice caused and aroused by the daily contacts of some of our groups where our public manners of undue coarseness, loudness, boldness and ignorance are as offensive to others as to those of us of finer sensibilities. If we are to back up these profound arguments in our favor, practical examples of public manners as quiet and refined as the heathen Chinese and Japanese that come to our shores will give the lie to the strongest argument against us.

It will be well if it can be arranged to stage the DuBois-Stoddard debate all over the nation that this problem, stripped of its camouflage may be presented to all the people everywhere. To have missed it was to have missed one of the rare literary as well as informative treats of the present age.

NEGRO PROBLEM STUDIED

PINE LEVEL, (ALA., March 28.—(Special.)—"The New Negro—A Missionary Challenge," was the topic for study on Wednesday when Mrs. Hal Bruce entertained the Woman's Missionary Union at her home near Pine Level. Opening the meeting with a devotional and prayer by the president, Mrs. J. Murray Townsend, the progress was devoted to talks on the status of the negro in the Southland. Miss Ruby Smille spoke on the negro as our neighbor, and Mrs. S. L. Parker discussed the background of the American negro. Mrs. Roger Daniel read a paper, "Our Christianity to the Negro," and Misses Vera Mapes and Constance Alexander conducted a quiz on the American negro. Mrs. Eunice McGhee read a poem, "Paradox," and Mrs. Clarence Paul sang as a special offering, "Old Black Joe." She was accompanied at the piano by her sister, Mrs. Chester Paul. An interesting feature of the meeting was the brief sketches of note dnegroes given in answer to roll call.

The New Negro Is Our Own Problem.

This is a new day and we have what is called a new negro and he seems to be somewhat of a problem. He is a product of our making; we have sent him to school, to colleges, trained his mind, given him a degree, or musical training, at any rate, and as a result we have a problem with which to deal. He has lived no doubt in an atmosphere of culture, training and refinement and he comes out of school a polished, finished product and we lament because he does not fit in our old scheme.

Race Problem - 1929

United States.

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NERVOUS NORDICS

THE nervousness of our Nordic friends over miscegenation is pathetically amusing. In their presence the fact that people of opposite sexes of opposite races often fall in love must never be mentioned in public and only be whispered in private. In deference to this phobia this social phenomenon is never aired except to be deprecated, and as a consequence the misinformed among the Caucasians stoutly maintain that it never takes place. Books dealing with the subject invariably end on a tragic note. When, some years ago, Eugene O'Neill's play "All God's Children Got Wings" was produced in New York City, such a supposedly liberal newspaper as the New York World denounced it on the ground that racial intermarriage is forbidden in 29 states of the Union. Of course, loud objection is only expressed when the miscegenation portrayed is between black men and white women. When the shoe is on the other foot the book or play is accepted on its merits. It will be recalled that "White Cargo," a play in which a white man and a mulatto woman were the principal characters, was produced all over the country and played to capacity houses everywhere.

So a loud outcry from the Negrophobists was expected when "Jonny Spielt Auf," a jazz opera by a German composer, Ernest Krenek, was brought to America by the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. This opera had such a successful run in various parts of Europe that the American opera authorities could not forego the opportunity to bring it to this country. The fly in the ointment, however, was the fact that the hero is a Negro jazz leader who successfully makes love to several Caucasian ladies in the course of the opera. Mr. Gatti Cassaza, director of the Metropolitan Opera House, anticipated that the opera would meet with strenuous objections if the part of Jonny should be played by a Negro as it was in Europe. So a white singer, with face blacked but unblacked hands in plain sight, was assigned to the role. Many incendiary lines in the jazz opera were also deleted or rendered innocuous by skillful editing. Even then, however, that eminent ecclesiastic, Dr. Christian F. Reisner, pastor of the celebrated Skyscraper Church in New York, denounced the play, saying:

> "I don't like it. I don't think it a healthy thing for the city. We have too much friction here as it is, and I think it would agitate and irritate many of the splendid Southerners who live in New York."

Another New York Negrophobe denounced the opera more strongly claiming that:

> "It is an insult to the white race. Why, the city officials should turn the entire street cleaning force loose on the opera house tomorrow night and clean it out."

Despite these and similar remarks, the opera was produced to capacity houses and roundly applauded. The hero, though his face was covered with a black mask, was obviously a white man, so all went well. Nordic nervousness subsided and permitted the audience to enjoy the opera.

Such nonsensical occurrences are a better gauge of the intellectual level of white America than tons of statistics on inter-racial relations. Especially is this true in the light of the fact that the commotion over "Jonny Spielt Auf" occurred in New York, the most liberal and sophisticated city in the country. What would have been its reception in Atlanta, Kansas City, Louisville or New Orleans? One is led to conclude after observing such spectacles that while the year 1929 is with us, most of our white friends are living emotionally and intellectually in the 14th century. When will they reach mental maturity?

Racial Cooperation

The problem of Race leadership is indeed an acute one. It is impossible to set eyes upon one man who may be termed the leader of th Negro race. There are many who so style themselves, but at microscopic examination of any of these generally finds them lacking in some essential quality necessary for effective leadership.

Notwithstanding the problem Race leadership presents, racial co-operation, its concomitant, presents another perhaps more strikingly difficult. With every leadership there must be a following—a group to be led. It is the task of the masses of Negroes to provide an intelligent following. In a word, there must be co-operation with each other and with the leader. The leader must be supported by sympathetic followers—not those who fight against him, but those who believe in him and in his cause.

This is the difficulty with our group. We hate one another. We envy and despire each other's progress. Co-operation cannot exist amidst such jealousies and hatreds. It can only exist when Negroes learn race pride and race consciousness. It can exist only when the Negro realizes his possibilities as a race and when he takes pride in his racial heritages.

The man who has no pride in his race naturally believes that he is better than others of the same hue. He will believe that the Supreme Being made him just a little bit better than others and that he must live apart from his supposed inferior and mingle with a group which is in fact no better, but which exist on the honest but pitifully mistaken belief that the common Negro is of inferior quality. This type of Negro is the Negro who refuses to co-operate with the race in anything. He thinks he must "rule or ruin." He labors under the illusion that he is divinely called to lead; that he is too good and too important to follow. As a result he refuses to cooperate in any enterprise which is not for his glorification and which he cannot mislead. Now this is the type of Negro who truly needs to follow. Leadership in his hands would be a dangerous weapon. Race pride is one of the fundamental bases of Racial cooperation. If the Negro will take pride in his race he will be willing to support its projects. He will forget himself. He will realize that he can rise no higher than his race, and that the higher his race the higher he will be. The Negro who tries to leave his race ultimately finds that he lowers himself and injures his people because very soon this traitorous character is branded as a racial type. Unfortunately, we receive no cooperation from this type of Negro. He is another who foolishly believes he is divinely inspired to lead all Race organizations. This Negro should cooperate with leaders. The race wants no man as leader who is ashamed of his people—who thinks his race is beneath him. The most it can offer such a creature is an opportunity to reform himself by following intelligent leadership.

Very little can be accomplished without racial cooperation. With it, few things are impossible. If twelve million Negroes presented a solid front of union and cooperation, their demands and petitions would be more consequential and effective. As it is now, one group of Negroes ask for this thing, another for that, and so on. In most cases these groups are antagonistic to each other and each purports to represent the race. Can anything be accomplished with so many non-cooperating and conflicting elements?

The problem of leadership and the problem of cooperation are too closely interwoven to be divided. Race leadership must fail, if there is not one solid body supporting it. He who follows zealously is just as essential as the man who leads. What good is the general without the army—and vice versa? Both are essential ingredients.

In the economic world, lack of cooperation has been the besetting sin of the race's progress. We have built a pitiable few race businesses of National importance. Such a small number has been due to a lack of Racial cooperation. Race merchants fail to measure up to a single standard of quality and service; and Negroes refuse to buy from their own merchants.

Cooperation cannot be stressed too much within our group. It seems that we peculiarly abhor it and think it unnecessary. As long as we cling to this idea, just so long will we move forward with snail-like rapidity. The problem of "who shall follow" is as great as the problem of "who shall lead."

The task of a race leader is a tremendous one. Unfortunately he must not only lead the race, he must fight it also. He has not time to fight the battles of his race, for fighting the people who pretend to follow.

For sixty years the American Negro has fought himself through discord, strife and antagonism—let him now try Racial cooperation.

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Race Problem - 1929 I

United. States.

TRI-STATES RAMBLES

By GEORGE M. MORELAND

The Negro in Arkansas.

Harvey C. Couch, Genius.

Some day when I have opportunity I am going to assemble data on what the negro has contributed to the building of Arkansas. I do not doubt but that some of my readers would be surprised to learn that the members of this race have contributed no mean aid to the development of this commonwealth.

Arkansas not being densely populated by whites prior to the Civil War has not as great a negro population as some of the other southern states. Except in the eastern portion of the state there were no vast plantations where negro slaves were profitable. Yet with the small negro slave population the negro,

Arkansas Reports Infestation Only in Small Quantities.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 18.—The boll weevil has appeared in only a few places in the Arkansas cotton belt to date, according to officials of the Little Rock Cotton Exchange. In only a few plantations in this section has the insect appeared so far and then only in negligible quantities.

Compared with last season the appearance of the insect over the entire Arkansas cotton section this year is very small. The intense heat of the past few days has proved very destructive to the weevil, planters say. Government officials stated today that they can equality, which, of course, would be a vain and idle dream.

But the negro is progressing. I have watched them since engaging in this work. Several counties have negro farm agents and many negroes profit handsomely by learning to farm scientifically. In St. Francis and Mississippi counties are notable examples.

One-third of the population of Arkansas is colored. A majority of the colored population are in the eastern half of the state. Two counties, Clay and Benton, have no negroes.

While I was at Pine Bluff I was shown the handsome new college which Arkansas, assisted by other agencies, is building to educate the negroes of the state. The State Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College for Negroes is not a new institution. It has existed for several years. But it is now being given a new campus, new buildings and is being prepared to better serve the people for whom it is being built.

This college received the funds for its extensive building program from the following sources: The General Education Board of New York, $208,000; Julius Rosenwald Fund, $33,000; state of Arkansas. $275,000; proceeds of sale of old property, $30,000, and accumulated funds from the state, $26,000, making a grand total of $572,000, which is being used to build one of the best schools of its kind in the south.

And this is well. I believe a former governor of a neighboring state was in error when he said, "To educate a negro is to spoil a good farm hand."

Education never "spoils" anybody. Lack of it has been the curse of many nations. No nation can be prosperous and realize the full fruition of its possibilities with any portion of its population uneducated. This school is aiming to give the negroes of Arkansas the kind of education they need—agricultural, mechanical and normal training to fit them for agricultural and mechanical work and normal training to fit them to train other negroes.

Arkansas ranks thirty-seventh in literacy among the several states. If our negroes were better trained we would rank well toward the top. To quote a few statistics: Of the native born whites in Arkansas the percentage of illiteracy is only 4 per cent; of the total white population the percentage is 9.4 per cent, while the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes of Arkansas is 21.8 per cent. The United States estimates the illiteracy of the states by combining all the population which is as it should be done. It may readily be seen that if our negro illiteracy were brought down on a par with our white—native white, for instance, Arkansas would rank well toward the top of the list in literacy.

It was glad to see that great school for the education of the negroes of Arkansas being built at Pine Bluff. It not only means much for the negroes who are entitled to education by the state, but it also means less embarrassment for the educated white people of Arkansas when the federal government publishes its census statistics.

MENCKEN'S EDITORIAL REVIEWED

In the June Mercury, we have read as carefully and thoughtfully as is possible, while perched on a hospital bed, encased in bandages, an editorial by H. L. Mencken, for whom praise is as superfluous as coal to Newcastle, castigation as harmless as raindrops falling upon a swan. For the information of my patrons, I shall broadcast through these columns a few reflections and opinions engendered by this storm or silence producing editorial. Some of our brethren have raged, others retired into a quietude, wise if not commendable, since Mencken's pen has more than scratched the surface of the most sensitive parts of our spiritual, financial and political systems. His beginning, a consensus as vast as varied, is as follows:

"The colored brother, sweating up from slavery, pauses now and then to take stock of himself. Such a stock-taking engages him today, and I gather from the reports issuing out of it that there is a considerable satisfaction in dark society. A few killjoys, to be sure, cackle somewhat dismally—for example, the uremic George S. Schuyler, of the Pittsburgh Courier—but the prevailing tone of the discussion is one of complacency. The worst days, it seems to be pretty well agreed, are past. The Aframerican actor, for long condemned to rough and bawdy shows, is now received gravely on Broadway, and in sombre, indignant roles. Books by Aframerican authors are read and their contents noted. An Aframerican scientist, leaping from yarbs to the higher chemistry, has discovered a way to make breakfast foods and automobile tires out of peanut hulls. Aframerican music is moaned and grunted everywhere, abroad as well as it home. In all the great centers of culture there are swarms of Aframerican publicists, orthodontists, insurance agents, realtors, beauticians, morticians and bootlicians, and soon there will be Rotarians and Kiwanians, as there are already Freemasons, Macabees and Elks. An Aframerican lawyer has been elected to Congress. The color line vanishes in New York society, and a file of high yallers threatens to follow the Ashkenazim into St. Bartholomew's. Finally, lynching has begun to go out of fashion below the Potomac, save only in the Baptist republic of Mississippi, and even there it is appreciably less popular than it used to be.

All this is pleasant to contemplate, for the dark brethren have had a hard time in the world, and every boon they enjoy today they have got by bitter effort. May the tongue freeze and the tonsils boil in whosoever raises a hoot against them! Nevertheless, it is still possible, while granting them everything that is their due, to view their achievement with a certain judicial calm, pointing out wherein they have got something valuable and wherein they have fallen short. My belief as a sincere partisan is that, on the whole, their fallings short mount up to more than their gains, and that their present situation is far less cheerful than most of them appear to think. For all their progress, economic, political and cultural, they have yet failed to accomplish two things that are of the first importance—indeed, more important than any other. The first is the organization of their people into a coherent and reasonably steadfast bloc, capable of acting, when the common interest is at stake, as a unit. The second is the formulation of a programme for it, with clear and attainable goals."

who essay to lead the American Negro out of the bullrushes will never get very far until they grapple boldly with the problem thus presented to them. It confronts the leaders of the white South too, but not to the same dismaying degree. The white South, indeed, already makes some progress toward solving it, if only to the extent of comprehending its nature. Gantry still reigns, but opposition to his rule is rolling up. The Negro leaders are recreant here; they struggle for their people without recognizing frankly what is principally the matter with them. Uncle Tomism is denounced, but the hordes of clerical Uncle Toms are scarcely challenged. Yet it must be plain that the Negroes will never make themselves felt as a race, save upon the lowest level of servitude, so long as nine-tenths of them take their notions of the true, the good and the beautiful from professional enemies of every intellectual dignity and decency. Here is where their leaders had better strike in. It is a waste of effort to save men from lynchers and then resign them to revivalists."

Everything by which we are surrounded is white, except our complexion, and daily its approximation of that hue is enhanced. The religion, language, art, every standard of excellence, is white. How can we think black? Mass persecution, we reiterate, is the only means to produce such a result.

Relative to business, in our opinion, Mencken makes a ten-strike! Among other wise remarks, this should be in letters off gold: "NO MAN WITH MONEY BEHIND HIM, GOES UNREGARDED IN AMERICA, BE HE WHITE, BLACK OR BLUE." Memorize that and take heed. We should appreciate the many lessons, this editorial teaches. It comes from a friend. "Those whom the Lord love[illegible] chasteneth."

YOUTH AND COLOR PREJUDICES

IF IT were not for older folks there is good reason to believe that inter-racial relations would improve much more steadily than they do. It is observable in many places and on frequent occasions that young white boys and girls are anxious to know and understand Negroes as equals, even in the barbarous reaches of Dixie, but their elders stand in the way.

Take, for example, the recent incident at a Gary high school. The Negro students gave a junior prom and invited the white students. The latter attempted to attend but were restrained from doing so by several of their teachers, presumably members of or sympathizers with the Ku Klux Klan.

Not long ago in Boston and two or three other places the police attempted to prevent young people of both groups from attending get-together dances sponsored by the Young Communists League.

Such is the story almost everywhere. Fortunately America is entering a new era. Those in charge of business and public affairs are increasingly younger and younger and more and more disdainful of custom and tradition. This must necessarily be so in an age where the physical environment changes almost overnight. It augurs well for the future of race relations.

"The Lily White" Plot Thickens

By KELLY MILLER

THE issues of the last campaign split the Solid South in twain. Republican statesmanship has for a long time striven to devise some plan whereby a strong competitive organization might be built up in the Southern States. Finding it next to impossible to Republicanize the South it finally hit upon the expediency of Southernizing the Republican party.

The primary issue involved is the recognition of the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing political equality of black and white. That principle is virtually surrendered by the declaration of the Republican party of Virginia recently assembled at Richmond. The only effective bid for the support of white voters is to eliminate the Negro and suppress his claims. This was done with a vengeance. Mr. Anderson is the mouthpiece and oracle of the Republican party of Virginia. He was twice its candidate for governor. He stands in high favor with President Hoover, who made him a member of his Crime Commission.

In sounding the keynote of the convention, Mr. Anderson declared that the established political and what party is in power. Here is the whole "lily white" philosophy in a nutshell. Upon the strength of this declaration, Mr. Venable of ancient and venerable Virginia acclaims that hereafter no white man in the Old Dominion need apologize for belonging to the Republican party.

Bascom Slemp for the past ten years has been the go-between of the political forces of the North and the South. Mr. Coolidge, with silent cunning, made him his private secretary with a view to heading up Southern delegates at the Republican convention. Mr. Hoover used his good offices in the same behalf. Mr. Slemp is the statesman of the new "lily whitism."

To any one who followed the last campaign with discernment, the plot was as plain as the fingers on the hand. The Negro must needs be eliminated to make way for more Southern white men to manage the fortune of the Grand Old Party in the South. It is need-



— Kelly Miller —

less to state the obvious steps taken to promote this end. I tried my best to make the Negro sensible of what was taking place during the past campaign while the happenings were under way.

Every Negro has been eliminated from the Republican machinery to make smooth the way of the coalition of the "lily whites" and the Hoovercrats. The plan has unfolded with the logical precision of a theorem in geometry. No sooner has Mr. Slemp put the machinery in operation in Virginia than does President Hoover rush into the arena with full approval and applause of his plan as the model for building up competitive party organizations in other Southern States. Who so has mind to understand, let him understand.

I do not now, I did not during the campaign, condemn Mr. Hoover's policy. I simply analyzed and described it. Sometimes accurate description carries with it the surest praise or condemnation. Mr. Hoover is unquestionably genuine and sincere in his desire to build up a competing Republican party in the South. He wishes to do the best thing for the Negro, as he sees it. Being a practical politician, he does not scruple at the requisite means for promoting the calculated end in view. If Perry Howard, Ben Davis, Walter Cohen, Bob Church, et al, must needs be sacrificed, so let it be. The offense must needs come, but woe unto the discarded politicians through whom it cometh. This is a fair, unbiased description of Mr. Hoover's political philosophy.

Southernizing the Republican party is deemed the only means for the ultimate political redemption of the South and the Negro, who must drink the cup of humiliation to its very dregs. The Southern Negro is in a political vise with the upper and lower jaws closing upon him. There is now no difference between a Quaker conscience and a political expediency.

We can only watch the outcome of this duel in Mr. Hoover's mind great political parties. The differences of observation are attributes of geography. Hoover and Al Smith, Raskob and Work, Bascom Slemp and Governor Byrd, Carrager and Dan Moody, may easily be paired on this issue.

There is no difference between Democrat and Republican in the North. Under the "lily white" program, there will be none in the South. The Negro in Virginia, hereafter, may as well vote for one ticket as the other. The stamp of approval placed by the head of the Republican party upon the subordination of the Negro in Virginia forever robs the Negro spellbinder of his traditional argument of the divine Republicans and diabolical Democrats.

The Virginia Negro voter can now enter the Democratic primary. He can vote for either party with a similar degree of humiliation. His only alternative is, like Achilles, to sulk in his tent with disgust for both. Barring this he must negotiate to defeat Mr. Hoover and his "lily white" program for the next quadrennium. With whom will he negotiate? Where will he find within the Republican party any different or more friendly attitude?

The kicking backward and forth the Fourteenth Amendment in the recent apportionment issue shows precisely the direction in which the political wind is blowing. There were only two genuine supporters of the Fourteenth Amendment among the 435 members of the House of Representatives. There were Tinkham of Massachusetts and DePriest of Chicago. The others were playing politics of the cheapest variety. There is no conscience left in the Republican party to which the Negro can appeal from the "lily white" decision of Hoover.

We heard very much within the past few weeks about a certain tea party. The only feature about this little repast, worthy of notice, is that it reveals the double acting quality of the Hoover mind. It is amazingly out of harmony with his "lily white" Southern policy.

He must have known how this simple act of official civility would enrage the Ku Klux Klan, whose support he accepted and whose avowed policy he let pass unrebuked. He knew well the sensitiveness of the South on all semblance of social approachment between the races, and that his "lily white" Southern policy would be given a rude shock. And yet his Quaker conscience held him to the observance of this affirmation, which with his sect has the binding power of an oath, to give equal opportunity to all without regard to creed or color.

Race Problems - 1929 II

U.S.



No "Popular Subscription Fund" Is Doing This!

JOURNAL
SIOUX CITY, IA.

AUG 24 1929

much better advantage and profit.

DE PRIEST AN AGITATOR

Representative Oscar De Priest, negro member of congress from Illinois, has rapidly developed the fact that he is a race agitator rather than a constructive leader of his people. Because of the bitterness with which he complains against alleged social and political conditions affecting his race, his frequent haranguing of negro audiences may make the situation worse instead of better. Numerous times he has undertaken to incite negroes, which surely cannot be wise conduct for a member of congress of any race. He has attempted to arouse the negro both socially and politically. He would have his people resent their treatment at the hands of the dominant race, which is white. It were entirely possible that some of the De Priest utterances since he became a member of congress might even incite race riots.

De Priest has left no one in doubt as to his attitude toward his official position. He is reputed to be a man of considerable wealth. So with riches and a high official position De Priest has become arrogant. In the south his conduct would be called "uppity" even by his own people, those negroes who understand the white race and who in turn are understood, who both give and receive respect and affection. For in the south, which does not begin to have such a negro problem as has the north and for the reason that both whites and negroes know each other better, there is and has been for many years a powerful feeling of mutual regard. The De Priest attitude toward the white race is not that of the southern negro. A southern negro of as much education as De Priest appears to possess would have more dignity, more balance, more understanding of what his people needed and how best to obtain it.

Representative De Priest has made the mistake of being destructive rather than constructive in his criticisms. He also has deliberately asserted himself in too great degree when it was wholly unnecessary. He will appoint "a bigger and blacker negro" to West Point if the negro cadet already there is not treated right. He will go into the congressional barber shop and restaurant when he pleases. Plainly enough this has been said for one purpose—to tantalize and annoy whites accustomed to racial segregation. If negro leaders can find a way to suppress Representative De Priest by impressing him with the fact that he hurts the race immeasurably more than he helps it they ought to do it without delay. Negroes ought to be represented in official life. Oscar De Priest may be misrepresenting them.

THE MARION STAR, M

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NEGRO TEACHERS

There is going on now, in our town, a summer school for negro teachers. It is the twelfth year. It began with twenty-seven teachers. It has this session 235. They come from the various counties in and beyond the Pee Dee section: Orangeburg, Charleston, Georgetown, Horry, Marion, Florence and Darlington.

From year to year I have had the opportunity and the privilege of occasionally giving them a talk at the midday hour. The school is doing a great work for the negro teachers who come to take the course of study.

I am quite sure that some of our citizens do not know that such a school is going on in our midst. These teachers come for work, and they are quietly doing the work assigned them. It would be hard to find a more earnest body of men and women. I am quite sure that our town is helped in many ways by the presence of these quiet and earnest men and women.

I am quite sure that the race problem is being worked out without any friction between the best classes of both races. It is hard for racial prejudice to live in an atmsophere of love such as always exists between good people of both races. Right relations between God and man necessarily means right relations be-

tween man and man. "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

But I only meant to write a few words commendatory of there 235 teachers. Their conduct in our town and their conscientious work in school deserves the highest praise.

Rufus Ford.

INDEPENDENT
Anderson, S. C.
AUG 24 1929

Saturday, Aug.

DONE SAID TOO DAMN MUCH

William F. Dumne, of New York, a representative of the Central Committee of the Communists, was speaking in North Charlotte last Saturday night.

Seated in the audience was an aged cotton mill operative, of the mountaineer type. The man was tall and lanky, but was badly bent from rheumatism.

As Dunne attacked the cotton mills and President Hoover, the old man applauded vigorously and even when Dunne praised Russia he clapped his hands in approval.

Finally Dunne said—

"If my sister wants to marry a negro, she is welcome and free to do so. I had rather see her marry a good negro worker than a white bum."

Then the old man arose in the audience and said, "You done said too damn much," and turning his bent form, towards the door, the patriarch of the mills shuffled his way out of the hall.

He could approve abuse of the cotton mills and stand for praise of Russia, but in his veins was pure Anglo-Saxon blood and when a white man sunk so low as to say that he had no objection to his sister marrying a negro the old man could associate with him no longer.

Communists may harange until judgment day but they can never convince the cotton mill operatives of the South that negroes are their equals.

The old man was right when he said to Dunne, "You done said too damn much."—Southern Textile Bulletin.

JOURNAL
AUGUSTA, ME.
AUG 26 1929

A Time for Caution

There have been of late indications that the South is becoming less apprehensive of the colored vote and the wiser among the blacks have shown less willingness to lend themselves to political exploitation. This seems to verify the conclusions of some of the leaders that the negro will be better served by dividing his vote than by massing it for any one political party or endeavoring to form a political party of his own.

Mr. DePriest , member of Congress from Illinois, has become by reason of his position looked up to by many of his race, especially by the colored people in the North, who in some localities are an increasingly important factor in the regard of those playing the political game. DePriest seems disposed to be very insistent for the rights of the colored people, but whether with wisdom remains to be seen. His influence appears to run contrary to that of some of the leaders in the South.

Hearing that an appointee of his at West Point is complaining of the treatment received there he is reported to have said that if that boy leaves he will send a bigger and a blacker one. It was said that he was using his influence to have the colored voters form a party of their own. This he has denied, but he has advised the colored voters in the Harlem district to mass their votes for a colored candidate as against a white candidate.

Those on whom rests the responsibility for leadership of that race should not overlook the very important fact that among the white people of this country there is a very influential sentiment on behalf of justice for the colored people and quick sympathy in recognition of the merit, which so many of them have shown under adverse conditions. Any policy which tends to alienate that sympathy would inevitably prove injurious. This is a time for proceeding cautiously.

...ne of the police force.

R. C. Ulmer and Company, Inc., were in charge of arrangements.

Negro 4-H Club Boys Attend Short Course

More than a dozen Ware county negro-4-H Club boys accompanied the colored agent, Alexander Hurse, to Savannah, last week-end, where they are spending this week in study and recreation at the State Negro Agricultural College.

Race Prejudice

SIR: Mr. Bagnall's able and interesting article in a recent issue of The New Republic brings to my mind an incident that, I believe, is pertinent to the entire Negro problem in this country. Mr. Bagnall's discussion merely mentions a most serious aspect of the problem, namely the relationship of the two races and the adjustment of that relationship.

New Republic

Two years ago, this month, I was travelling from New York to Chicago. The trains were crowded at that time with vacationers, and it was with difficulty that I had been able to get any Pullman reservation. But I had—a lower berth at the end of the car. I got on the train, took my seat, got my bags settled, opened a magazine and waited for the train to start. A few minutes later the porter ushered into my section the occupant of the upper berth. She was a young colored girl, not a full blood, but very dark.

9-11-29

I pride myself on being broad-minded, and tolerant, in so far as I can, of races and creeds other than my own. Also I labor under the delusion that I am a sociologist, and I had just put in a year in London making little comparative studies of racial differences and reading beautiful books on social adjustment and the like. I had listened to my British colleagues discuss at length the unreasonable white American attitude towards Negroes, and to a certain extent I had been convinced. And now here I was, a broad-minded, tolerant sociologist with a Negro seat-mate, and I didn't like it!

New York, N. Y.

There were no vacant places in the car.

In theory there was nothing to be excited about: born free and equal—same economic status which allowed both of us in Pullman seats—freedom of opportunity, etc., etc., etc.

My vis-avis was nicely dressed, quiet, and was behaving like a lady. Pretty soon I asked her where she was going. She told me Chicago, that she had been in New York two weeks on her vacation. She was a stenographer. Then she asked me where I was going. I told her, and also added that I, too, had been vacationing in New York. I was a teacher. We both agreed we liked to visit in New York, that the theaters were wonderful, but that we were glad we didn't live where there were so many people, (the same old story that non-New Yorkers tell one another). Then I started in having an attack of hay fever. My companion was sympathetic and told me of a remarkable remedy that had helped a friend of hers who had the same affliction. I was grateful. All in all, we didn't have too bad a time socially. She was rather interesting, much more so than the perfect type of Nordic maiden across the aisle who went to dinner with me. This, however, is merely leading up to the point of my story.

The next morning in the dressing-room, a nice elderly woman (also pure Nordic) started chatting. She said: "Oh, I felt so sorry for you yesterday when I saw that colored girl in your section I thought how awful it must be for you, and *I was so relieved when I discovered she was your maid!*"

Economically, educationally, artistically, culturally, the Negroes have undoubtedly made marvelous progress in the last two decades. Should we be distressed, thankful or just amused that our so-called deep-seated racial antipathies can be so easily dissipated?

Kittery Point, Maine. VIRGINIA DIXON DEAN

Race Problem - 1929

United States - Moving Pictures Relating to.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN BANNED IN VALDOSTA

VALDOSTA, April 22.—(AP)—Little Eva is saved. The bloodhounds are on leash and the blacksnake in storage.

Strict police orders prevented showing of the movie "Uncle Tom's Cabin," scheduled to be presented here today and tomorrow.

While announcement of the booking was made last week protests from women's clubs began to pour into the police station and the theater manager's office. The Ministerial Association joined the movement. The reason most generally assigned for the protests was fear of interracial ill feeling.

Race Problem - 1929

U.S. Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

AGE HERALD
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

MAR 1 01929

Are Negro Writers Exploiting Their People?

Dana Skinner, dramatic editor of The Commonweal, protests, in a review of Harlem, a new negro play, "against the particular way in which this melodrama exploits the worst features of the negro and depends for its effects solely on the explosions of lust and sensuality." He continues: "The good characters are hopelessly ineffectual, and all the rest are either worthless hypocrites, like the father who uses his home as a center of debauchery in order to pay the rent, or criminals of the worst type. Anyone given to prejudice and haphazard judgments would come away from this play with the impression that Harlem is a den of black filth where animal passions run riot and where the few negroes with higher ideas or ideals are hopelessly snowed under the black flakes from a sodden sky."

This play, written by negroes and with one exception acted by negroes, is heralded as "an episode of life in New York's Black Belt." In its search for atmosphere, it succeeds merely in offering an animalistic exhibition. Mr. Skinner seems to imply that this kind of exploitation is being done at the instance not of negroes, but of others eager to capitalize the exotic note which has come to be attached to protrayals of negro life. The fact is, however, that negroes themselves are contributors to this state of affairs.

In proof of this assertion, consider Claude McKay's "Back to Harlem." McKay is by way of being an artist. He is regarded as one of the leading exponents of the so-called negro literary renaissance. Yet his book serves merely to provide a picture of sex obsession, which if it be a well-balanced appraisal of negro character must make thoughtful men despair of that very advance which the new articulateness of negro writers is supposed to embody.

Unmistakably the negro is rising, unmistakably he is attaining a level of competence and development, which makes most of the current attempts to interpret him the cheapest kind of vaudeville or the vulgarest stabs at a false realism. The unhappy situation is that negro life was discovered for literary and dramatic use just at the time when sophistication became the keynote of our literature. Men like Dubose Heyward or Paul Green, both white, managed to avoid being swamped by the flood of sex. But that can hardly be said of negroes who have sought to hold a mirror up to their race's nature.

It may seem idle to deplore these treatments of the negro, when the same emphasis is being placed upon portrayals of current life without reference to color. As Mr. Skinner says, "the perversions and excesses of supposedly educated whites have about them a deliberate cynicism which makes them even more objectionable than the explosions of ignorant passion." But the fact remains that the negro's assumed exoticism is being used as a vehicle for putting across rotten stuff which would not otherwise be suffered, and the even uglier fact remains that negro artists are parties to this deliberate blotching of their race.

Surely there is enough material in the struggles and agonies of the dark people for noble tragedies and cleansing comedies, for novels which reflect something more than animalism. And surely negro intellectuals owe it to their folk to recognize some other obligation than that of holding their weaknesses up to public gaze, without presenting the better and more hopeful aspects of negro life. The avidity with which negro writers and actors concentrate on the primitive bawdiness of their fellows is nothing less than degrading. Harlem may not be the pleasantest place in the world, but it is not altogether the cesspool of lust which some of its high-brow denizens would have us believe it is.

WHAT NOVELISTS WRITE.

An acute and discriminating literary critic, in reviewing a novel by a favorite American author, laid down the following dictum: "The novelist in our day rarely writes about normal cases, but seeks the abnormal, the striking and the new." Only a few, he said, recognize the drama, pathos and tragedy in the lives of the average human being. The same thing, we suppose, might be said of the playwright, judging from the abnormalties of human action that are presented on the modern stage. This is the reason why censorship and police interference are so frequently exercised against the sale of certain novels and the production of certain plays.

While this seeking for the abnormal, the striking and the new, is true of novel writers in general, with but few exceptions, it is especially marked among those who choose Negro themes for portrayal. This has been noted before in the novels and plays purporting to depict Negro life in Harlem. Some of these writers have invested the characters drawn with a bizarre and exotic aspect that is wholly foreign to the subject and to the locality. Others have indulged in the detailed description of crude depravity and orgiastic performances that should have no place outside of a police court action for disorderly conduct.

Some of the plays are as bad as the novels, except for the fact that fear of police interference causes the management to tone down the exhibition of animalistic orgies. In the case of the latest of these plays, which seems to have won the favor of most of the dramatic reviewers as a picture of the Negro as the public wants to have him look, one of the critics sought to justify the rough spots of the performance by terming it merely a case of realism. Burns Mantle, in the Daily News, quoted a letter sent forth by the authors of "Harlem" in defense of their production as follows:

"Harlem isn't as well covered by the newspapers," runs the letter, "and many gang killings take place and many a rebellious young girl like Cordelia Williams get mixed up in them without downtowners knowing the slightest thing about it. The police, too, don't bother much because a 'dead nigger' isn't very important."

As for the dancing orgy known as a "rent party," the authors are again pleased to defend themselves on the ground that, although the animalistic exhibitions of their actors may offend some, they are nothing to what might have happened.

"All we can say here," they say here, "is that the party on the stage of the Apollo is a tame affair compared to the average Harlem rent party. In fact Mr. Erskine, the stage director, had to warn the players continually not to become too realistic, and their habitual protest was and is, 'Is dis a rent party or ain't it?'"

Mr. Erskine is obliged to answer that it is, in fact, a rent party, but that unfortunately there are likely to be those in the audiences who are a bit sensitive about learning the facts of life in mixed company.

Because such abnormal phases of human existence as are portrayed in this play and in the novels dealing with Harlem can be pointed out as really existent, does not justify their use either on the stage or within the pages of a novel. The age of realism in fiction was supposed to have passed out with the end of the Rougon-Macquart family as recorded by Emile Zola. In his works he sought to demonstrate a scientific theory as to the transmission of certain traits by heredity. That done, he dropped the realistic portrayal of vice and depravity for healthier themes. But the novelists and playwrights of today portray vice and crime without even Zola's excuse for the study. It may be in response to a public demand for such a pabulum, but the result is in most cases demoralizing.

Probably this evil will bring about its own cure by finally sickening the public that whets its appetite for the abnormal by gloating over obscene literature and salacious plays. But in the meantime considerable harm is done to sections like Harlem where the abnormal is pictured as the average, and rent parties are supposed to be as frequent as the visits of the collector.

[illegible], S. C., State
[illegible], March 3, 1929

"Potee's Gal", by Ned Adams.

This little "drama of Negro life," as Dr. Adams calls it, may be, quite soon, famous for several distinguishing merits, but it is certain to be famous for one brightly luminous circumstance. It sought the ordeal of the prophet's being honored in his own country, an ordeal at the same time of having original folk-writing and acting happily appraised and accepted—in its own country—and was rejected on both counts, cast out for its very integrity to art and nature and its use of native fact and flesh to enact it.

All, or most of this, may be set down to mere prejudice and vague apprehensions that have held the local field so long as to have worked into the color and viscosity of our blood. But it will be set down in the records as part of its apparel of fame and glory.

The little drama, so "pyo nigguh" as to be impossible of acting naturally except by Negroes of the same type, has already, therefore, achieved its first great distinction—the martyr's shirt of fire. And by that

illumination, it may now march on to other triumphs.

It is frequently insisted by critics and technicians that a drama is not literature...that it is "play" and play only. It may be dealt with by the critic, therefore, only when it is performed, and then entirely as an acted play. We should challenge so obviously absurd a judgment, even if we had never read a "closet" play or witnessed a real drama acted on the stage. Some of our best literature is in our plays, and much of it is made the better for the enlivening dialog and dramatic form. The many personalities that go to make up each of us may take the thing in hand, if we so choose, and act it out as we read. And, we take it, this is about what the most interested and alert readers actually do in reading a play, whether or not they have ever seen it on the stage. We can do this easily with Dr. Adams's play as it is subtly and perfectly narrated in terms of dialog and drama. It acts itself. In any event, what we have to say about it, at this time, must be said of the play as dramatic literature, as a play in posse, as it were, and treat it as acted drama.

The play is made up of a few highly intensified and dramatized incidents in the love and sporting life of Big Charleston, an engaging type of the black bravo or fighting buck, and his sudden infatuation for Potee's Gal the goddess in the machine, with whom all young bucks fall desperately and at once in love, in their jungle fashion and quick action. The drama might with equal aptness have been called "Big Charleston." Charleston has one girl, at the time of the play, not that a little coincidence like that matters; he is immediately caught up by the glamor of Potee's Gal—and the action becomes straight away furious and fast.

After an introductory scene, perfectly drawn, every coal stroke of it delineating a line or angle more of the life of the play—a scene of the famous "hot supper" the Negroes so dearly love—Big Charleston is brought in and his entire possibilities etched in a few lines. Every incident worth noting in the rest of Big Charleston's dramatic career is "planted" in rank soil at once. We know how far he will go, and the big hurrah he will drag along with him.

Silas and Potee's Gal—she is then Silas's gal also—come into the play, and what has been roaring comedy, with the usual Negro undertone of pathos, sweeps into tragic possibilities. If you know any little thing about the niggers Ned Adams is writing of, you know the devil had business on his hand as soon as the triangular scene opens with Silas and Potee's Gal, and Big Charleston breaking in. The moment Big Charleston sees the girl he snatches her away from Silas. Love works swiftly in the jungle, even on the sluggish Congaree.

"Great God, sugar," he says to her. "I dreams 'bout you in de night. You de kind er gal I lays awake at night an' thinks 'bout. Come on, sugar, I got honey for you' years. Les we dance. You my pickin'."

A minute later, Big Charleston has forced a quarrel on Silas, or forced Silas to defend the girl—and has killed Silas by a nigger buck's trick—strangling him across his knees. After this murder of her lover, Silas, Big Charleston, like Richard Second, woos and wins the sweetheart.

It hardly seems a propitious moment for love-making; but the playwrights pull off the stuff, and it seems very natural and girlish in all races.

The funeral of Silas affords a fine opportunity for Adams's use of his unmatched material gathered from long and friendly intercourse with the black folk of the Congaree swamp. He is as familiar with their customs and voodoo and lingo (or dialect) as they are themselves, and it is amazing how adroitly he works it into the real stuff of drama, giving us, even in this jargon and semi-barbarous life, a real interpretation of Aristotle's formula for drama—"character in action."

This is the portion of the play that, we think, will please most the audiences in other parts of the country, for it presents the swamp Negro as the crude but keen child of nature he is, with his immense spirituality and love of fun and life, his forest eloquence and poetry of thought and speech...and a touch here and there of his memory and fear of his white "masters" and lawgivers. When Silas is killed, Dr. Adams, mindful of his superb satire of our white justice for the Negro, "A Damn Nigger" in "Nigger to Nigger"—makes one of his niggers say, as they fly from the scene, "I reckon we best be guine 'fore de rural police come. DEY LIABLE TO PUT ANY ON US IN DE CHAIR—it ain't make no diff'ence who done it."

There is a stirring handling of the funeral, with its spirituals and the Negro sermon—"death takes on the shadow of night for the body of Brother Silas." And no audience can fail to catch the jungle splendor of the sermon in a sort of spiritualized chant—

> He rests from his labor,
> And he sleeps—
> (shrill voice of Sister:
> "he sleeps, oh, he sleeps")
> Where the tall pines grow
> On the banks of a river

Needless to say, Big Charleston is acquitted, on the testimony of the sweetheart of the murdered man, Potee's Gal, and the Gal is taken into the camp of Big Charleston.

But there is a complication. Appears on the scene, Kaline, who had been Big Charleston's gal, and announces she has a baby by Big Charleston. This pleases the buck so much he promises to go with the mother and child; when Potee's Gal turns up again, and the tragedy rushes to its swift catastrophe. The girl stabs Big Charleston, who, as he dies, kills Potee's Gal, in the same simple manner in which he had killed her first lover, Silas.

The sketch-outline of the story is given in Congaree Sketches, as "Big Charleston." And those who may be especially interested in the unusually excellent character-picture of Big Charleston may care to find a brilliant thumb-nail picture of him—as we think Dr. Adams intended it—in "Mensa," in "Nigger to Nigger." Take this as the main brush-strokes:

"De last time I see Mensa, he wave he hand to we an' walk off. I kin see him now walkin' down the footpath, walkin' like a tiger cat. He look onct, and den swing hisself away like a piece er music on de air; an' as I notice him, I see him walk away toward de sunset till he fade forever whilst we was gazin'."

There you have, in "a sunset touch," Big Charleston and the fine rhythm and jungle bravura of him.

Again, for we have said something very like this before, we have to thank Ned Adams for certain exceedingly rare beauties in his nigger stories and drama. He never presses the note, as the critics of music and painting say, but lets the simple talk of his niggers tell their own story, and makes what we call dialect—a word he hates as applied to his friendly Congaree people—a picturesque and perfect medium of thought, story, drama. His dialect is never artificered; but flows out of the scene and its simple human—or animal—actors.

It is an everlasting loss to us, in more values than one, that we were denied the privilege of hearing and seeing this rare native play performed by its very "persons of the drama," upon our own Congaree stage.

Distinguished Southern Figure in 1928 Pulitzer Prize.

In the announcement of the 1927-1928 Pulitzer awards just made, three prominent Southerners figure. The prize for the best novel of the past year goes to Mrs. Julia Peterkin's *Scarlet Sister Mary*. The prize for the best editorial of 1928 goes to Louis I. Jaffe, editor of the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* for an editorial entitled *The Unspeakable Savagery of Lynching*. The prize for the best biography of 1928 goes to Burton Hendrick for his book *The Earlier Life of Walter H. Page*, which records the years spent by Page in his native state, North Carolina. The prize for the best poem goes to Stephen Vincent Benet, a writer who spent his boyhood in Augusta, Ga., where his father was commandant at the Arsenal. The poem is *John Brown's Body* and it has been widely read and greatly admired in this section.

It was a matter of surprise in this section that last year's award for the best novel went *to The Bridge of San Luis Rey* rather than to Mrs. Peterkin's *Black April*. The latter was one of the outstanding books of the year, a thrilling, vivid and poignant account of life on a remote South Carolina plantation—one of the best delineations of the Negro ever written in this country. While Thornton Wilder's book was well done, it had absolutely no point of contact with life in the United States, and it notably lacked the virility and fundamental appeal which Mrs. Peterkin's book carried. Admirers of this gifted Southern woman were greatly chagrined that *Black April* was passed by in favor of a novel which was as little "American" in its flavor as anything by, say, Anatole France or Anton Chekov.

Scarlet Sister Mary is concerned with the same group of primitive people amongst whom Mrs. Peterkin has lived for many years, the Negroes on her husband's plantations in South Carolina. It is a brilliant, sympathetic, richly human document, full of humor and pathos but we think *Black April* a finer production which makes it all the more regrettable, in our opinion, that Mrs. Peterkin failed to be honored last year. It might be argued by the over-meticulous that a record of Negro life hardly falls within the range of the Pulitzer award. We disagree. Negroes are as much "American citizens" as anybody in these states, even the most primitive and illiterate of them. And the moralistic condition tacked on to the fiction prizes, that the novel or play so honored must be an "uplifting" or "idealistic" account of American life and customs, has already been disregarded in several instances. After last year's award to *Strange Interlude* it would be ludicrous to stress the adjective "uplifting" or "idealistic" in connection with the awards, which is as it should be. The awards in literature should be assigned for literary merit and not for morals.

That Louis Jaffé had been cited is something for which every patriotic Southerner will rejoice. Mr. Jaffé is not only one of the most courageous and straight-thinking editors in the United States but one of the most intelligent and cultivated. His paper stands for everything that fearless and honorable men respect. His attitude toward lynching, toward religious bigotry, toward oppression of helpless and humble citizens has been outspoken and persistent and his denunciations of this kind of lawlessness and cowardice have been couched in terms that were as high-toned and intelligent as they were bold and unequivocal.

Burton Hendrick's work as a biographer is too well known to call for praise. Especially has he shone as a biographer of Walter Page and this latest work about a leading Southern publicist and editor is full of interest to Southern readers. Page's early life in North Carolina, his efforts as an editor and as a patriot in his native state, were far more widely appreciated outside of his state than within its borders. Indeed, for lack of support and appreciation at home, he was forced, as have been many other brilliant Southerners, to go North to earn a living. However, the seed which Page and others of his associates sowed in the South have come to fruition during the passage of the years and North Carolina's great progress during the past quarter century is due in great measure to the intelligent and courageous pioneering of Page, Aycock, and Graham in that state. It is gratifying that the Pulitzer citation should focus attention upon the less familiar period of Page's life and his admirable work in his native state.

Race Problem - 1929
U. S. Literary Exploitation of the Negro.

NEW YORK TIMES

MAR 15 1929

A WHITE MAN'S HOLIDAY.

Representative negro citizens are in the habit of denouncing as libel the pictures of Harlem and other geographical provinces of negro life in which the white man's literature and drama have taken so passionate an interest. This is a great pity. If spokesmen for the colored people will only try to rise to the height of the cultural argument they cannot fail to discern a notable compliment to the negro race. The novels and plays about Harlem—or Charleston or Haiti—reveal and revel in a primitive folk. It is a civilization still happy in the joyous rhythms and rich colors and free forms that have been vanishing, alas, out of our less primitive white civilization; and particularly that branch of white civilization which has been exposed to the Puritan miasma. What greater contemporary praise can there be for Harlem than to emphasize the delightful contrast it provides our white cognoscenti to the inhibitions of Main Street? Suppose 135th Street, as currently portrayed, does look like a very short step away from the Congo? Think of the kick our own rarer, truly civilized spirits get therefrom! Esthetically envisaged, Harlem is being glorified, not libeled.

Unfortunately, the negro critics we spoke of are not quite equal to the detached attitude; and with them are a good many white friends of the colored race. They find themselves thinking along outmoded, unesthetic lines. They insist on remembering the natural and historical handicaps under which the negro must fight his way up to a broader and richer existence, and they do not believe it makes things easier for the negro to have his life summed up in terms of voodoo and "rent parties." The colored race has been making notable strides in economic well-being, education, citizenship. In the last ten years the growth of negro colleges has been nearly twice as rapid as the sufficiently impressive expansion of all our colleges. Negro social life has experienced the rise of a large, prosperous and cultured middle class. But the literature of the period dealing with the negro is a literature predominantly of orgy—original jungle or improved cabaret. Nor do the "spirituals," so regularly invoked, avail against the prevailing atmosphere of animalism and riot.

Possibly "Harlem" literature is only an extension of a mood and a method with which white American civilization has had to reckon since the war. If crook-plays about everybody, why not crook-plays about Harlem? The answer is that no one is ever in danger of believing that the white underworld in the Broadway theatre ever faintly reflects the realities of ordinary existence. But concerning the negro people, as with any minority, there is that danger of misunderstanding. The orgiastic "rent party," which is now by way of establishing itself as a popular literary practice in Harlem, may induce people to forget the truth about Harlem tenements: the terrific overcrowding, the outrageously excessive rents, the human toil with spade and pickaxe and washboard that goes to pay for these rents; the lack of playgrounds; the high tuberculosis and mortality rates, and the progress that is being made in spite of all handicaps.

But is one that can hardly be pleasing to the metropolitan champions of the new negro writers, let alone to these writers themselves. For their object is to idealize the members of their race in the South, to show even that those lynched for attacks on white women are the innocent victims of "frame-ups," and to leave the dominating whites—pictured as ignorant, cruel and tyrannical—without a leg to stand on. Naturally Mrs. Peterkin's picture—touched with humor yet tolerant and sympathetic—is more acceptable in the experienced South, and, to judge from the popularity of her work, it is also found sufficiently convincing by the majority of readers in the North.

BRONX, N. Y.
NORTH SIDE NEWS

MAY 23 1929

A STORY OF CAROLINA NEGROES

The best American novel of 1928, according to the Pulitzer prize committee, is "Scarlet Sister May" by Mrs. Julia Peterkin, who is the owner and manager of a large plantation in South Carolina. As its title implies, it deals largely with the loose morals of an isolated group of Southern blacks—loose morals that go hand-in-hand with religious fervor and an insatiable love of singing "spirituals" that charm the lover of the bizarre in music. Like "Black April," the leading negro character of this author's previous book, who was the father of nearly all the negro children on the plantation, the mothers thereof being many, "Scarlet Sister Mary" went her free way with serene cheerfulness and content. Mrs. Peterkin writes from observation on her own plantation and the well informed are said to agree as to the accurate realism of the picture.

Race Problem- 1929
U.S.- Book Reviews.

"Ahead of Its Time"

By J. A. ROGERS

"IT will take the Negro in America another thirty or forty years to see 'Home to Harlem' in its true light—to appreciate it in the spirit in which I wrote it," said Claude McKay, speaking of the volume of adverse criticism he had received from Negroes on this book.

McKay, recent winner of the Harmon Prize in literature, has returned from a trip through North Africa, Spain and Italy, and is spending a few days in Paris before returning to his home in southern France.

He said that he had been surprised at the attacks that had been made on him, since he had writen only what he had seen. Some of his critics, he said, had accused him of "selling out to the white man," while others had charged him with being prejudiced against colored Americans. "Those who make the latter charge," he said, "however, will be forced to admit that I did not make saints or paragons of the West Indians in 'Home to Harlem.' I described them in the same impartial manner that I did the Americans, colored or white."

He went on to say that he was interested chiefly in what is known as the lower class Negro; that his sympathies were very strongly with that class; but, as a realist in literature, he had to record what he saw.

"Take the leading character, Jake," he said; "underneath all his shortcomings you'll find a solid layer of sound principle. There are certain things done by some of the upper class that he refused to do. And, above all, he loved his race, and passionately watched its advancement."

As we sat together in the Soufflot Cafe, on the Boulevard St. Michel, he asked me my opinion of the book—"my frank opinion."

I replied that I had found the book interesting, full of joie de vivre, with the words vivid and well chosen. I also said that I found it true to life, except in one or two places, one of which was the instance in which two West Indian women stripped themselves of all their clothing and fought in a Harlem backyard. "That was too much," I said.

"Well," he replied, "I saw with my own eyes such a sight in Jamaica, West Indies, and I merely used the writer's privilege and transferred the scene to Harlem."

I answered that I knew Jamaica well, and that I had found there no less a desire on the part of the women to hide certain parts of their bodies. I cited instances, one of which was how we lads in the West Indies would go on market days, when the rivers were down, to see the market-women cross with lifted skirts, and how skilfully these women would hold their dresses to outmanoeuvre our curiosity.

"Nevertheless," he replied, "I saw it, and would be very glad to give you the addresses of others who saw that fight." As a writer,



— J. A. Rogers —

however, experience has taught me the truth of the old saying: Truth is stranger than fiction. Simply because a thing has not come within the range of my experience, does not make it improbable or untrue.

Continuing my criticism, I said that, while I thought the book on the whole was based on fact and that, while I believed that the writer should be free to write about everything in life—censors, prudes and exploiters of humanity—that "Home to Harlem," coming when it did, was distasteful superfluity. That is the angle of Negro life, I said, that the white writers have nearly all treated—the angle that it is to be expected that they will continue to treat, simply because that is what a white reading public, with preconceived notions, wants.

Moreover, I said, when a Negro writer dips into the garbage-pan (such as is to be found on the doorsteps of all peoples) to the exclusion of the finer sides of life, that is just what the white exploiter of Negro labor wants. White writers hold up such books as Exhibit A, as Schufeldt held up Hannibal Thomas' book, and use them to create still stronger sentiment against Negroes, thereby making it more difficult for them in their battle against prejudice. "The final result of such books," I said, "is to hit the Negro in the pocketbook. They are all for the benefit of the white man."

"But what is the Negro writer who is interested in portraying this phase of Negro life to do?" McKay demanded. "That is why I say that 'Home to Harlem' is ahead of its time. But, as for me, I see but one hope for the Negro, and that is for him to tell the truth about himself. The French do that and, as the result, they are the most intellectual people in Europe."

I replied that I thought that Negro writers who dealt with the more objectionable features of Negro life needed more balance. "For instance, the only Negro with any real aspiration in 'Home to Harlem' is a Haitian, and he ended as a flat failure. On the other hand, what is the real truth? There are thousands and thousands of Negroes in America who, most of them coming from just such surroundings as the characters in 'Home to Harlem,' have worked their way through bitter struggle and discouragement to positions of equality with both Negroes and Caucasians with far superior advantages."

I went on to say that, personally, I got little or no inspiration from 'Home to Harlem." The hero, Jake, finished with the aimless existence of a Bohemian, which is precisely the old, old idea that most white people have about Negroes.

There is no doubt, however, that McKay takes a deep and passionate interest in his people; that, as a "full-blood Negro," he feels keenly the injustices that darker Negroes in particular suffer, even though he happens to be in a land where a black man mets a minimum of color prejudice. Of this I am convinced after several talks with him.

"Home to Harlem" was written chiefly for white consumption. It had to be to get recognition among Negroes. Those, however, who declare that its author "sold his race" would do well to reread the book (provided they had already read it) in a calmer state of mind, or read his poem, "If We Must Die"—a poem as spirited as any to be found in any language, and which has been translated in many languages.

McKay's new book, "Banjo," deals with the Negroes of a similar type in Marseilles, France, and will appear soon from the press of Harper Brothers. From what he tells me of it, it is likely to prove another best seller. Some 50,000 copies of "Home to Harlem" were sold. He is also to write a series of articles on North Africa for Harper's Magazine, and is planning to visit the United States soon.

The Reign of Lynch Law In the United States

In "Rope and Faggot" Walter White Finds It "An Almost Integral Part of Our Folkways"

ROPE AND FAGGOT. A Biography of Judge Lynch. By Walter White. Frontispiece. 276 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

By FLORENCE FINCH KELLY

IT is with a distinct jolt to one's Americanism that one reads at the very beginning of Walter White's book and again and again through its pages that lynching has become "an almost integral part of our national folkways." The statement carries a challenge to national self-complacency that urges one to the reading of the book to see what the author can say in proof of so appalling a charge. But it is, after all, only a conclusion, a sort of by-product to which he has come as one result of ten years of investigation and study of the situation, chiefly in the Old South, which has inspired and nourished the evil popularity of Judge Lynch. He makes it evident that it is the situation itself, and all that has led to it and is responsible for its continuing and malign power, that offers the challenge to national self-esteem and cries aloud for extirpation.

The book's main interest lies in its searching analysis of the causes that have brought about the extensive reign of lynch law with those temporary emergences of Judge Lynch on Western frontiers when lack of civilized institutions made such rule a necessity. His statistics include both white and colored lynchings, but his study of causes and his discussion of the situation are concerned only with negro victims—except that he believes and his arguments tend to show that such lawlessness and cruelty practiced unhindered upon the colored race have had a degrading influence upon the whole country and have inspired and increased similar treatment of whites. Personal investigation of lynchings, race riots and racial disturbances in all parts of the country and historical study of the subject have led Mr. White to conclude that the economic factor has been from the start the chief cause of the feeling in the South that has found such frequent expression in rope and faggot, and that fear of sex crimes—the usually urged excuse and palliation—merely camouflages the real reason. The two chapters in which he examines, repectively, the relations between sex and lynching and the economic foundation of lynch law are espe-

cially interesting. One of the chief reasons for what he calls the "over-emphasis on sex" as a cause of lynchings Mr. White says is that "the creation of the bogy of sex crimes as a defense of lynching has made the South the terrified victim of the fears of its own conjuring," and he insists that "of all the emotional determinants of lynching" this factor is especially potent in blocking attempts at solution while no other "is less openly and honestly discussed." And he calls attention to the fact that, although the negro had then been in this country more than two hundred years, it was not until 1830 and the beginning of the industrial revolution, when there were more than a million and a half colored people here, that the charge of sex crimes began to be made against him, followed by lynchings.

Lynching as we have it today began about 1830 with the application of the inventions that made increasingly more profitable the growing of cotton, and was, says the author, increasingly resorted to notwithstanding the economic value of the slave, until the Civil War. "The reason," he says, "for the rise of mobbism is obvious—the tide rose in an exactly parallel curve to the wave of economic forces against slavery and of Northern sentiment which was at work to put an end to slavery." The motive back of the bloody record of lynchings during the so-called Reconstruction period Mr. White believes to have been primarily economic, because all the whites of the late Confederacy were united in the purpose and the endeavor "to re-enslave the negro as far as was humanly possible." And he believes and endeavors to show that the primary factor behind the continuing anti-negro feeling that finds its outlet in violence is still economic—the determination to keep the negro "in his place" by strong-arm measures and so to prevent his economic progress and his social and cultural rise.

Some of the events in the South of the recent Presidential campaign are illuminated by Mr. White's chapter on the influence in that region of the popular brands in religion upon anti-negro feeling and its tendency to appeal to Judge Lynch. It is a dark picture he paints of the narrowness, the bigotry, the unrestrained emotionalism, the utter lack of intelligent appreciation of world progress that has motivated, and still largely influences, the churches of the South. "Protestantism in the lynching States," he says, "has become the stronghold of bigotry, directing its onslaughts against negroes, Catholics and Jews." But in this dark and depressing picture, in which one sees ministers leading lynching mobs and constantly engaged in warfare against enlightenment of any sort, Mr. White points out many promising signs of a better day. A few newspapers, he says, have begun to assert their independence of this ignorant religious dominance, and among these he mentions with especial praise the Columbus Enquirer-Sun, whose editor is Julian Harris. Some of the universities are challenging the powers the Church has held over them for so long, most outstanding among these being, he points out, the University of North Carolina, while even in the Southern theological seminaries there are some signs of a more enlightened and liberal spirit. The Scopes trial at Dayton in 1925 had, in Mr. White's opinion, a beneficial effect upon the religious intolerance and blind bigotry of the churches of the South.

What the individual States most affected and the country as a whole have paid as the price of their indulgence in rope and fagot makes an appalling total as the author passes it all in review—a chapter which especially needs to be read by all who are inclined toward racial bigotry. A chapter on "The Changing Scene" is encouraging in the importance of the proofs it brings forward that conditions in the South are slowly improving. Among the influences working toward this end he surveys "the outstanding accomplishment" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the almost equally efficient Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Two factors which have done much to change Southern thought and feeling about lynching and the negro are, in the opinion of Mr. White, the migration of over a million negroes to the North and the increasing resistance by negroes to mob attacks.

Allen Tate's Study of Davis Marks New Revolt of South

The Career of Davis and Its Bearing on Issues of War and Secession Reviewed.

JEFFERSON DAVIS. HIS RISE AND FALL. By Allen Tate. New York: Minton, Balch & Co. $3.50

By FRANK L. OWSLEY

Though detached and judicial and written with restraint, this study of Jefferson Davis and the chief problems of secession and the Confederacy marks its author as a leader in the "Second Reb[illegible]"—the revolt of the South against the northern conquest of the Southern mind. From 1861 to 1865 the North was accomplishing the physical conquest of the South. After this task was completed it was seen that there still remained that something which made the South different, something intangible, incomprehensible in the realm of the spirit. Not being able to understand, the North would destroy it. So there commenced a second war of conquest calculated to remake every Southern opinion, write "error" across all the pages of Southern history which were out of keeping with the Northern legend and set the rising generations upon stools of everlasting repentance.

Tate now arises quietly from his stool of repentance and repudiates the work of the intellectual conquerors from the North. In a study that comes now like a sharp climax to the works of Bowers, Stryker, and others he takes Davis and the Southern cause as well as the North under critical examination. His conclusions are not flattering to any one, but least flattering to the North. The North in 1860 was modern America, materialistic, intolerant of differences and determined to suppress or crush them wherever they existed. Giant, standardized industry was in the making, and, as today, seeking control of all government in its own interest.

The South, on the other hand, was old-fashioned, rural, leisurely, content to "live upon a modest conquest of nature, unwilling to conquer the earth's resources for the fun of the conquest; content, in short, to take only what men needed; unwilling to juggle the needs of man in the illusory pursuit of abstract wealth." The South with its different economic and social interests—its different civilizaton—stood in the way of the Northern control of the political system. The South opposed internal improvements at Federal expense, the tariff and many other national measures which would have favored the industrial North

Issues Defined.

There, then, was the irrepressible conflict between the industrialized, urban North and the agrarian rural South—the last stronghold of European civilization. The South, says Tate, was willing to compromise with the North and accept much less than eventual equality in order to continue to live under the old constitution in peace with the North. Davis and the other Southern leaders, outside of South Carolina, showed their eagerness to compromise in their willingness to accept the Crittenden compromise, but the Republicans representing the new North would accept neither the Crittenden or any other compromise which conceded anything to the South.

"The North no longer desired equality of power; the North was bent upon dominion," says Tate. And here is where the author takes higher ground than has probably been taken by the most advanced historians. He says that the North, bent upon dominion, "forced the South to act for its preservation," by separating from the Union, and by means of the slavery issue the shrewdness of the Yankee succeeded as always, in putting his enemy in the wrong."

Tate makes the North the inevitable aggressor and pictures the South as not withdrawing merely to enjoy its own system, but to save itself from the destruction of the Juggernaut of the North. The North, in short, according to this interpretation is responsible for the Civil war because it was bent upon crushing out the Southern economic and social system and bringing it into line with modern America.

Lincoln Defeated.

Tate exonerates Lincoln from any such designs. Lincoln was devoted to the Union and wished to save it, and, simple Westerner that he was, he did not grasp the meaning of his party. But while the geographical Union was retained, the old Union of which Lincoln was thinking came to an end when Davis and his colleagues withdrew from the Senate and Lincoln today "is actually the most defeated great man in American history."

The greater portion of the book deals not with secession or the nature of the conflict between the sections, but rather with Davis as President of a revolutionary state. In his study of Davis, the author does not devote much space to the early life of Davis, nor does he make any attempt to picture the private life of Davis. It is President Davis whom he portrays, and it is out of the materials of the administration of Davis that he reconstructs the character of the man.

His picture of Davis is not unlike the man whom Gamaliel Bradford and Eckenrode have portrayed in their studies, though more complete and clear-cut. His picture of Davis is that of a man hag-ridden by dyspepsia and neuralgia; sensitive almost to the point of insanity—even the criticism of a little child would throw him into deep despondency for hours; emotionally unstable; unable to understand men; clinging fast to abstract principles in the face of contradictory reality to which he blinded himself; seeing what ought to be instead of what was; immersed in multitudious details while the vital, big thing escaped his notice until too late; possessed of a routine mind, cautious and a stickler for red tape; compromising with principles but not with men; acting too late, when the event had transpired, but sustaining his action with invincible stubbornness and singleness of purpose.

Tate contends that much of the misfortune of the Confederacy grew out of these traits in the character of Jefferson Davis. In the inception he shows Davis leading the Union as Lott's wife did Sodom, looking back with regret and hopes of an early return. This indecision and caution and inability to see reality prevented farsighted preparations being made before the North had made up its mind to fight.

Davis' lack of knowledge of men and his lefthandedness in the game of politics caused him to draw around him a cabinet composed of the most complete group of fourth-raters ever assembled until the administration of Harding and Coolidge. He chose neither men who had knowledge of their department nor men who had political influence. Above all he neglected that powerful and dynamic group of Southern Rights men led by Yancy and Rhett, and so these able and dangerous men were left to sulk in their tents and become implacable enemies of the administration.

The army appointments of Davis were good only because the rule of seniority brought Lee, the Johnstons and Beauregard to head the Southern armies at the beginning. However, three of the higher appointments were about the worst possible: Hood, Pemberton and Bragg would have hardly made good corporals. But once Davis placed his stamp of approval upon these men criticism and popular disapproval made him cleave to them with hoops of steel, for to criticize them was to criticize him, and when he was criticized his mind snapped to, closed and sealed forever on that question.

Support of Bragg

Bragg lost more battles than all the other generals put together, and he was so hated that his army almost mobbed him, but in the face of a universal cry from army and people that he be removed from command he was allowed to retain control of the army of Tennessee until 1864. Then, instead of cashiering him, Davis promoted him over the heads of every general in the Confederate army by making him chief military adviser—the equivalent of chief of staff. In this capacity Bragg influenced Davis to remove Johnston from command and put the rabbit-brained Hood in his place, and thus to complete the destruction of the army of Tennessee which he had already pretty well accomplished. This permitted Sherman's unmolested march through Georgia and the Carolinas. "Only God could forgive a blunder such as this," remarks the author. In thus flaunting his authority in the face of the public Davis was winning the hatred of all the people—and their profound distrust. He was not conscious of the necessity of retaining their good will; to criticism makes him champion but once elected felt that he was responsible only to God until the next election, six years later.

This is an exalted conception of office and illustrates the idealism of Davis as well as his lack of a sense of reality. But it was a dangerous ideal to apply in the midst of a revolution where the popularity of the revolutionary

Endless Arguments.

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The army appointments of Davis were good only because the rule of seniority brought Lee, the Johnstons and Beauregard to head the Southern armies at the beginning. However, three of the higher appointments were about the worst possible: Hood, Pemberton and Bragg would have hardly made good corporals. But once Davis placed his stamp of approval upon these men criticism and popular disapproval made him cleave to them with hoops of steel, for to criticize them was to criticize him, and when he was criticized his mind snapped to, closed and sealed forever on that question.

Support of Bragg

Bragg lost more battles than all the other generals put together, and he was so hated that his army almost mobbed him, but in the face of a universal cry from army and people that he be removed from command he was allowed to retain control of the army of Tennessee until 1864. Then, instead of cashiering him, Davis promoted him over the heads of every general in the Confederate army by making him chief military adviser—the equivalent of chief of staff. In this capacity Bragg influenced Davis to remove Johnston from command and put the rabbit-brained Hood in his place, and thus to complete the destruction of the army of Tennessee which he had already pretty well accomplished. This permitted Sherman's unmolested march through Georgia and the Carolinas. "Only God could forgive a blunder such as this," remarks the author. In thus flaunting his authority in the face of the public Davis was chief determines success or failure.

Endless Arguments.

Not only did Davis' sensitiveness to criticism makes him champion without victory; and inescapable opponent into the endless rounds until he had, by the time he had lost a friend. He won an argument he the strange spectacle of a man with self in an argument with obscure many a weak man and weak cause individuals in the backwoods. in controversies with governors, bound by precedent—one of the generals—including Beuregard and least revolutionary men in Amer- troversies with such gimlet heads ican history—leading a people in net officers, the Vice-President, one of the greatest revolts of all

Race Problem - 1929

U.S. Book Review

"DOCTOR MAJOR R. R. MOTON"

Under the above caption appears an article in the last issue of the Carolina Times of Durham, N. C., by Lewis K. McMillan. Just why our esteemed contemporary should carry such an article is not plain, particularly as it is a paper that usually carries interesting and worthwhile news. The caption of the article itself indicates the tenor of the article. It is an attempt to belitle a man who stands very high in this country because of what he has done and is doing in the development of the Negro. Certainly, if Mr. McMillan, when he reaches the age of Major Moton, can look back upon a life as full of achievements and real service to his people as that of Major Moton, he will truly be able to say: "I have lived."

Doctor Moton has recently had published his book, "What the Negro Thinks." Of this Mr. McMillan says "So about the funniest thing that has happened lately was for Dr. Moton to write a book on what the Negro is thinking. He does not know the Negro because he spends too much of his time talking about him or to him to really examine him." Evidently the young writer has not read a review of that book. While that is the opinion of the inexperienced young writer, let us see what one who is really capable of commenting has to say. Dr. Du Bois in the June Crises, reveiwing this work, says: "It is, on the whole, the best thing that has come out of Tuskegee. Even, when one remembers 'Up From Slavery' and Industrial Education itself, it is best because it is frank and clear." After reviewing the various things discussed in the book, Dr. Du Bois concludes by saying, "It is extraordinary that a book like this can come out of Tuskegee, Alabama even in 1929."

Mr. McMillan seems to set himself up as the mouthpiece of what he calls the "few progressive, emerging, dissatisfied Negroes." If he be, we hope that they—whoever they are—will at least learn to respect men of their race who are really and truly contributing to the uplift and progress of the race.

THE BOOKSHELF

The Bookshelf is for the benefit of those of our readers who are interested in things literary. If you are a book lover and like the idea of a literary club that meets through the Bookshelf column, you are welcome. You are urged to write in to this department any comments on current or past literature that you have in mind. If you see questions in this column you care to answer, by all means do so. If you have questions to ask pertaining to prose, poetry or fiction in modern or ancient literature, send them in. Address communications to Editor of Bookshelf, Chicago Defender.

What We Think

"What the Negro Thinks," by Robert Russa Moton. Doubleday-Doran Company, New York. Price $2.50.

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN

Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute, is no stranger to the American people. For over a quarter of a century he has been a factor in American life and has been foremost among those speaking for racial adjustment in America. What he says has always been of interest and is regarded as a contributing factor in aiding in the solution of social problems facing America. In his book "What the Negro Thinks," Dr. Moton has made a most valuable contribution and the attitude of the Negro in America has not been more frankly stated or his case more cogently put. Dr. Moton has interpreted the mind of the Negro to the American people and has told in a most masterly manner just what the Negro thinks of his social, economic, political and educational status in America. The way we think determines our attitude towards a thing, and attitudes are important factors in the social welfare of a people or nation.

Dr. Moton begin his book with a chapter, "I Know the Negro." This is, he declares, the assumption of every white man, especially in the South. The white man goes on the false theory that he knows the Negro, when as a matter of fact he knows very litlet of the actual life of the Negro. Dr. Moton points out white people rarely ever visit the homes of the better and more cultured class of Negroes and as a result knows little of their attainments. He states that the writing of most of the Negro plays depicting the worst side of Negro life is done because the other side of his life is not known. On the other hand, points out our Dr. Moton, the Negro has a far better opportunity to know white people. He is in closer contact with him and has been able to see all sides of his life. The Negro today represents an advancing race, states Dr. Moton . He is reading more and has entered every phase of business and professional life in America. He is demanding for his children the same things other people are demanding for theirs.

If the Negro problem is to be solved it cannot be solved if the Negro does not aid in its solution. In too many cases, the writer states, the Negro has not been consulted or had a share in the adjustment of matters affecting his interests. In his chapter on "Common Carriers" Dr. Moton condemns most effectively what has long been a social evil of unjust discrimination and segregation on the railroads and steamships of the South. This evil has long been a menace, and Dr. Moton tells of the hardships and inconveniences Negroes suffer traveling over most of the southern railroads. There are the inferior waiting rooms, the long wait in the ticket line to be sold tickets by indifferent white ticket agents who disregard the convenience of Negro travelers. Sometimes the train is leaving the station before a ticket is sold to a Negro and ofttimes he has to run to catch the train.

School facilities are still bad for the Negroes of the South. There are the inadequate school buildings, shorter terms, lesser appropriations and poor salaries for the Negro teacher. In 11 states of the lower South, points out Dr. Moton, the highest appropriation for Negro children is $11.88, compared with $27.85 for whites. The economic pressure is responsible for the poor housing conditions under which the Race lives in the South. They must live in sections where the facilities are bad. Dr. Moton makes a plea for a greater use of the ballot. His life and property can only be protected by this weapon, states the writer, and without it he is at the mercy of other people. The American courts, especially in the South, in too many cases have failed to give the Negro equal justice, and still maintain a different standard of justice for the races.

Dr. Moton tells how as the result of the wrong public sentiment toward the Negro it has had a tendency to hinder his progess in America. One of the great fights ahead, states Dr. Moton, is to combat this false public sentiment relative to the Negro and which has proven to be unjustified. He urges the use of the capital N for Negro. Despite the many obstacles encountered by the Negro in America Dr. Moton says that the Negro's reaction is one of optimism and that he thrives under all forms of opposition. He is still advancing and making his contribution to the civilization of the world. In quoting from the chapter on "The Negro's Reaction," Dr. Moton says: "In the midst of all this the Negro thrives, segregation, disfranchisement, prejudice, injustice and lawlessness, in spite of them all he prospers. Above it all his voice rises singing, and the note of his joy has become the symbol of our modern America. Whatever he hides in his heart, whatever he may think in the back of his head, he turns to the world a smiling face, and in spite of itself the world when it stops to look is captivated by that smile, when it stops to listen is thrilled by that song."

The outlook for the Negro is bright in America, thinks Dr. Moton, and he will break through all barriers eventually and make his full contribution as a man and a citizen. Sentiment is changing in America and there is light ahead. The Negro is not dying out. Lynching is decreasing and the white churches of the South are beginning to think in terms of brotherhood. "What the Negro Thinks" is a fearless and uncompromising defense of the position of the Race in America. His case has been squarely put, and it now rests with the American people as the jury.

WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS

By Jesse O. Thomas

Atlanta, Ga., May.—I have read critically the recent book, "What the Negro Thinks," by Dr. R. R. Moton. Aside from certain historical data there is very little news for the Negro who is a constant student of the history of our group in America and who does any considerable traveling to the extent that he is familiar with general practices and public policies as affect the Negroes throughout this country. Nevertheless the uncompromising frankness, analytical exposition and open-minded approach to the subject under discussion, together with the authenticity of the sources of the information, make this Doctor Moton's valedictory publication effort.

The accurate an ddetailed description of what transpires in connection with public travel of Negroes, if presented to or placed in the hands of the General Passenger Agents of the railroads that traverse the South, should at least cause them to give more consideration to the Negro traveling public than is evident at the present time.

Much of the value of the book lies in the fact that perhaps a larger number of white people will read it than would read a book by any other Negro in America. Ninety-nine and almost ten-tenths per cent of them will be shocked with its revelations. This book is calculated to give additional stimulation to the whole cause of race relations.

Moton's Book, "What the Negro Thinks" Reviewed By Noted Alabama Editor

By Grover C. Hall

—*In the Montgomery Advertiser*—

The American white man reading *What the Negro Thinks*, by Maj. R. R. Moton, will realize instantly that the honest eyes of a puzzled friend have looked into his face and questioned him tactfully but searchingly. He will feel, too, that sense of chagrin which creeps over one who has been paid a tremendous compliment which he is not quite certain in his heart that he deserves. The book will leave the white man who reads it a little in doubt of himself, a little less certain that his opinions regarding all aspects of the race question are the products of pure wisdom and are not to be further refined.

There is a tremendous compliment to the white man in this study of the American Negro today. The author speaks time and again of the higher nature of the white man. Not the Supreme Court, not the Congress of the United States, not the President, not the Governors, the State courts nor yet the State Legislatures, constitute the shield and refuge of the Negro, but the higher nature of the white man—his sense of honor and fair play. Major Moton has faith in the white man's honor and intelligence. He believes that as the white man informs himself and thinks more and more frankly upon the situation and viewpoint of the Negro, all proper and necessary readjustments will follow. He is enthusiastic about interracial conferences and commissions that bring selected representatives of the two races together to sit in judgment on matters that trouble both the white and black man. He distrusts the platform agitator and looks for nothing very important to be done for the Negro in legislative halls where politicians, anxious to follow public sentiment rather than lead it, foregather.

But it is discouraging to Negroes like Major Moton to realize that the white man, whose responsibilities are so heavy, is not as broadly and soundly informed on the Negro's situation and viewpoint as he should be, or as he believes himself to be. In this connection the writer points out a truth which many have observed before, and that is that the white man sees relatively little of well placed Negroes living in the same community with him. The white man's contacts are still confined mainly to the plain Negro, the employee type, and extend but little to the educated, refined, property-holding Negro. We infer from this that in proportion as the Negro advances socially and economically his white neighbor may see less of him and know less about him. This type of Negro goes his way, the white man his. Plainly this is unfortunate—but it demonstrates one truth which it will be helpful to white men to grasp: The last thing that the average Negro desires is social intimacy and at heart is relieved to know that the white man does not seek intimacy with him. What the Negro wants is recognition and appreciation of his essential worth, an opportunity to achieve a place in the sun and to have his personality respected. He wants decent consideration, common fairness and ordinary courtesy. He wants equal and exact justice with the white man, and while he does not mind riding in separate coaches from whites, he does hold that his accommodations should in every way be equal to those afforded the white man, since both are charged the same price. Everyone knows that the common carriers as a rule do provide much more inferior accommodations for Negroes while charging them as much as they charge whites. Not much is done to encourage the self-respecting Negro to travel extensively by train. He doesn't appreciate poor accommodations and indifferent service any more than a white man does—especially when he is paying his good money for something better. The Negro has many grievances of this nature and Major Moton fully and frankly outlines them.

But *What the Negro Thinks* is not alone a book of grievances. It contains many constructive suggestions, and an elaborate account of the notable progress which both races have made in adjusting differences. Public opinion among the ruling whites is today more sympathetic than ever before. White leaders in every Southern State are taking their responsibilities more and more seriously. This is true of both men and women and a great deal is being done to insure the Negro a fair deal and happier days.

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> However long it may take, therefore, through however many generations of social progress it may extend, the Negro expects ultimately to live in America with such freedom of movement, such equality of opportunity, and such measures of common respect for his person and personality as will leave him, even though distinguished in physical characteristics, without any lower status than that of the average American citizen.

The white man and the black man must first "understand one another and then work out a program of cooperation up to the point of understanding, leaving to the future the handling of such problems as may prove too difficult to approach."

Racial amalgamation is not desired. Segregation is doubly undesirable. It assumes that the Negro belongs to an inferior race; it prevents the very contacts necessary to that mutual understanding which is fundamental to a social *rapprochement* of black and white. The Negro's side of the case must be considered if the problem is to be solved. The method of solution lies not in "legislation, but by common counsel whereon both parties to the cause are represented and where action is by common agreement rather than by majority control."

Dr. Moton is optimistic concerning the present trend, and cites as reasons therefor the new attitude of the Churches, the awakening of southern women's clubs, the interracial movement, the campaign against lynching, the improved position of the Negro in the fields of health, industry, education, etc. Democracy, one infers, will eventually cure this last form of anti-democracy.

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Race Problem—1929
U.S.—Book Reviews.

Norfolk, Va., Pilot
Saturday, March 28, 1929

The First Reader

A BOOK ON THE NEGRO

Robert Russe Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, is one of those fine, even-tempered leaders who invariably benefit a cause most because they make haste slowly. No one would set him down as an agitator, eager to achieve in a generation what more fortunate races have done in centuries. None would call him embittered, although he has seen innumerable instances of hardship and oppression in the United States. Nor is he to be counted as active in a campaign to solidify the dark races against the whites. His practical nature sees certain immediate problems, and to these he addresses himself.

That is why his book, "What the Negro Thinks," published by Doubleday, Doran & Co., deserves to be widely read. It points to co-operation between whites and blacks for the good of both races and for America. But there is nothing truckling about it, nor will the white reader find the author bowing humbly before the pretensions of the white mind. Dr. Moton is sensitive to the sufferings of his people, eager for their advanacement, and sure of their capabilities. What he attempts is to invite the white man to speculate still further over the Negro's condition and to help speed the day when abuses must go.

The chief quality of Dr. Moton's leadership in the South is his calm assurance that matters can be improved without a display of temper and force and his easy disregard of any heated arguments and acerbities. By this method he has won half a dozen important victories for Tuskegee and the Negro, notably that by which Negroes were finally installed as physicians and nurses in the hospital which became a part of the work of Tuskegee Institute.

Dr. Moton's book is marked by an evenness of temper which makes for careful consideration. At the same time it fails to elevate the more important issues over the minor matters. Thus the hardships suffered by Negro women at the hands of whites seem treated on a par with the public attitude toward Negro artists; with the placing of "Mr." and "Mrs." before the name of a Negro, and so on. But perhaps Dr. Moton has a method in this lack of emphasis.

In several matters I believe he fails to take account of actualities. He declares that "impartial" history is so perverted that school children are unable to tell what great men and women were Negroes. He names Hannibal as a black, and adds that "it is carefully concealed that highly creditable records associate the names of Pushkin, Dumas, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and even our own Alexander Hamilton with the Negro race." I am not familiar with the Browning descent, but the fact that the three others had Negro blood is frequently mentioned.

Dr. Moton evidently believes that the race should be stressed so long as whites regard the Negro as inferior, but he may be interested in knowing that newspapers have often been asked not to mention the race of a man, but to put him on a parity with all other citizens by designating merely his name and address. He is giving the facts when he says that although a few Negroes have risen to great heights, their careers have not been "wholly devoid of the embarrassments of discrimination;" but we who deal with books see more and more a widening hospitality toward the Negro author, artist and singer.

This is as it should be. There are Negroes who do not wish to be singled out because they happen to be of another race but who wish to be judged solely as artists by the same exacting standards that are applied to the whites. Dr. Moton himself mentions, in the course of describing educational methods, how a school of Negroes asked its white teachers to apply the same tests as they would to whites, believing that these teachers were "benevolently condescending to the limitations of Negro mentality."

The greatest enemy to the progress of the Negro has been this principle of segregation, which still exists. The author remarks that "in effect the Negro is segregated in public thought as well as in public carriers." It is important to see that Dr. Moton ascribes the progress made in the South within the last few years to the meeting of whites and Negroes in interracial commissions. Legislation, the result of heated agitation by one faction or another, did not solve the problems of the South, but a quiet discussion has done much. This is the very opposite of segregation, for here the whites admit that the Negro is perhaps best qualified to state his own problems and that co-operation rather than paternal and condescending legislation will solve innumerable difficulties.

In several passages Dr. Moton praises the white women of the South, including the women's clubs, for giving earnest attention to Negro problems. "With the emancipation that has come to womanhood in the ballot their voices are raised in repudiation of a chivalry that would defend their honor with lawlessness and murder." It is the women who have taken the leadership in renouncing the "delinquency of youth that crosses the color line."

When Dr. Moton speaks of the "moderation of the Negro's desires," and the fact that "many have discovered with surprise his very great patience in the presence of gross abuses," he is stressing again his belief that Negro and white can live side by side in amity for the benefit of the nation. This practical platform to which he has dedicated himself, is to be found especially in operation at Tuskegee, which I once had the good fortune to visit. The very air of Tuskegee is one of helpfulness; the vocational needs of the young Negro are stressed; even men of such abilities as that possessed by George Washington Carver seem to be intensely interested in making the next bean crop reward the farmer's efforts, to be patient and persevering. Tuskegee proves that the Negro is fully able to do his share in solving the Negro problem, and "What the Negro Thinks" brings proof to show that he is already doing it.

HARRY HANSEN.

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There is a tremendous compliment to the white man in this study of the American Negro today. The author speaks time and again of the higher nature of the white man. Not the Supreme Court, not the Congress of the United States, not the President, not the Governors, the State courts nor yet the State Legislatures, constitute the shield and refuge of the Negro, but the higher nature of the white man—his sense of honor and fair play. Major Moton has faith in the white man's honor and intelligence. He believes that as the white man informs himself and thinks more and more frankly upon the situation and viewpoint of the Negro, all proper and necessary readjustments will follow. He is enthusiastic about interracial conferences and commissions that bring selected representatives of the two races together to sit in judgment on matters that trouble both the white and black man. He distrusts the platform agitator and looks for nothing very important to be done for the Negro in legislative halls where politicians, anxious to follow public sentiment rather than lead it, foregather.

But it is discouraging to Negroes like Major Moton to realize that the white man, whose responsibilities are so heavy, is not as broadly and soundly informed on the Negro's situation and viewpoint as he should be, or as he believes himself to be. In this connection the writer points out a truth which many have observed before, and that is that the white man sees relatively little of well placed Negroes living in the same community with him. The white man's contacts are still confined mainly to the plain Negro, the employe type, and extend but little to the educated, refined, property-holding Negro. We infer from this that in proportion as the Negro advances socially and economically his white neighbor may see less of him and know less about him. This type of Negro goes his way, the white man his. Plainly this is unfortunate—but it demonstrates one truth which it will be helpful to white men to grasp: The last thing that the average Negro desires is social intimacy with the white man. He does not seek intimacy and at heart is relieved to know that the white man does not seek intimacy with him. What the Negro wants is recognition and appreciation of his essential worth, an opportunity to achieve a place in the sun and to have his personality respected. He wants decent consideration, common fairness and ordinary courtesy. He wants equal and exact justice with the white man, and while he does not mind riding in separate coaches from whites, he does hold that his accommodations should in every way be equal to those afforded the white man, since both are charged the same price. Everyone knows that the common carriers as a rule do provide much more inferior accommodations for Negroes while charging them as much as they charge whites. Not much is done to encourage the self-respecting Negro to travel extensively by train. He doesn't appreciate poor accommodations and indifferent service any more than a white man does—especially when he is paying his good money for something better. The Negro has many grievances of this nature and Major Moton fully and frankly outlines them.

But "What the Negro Thinks" is not alone a book of grievances. It contains many constructive suggestions, and an elaborate account of the notable progress which both races have made in adjusting differences. Public opinion among the ruling whites is today more sympathetic than ever before. White leaders in every Southern State are taking their responsibilities more and more seriously. This is true of both men and women and a great deal is

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Race Problem-1929
U.S.- Book Reviews.

WHAT THE NEGRO THINKS

Dr. Robert Russa Moton might have made a more significant contribu ion in the sum total of many years of activity in the field of Negro educa ion than his recent book, "What the Negro Thinks," but certainly not a more significant contribution to Negro literature nor yet any single con ribution so potent in itself, nor has any one done just the thing that critics will ultimately give him credit for doing, for making a plain statement o he Negro's case before the bar of world sentiment without whining or vituperating; without omitting any phase of it, nor including, nor express ng any venom, and with the assuredly assumed confidence that it could be done without apologizing for it or babbling about it. Thus, it is the best nterpretation we have seen of the black man's cogitation, is the clearest cleanest, fairest, fullest, sanest of many efforts to promote an understand ing of the American Negro's mental attitude, and, coming as it does from he pen of one whose large experience and sublimely tolerant spirit, bestows a winnowing, a refining quality on the product—coming from one who thinks t through, lives it with a sense of forced pity and repressed emotions and one who writes it with a fascinating phrasal power incident only in the polish of a master literary workman—it covers the range of Negro thought as wel as it does probe the depths of Negro feeling. It does it all without offend ng the keenest sensibilities of the unthinking white man or yielding an inch of a man's ground on the part of the Negro—without the spectacle of fawn ng to express the status of delicate situations—exposing no platitudes on new theories, nor exploding any old ones with the license of the accepted eader and the glee of the iconoclast. Reporter

Perhaps no subject is more freely discussed and, too, none more crudely. There has always been so much plain, potent truth about it that the assumed qualifications for discussing it carried nothing more than the ability to hold certain situations up to ridicule and rave over certain other inconsistencies. 11-16-29

The subject is as old as the problem which the author discusses, but the treatise is different from any that we have yet seen.

Writers who have despaired of something new to say on this subject of race antipathies may find here a mental angle that incloses the pleasing aspect of it and discloses the effects of race contacts, however direfully apparent they may be, in the attitude of an observer rather than the attitude of a sufferer. The difficulty of getting a constructive treatment of this subject has been increased by the fiery intolerant spirit of those otherwise most capable of making it. Birmingham Ala.

The treatise is as sincere and as unpretentious as the man, direct and unembellished by any garnishment, unsweetened by any flattery, and devoid of any apparent impertinence or any slip of insolence growing out of a lack of appreciation of an all too delicate task.

There is a dexterous phraseology and a subtle imagery pervading "What the Negro Thinks" that lends a hackneyed subject felicitous form, gives a universally accepted truth a novel aspect and sums up a thousand forgotten arguments in a simple brief that shall stand for years as the basic statement of a down-trodden people's case.

Conceivably, Mr. Moton has done with his pen what Mr. Washington did on the platform. He has thought the subject through, mastered the approach to it; he has discussed it truthfully, dispassionately, sincerely, understandingly, inoffensively, and, we might add, pleasingly. There is always a wincing at the approach of the unwelcome truth, and, in the matter of denying it or excusing it, the wish is father to the thought; but there is here the truth undeniable and inexcusable except on the basis of human errors, and, let us add, the truth acceptably and agreeably told, whatever may be the reasons or causes that underlie it or justify it.

Perhaps in simplicity of style, straightforward clearness of expression fairness of attitude and fullness of comprehension, there is nothing on the subject of the Negro's attitude toward the American prejudice quite so convincing or so illuminating—nothing that smacks so much of authenticated expression, nothing that comes so near to being a final and universally accepted word on a subject quite nearly done to death on account of its ubiquity, its familiarity.

The two opening chapters of the book are calculated to dispel the illusion that has grown out of a mutual effort of the races to live together with the smallest amount of contact possibly conducive to a social status in which neither could sympathize with the aims and ambitions of the other. They do know each other much like the couple, which had been long married but never sincerely mutual, protesting each other's attitude at class meeting.

At a Methodist class meeting, where Brother Smith was the leader and Sister Smith happened to hold membership in the class, it occurred that their family misunderstanding crept into the class meeting in a way to advertise their home life, which was continually turbulent, to no advantage.

On the particular evening, Brother Smith, after singing a hymn to sweeten his spirit, began in a happy mood to solicit from each individual their determination about the present life and their prospects for the life to come. He went from one to the other purposely omitting Sistr Smith, when finally, she decided not to be pigeon-holed, and voluntarily rose to talk. "Neber mine, Sister Smith," said he, benignly waving his hand toward her. "Ah's passin' on, Brother Smith dun knowed you." "Yes, mah Gawd," said she, waving her hand back to him, "Ah's settin' fer yer; Sister Smith dun knowed you, too; she dun wintered yer," and went on with her story.

Perhaps the assumption of the white man that he knows the Negro and the consequent acting on that assumption has helped in the misunderstanding of the aims and sentiments of the Negro. According to this claim of the most fervent sincerity, it remains that this assumption has always been a stumbling block in the way of understanding because it has precluded an open-minded study on the part of the one and prompted a good natured sniggle at the ignorance of the white man and a more determined reticence on the part of the other.

Singularly and timely, Dr. Moton has come to the task of disclosing what is in the "back of the Negro's head." He brings out clearly that the white man who says "I know the Negro," tells the truth in so far as he knows it, but he does not know the illusion to which his social attitude has enslaved him and therefore cannot know how far he is from the actual truth until he is disillusioned by a closer and more intimate contact, and it does that in writing this book as much as in other ways. Dr. Moton has done a good day's work in clearing the way for this contact to function effectively.

There are no lurid pictures in "What the Negro Thinks." The author has arranged for it a foreground and a background that brightens the dark spots. He has raised a current of optimism that keeps every cloud moving into the dim distance. He flees the burning fires of the past, nor does he look back to glimpse what has happened in the burning Sodom of reconstruction lest he might turn to a pillar of salt. He faces the open future and marks the passing miles with cheerful abandon, and even though pressed by misunderstanding and pursued by the resultant blind prejudice, he marches to the rhythm of an inner urge whose ruling pulse is excelsior. "What the Negro Thinks," by Dr. Moton, is thought perched from a lofty height

Race Problem - 1929

U.S. - Book Reviews.

Du Bose Heyward's New Novel Has Richness and Scope

In "Mamba's Daughters" There Is Skillful Handling of the Relations Between Whites and Negroes

MAMBA'S DAUGHTERS. By Du Bose Heyward. 311 pp. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. $2.50.

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

IN a day when the serious novelists have largely been turning toward a constrictive unity, either through focusing on a single character, or by limiting their action to a day or a week, or by staging their drama aboard a ship or in a hotel or within a single human brain, Du Bose Heyward has written a novel of scope, a novel of many characters and currents, a substantially rich novel that depends for its unity on something more than an artificially chosen container. And it may be noted with appropriate irony that in "Mamba's Daughters" Mr. Heyward has created something infinitely more satisfying than the works of most of the novelists who count themselves in the fictional advance guard.

"Mamba's Daughters" is a novel compact of many surprisingly humanized characters, of a proliferation of incidents, of shifting social and spiritual values, of excellent dialogue in the mouths of both negro and white, and of a human compassion that steers beautifully clear of both sentimentality and that sardonic approach to life that has usurped the ancient title of "realism." But Mr. Heyward has not been afraid of sentiment where sentiment is called for, and he has leavened his book with humor in character, incident and conversation.

If Mr. Heyward has been daring in the design of his novel, he has gambled as much in his selection of incident. He has drawn on razor fights, on murder and on suicide to advance his story, and has done this without seeming melodramatically violent. The final episode of his book projects the story into the future; it takes place in New York City's "New Metropolitan Opera House," and brings Lissa Atkinson, his mulatto singer, to its stage. She captivates the house with her voice in some as yet unwritten opera that is to draw on its negro chords for sustenance. The curious thing is that Mr. Heyward creates an illusion of absolute reality. After all, he seems to imply, Charles Gilpin, Florence Mills, Paul Robeson and others would have been considered impossibilities if some one had imagined them twenty years ago.

Mr. Heyward's novel is at once universal and parochial. In its implications "Mamba's Daughters" becomes the story of Charleston S. C., during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Mr. Heyward gains his ends by a nice selectivity. He has chosen a family of "quality white folk," greatly impoverished by hard luck and the troubles that flowed out of the Civil War, to represent the Caucasian angle of the question; and he has taken, Mamba, her daughter Hagar, and her granddaughter Lissa, to speak for the negro race and its shifting status during the past twenty-five years. Mamba, Hagar and Lissa are all triumphs of characterization, and so is Saint Wentworth, youngest scion of the Wentworths, the quality white folks who are trying so hard to make both ends meet and to keep their heads up in the social swim. The story of Saint—his fight for self-discipline, his romance, his fight for a responsible place in this Charleston world—is carried on in parallel with the story of Mamba and her battle for her "daughters."



The narratives naturally impinge and run together for stretches, but either one could have been told without the details of the other. The amazing thing about it is that Mr. Heyward has made the two seem natural to the same book.

"Mamba's Daughters" is worked out in terms of destiny. Mamba was an old woman when the new century began; we see her, wrinkled and practically toothless, coming out of the Catfish Row underworld of "Porgy" to make herself a "white folk's nigger." She is old, but her eyes and spirit are young, and her brain is subtle and devious. She knows well that Hagar, her Amazon daughter, has too much vitality and too little sense to keep out of trouble. Mamba must protect Hagar and Lissa, and her cunning has indicated a way. She must gain position in the world, must be able to enlist the sympathy of her "white folks" when Hagar has bungled and fallen into the net of the Charleston police.

Old Mamba goes about her plan by insinuating herself into the good graces of the Wentworths. She won't be dismissed; she cannot be snubbed. She carries Polly Wentworth's slipper bag to dances, and when flowers are needed by the poor Wentworths, she steals them—but doesn't admit it. Consequently, when the George Atkinsons move to Charleston from somewhere in the North, Mamba is in a position to get a letter of recommendation from the Wentworths. She has at last become a family retainer, a real "white folk's nigger." Her daughter and granddaughter are safe.

How well the old crone succeeded is made manifest when Hagar gets into her most serious scrape. This daughter, with her bulk, and her muscles of whipcord and steel, hurts a negro pretty badly in a tussle over an unpaid bill for laundry work. The police know where to go for her. In court Mr. Atkinson appears—a legitimately interested party. He gets Hagar off with a two-year suspended jail sentence with the proviso that the negress is to leave Charleston. Mamba undertakes the care of Lissa and Hagar sets off for the phosphate mines.

At this point the story of Saint Wentworth commences to parallel that of Hagar. Saint, a failure in school, a failure at banking, has gone "into phosphates," or, in less elegant language, he is in charge of a company store at the phosphate mines operated by an old sweetheart of his mother's, a Mr. Raymond. Some of Mr. Heyward's best pages are those descriptive of life among the negroes who break the phosphate rock. He introduces minor characters, the Rev. Quintus Whaley, Aunt Viny, Proc Baggart, that stand out in the full vitality of their flesh. He brings in Gilly Blutis, a sort of negro "nark," who spies on the colored folk at their crap games and betrays them into the grasping hands of Magistrate Baggart. Gilly is seemingly inconsequential, but he is to play a very important rôle in the life of Lissa and Hagar. Hagar saves him from death once—and strangles him years later when he gets her daughter into a scrape. Another seemingly inconsequential person is introduced during Saint's days at the phosphate mines. He is the Rev. Thomas Grayson, an intellectual negro, who attempts to bring an intellectual god to the terrain of the Rev. Quintus Whaley's emotional god. He doesn't succeed, but he leaves with Hagar an address in the front of a hymnal that has a necessary bearing on the career of Lissa as a singer.

There are good pages toward the end of "Mamba's Daughters" that depict the new intellectual negro, with his apeing of white folk's gentility that had passed with the antimacassars and plush chairs. Mr. Heyward tells his story with a prose that glints pleasantly with a variety of pastel shades. His most violent episodes are not overburdened with a too crude sort of color.

The LITERARY LANTERN
BY HOWARD M. JONES

In his "Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism," (Harcourt, Brace $2.50), John Carter gives a rapid survey of the America idea in relation to world politics—an idea that seems to combine moral principle and shrewd selfishness but the word, "Negro," does not appear in the index of his book. Mr. C. Deslisle Burns gives up 461 pages of "A Short History of the World 1918-1928" (Payson & Clarke, $3.50); although he devotes an entire chapter to the "Awakening in Africa," the population of which is overwhelmingly only negro, the sole reference to the American negro is the sentence: "The negroes of the Southern states have tended to settle mainly further north, partly because of the lack of immigrant labour." Yet it is probable that the status of ten million negroes in the United States, as it has been determined by the events of 1924-1928, is one of the profoundest facts of the 20th century; and that on the solution of the question of race relations hangs the problem of the meaning of the American republic.

We are led soberly to this conclusion by "What the Negro Thinks" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) by Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, one of the most thoughtful surveys of the inter-racial situation in the United States we have ever read. In the moderation, gentleness and candor of its tone the book is in marked contrast to Scott Nearing's "Black America" (Vanguard Press, $3), a book so partisan in character as to arouse the very prejudice it deplores. Long a propagandist, Scott Nearing has assembled in one volume all the evidence for white selfishness that he could find, illustrating the book with photographs ranging from back alleys in South Chicago to pictures of the horrors of lynching. The bias of his book is evident when one reads that from 1889 to 1918, the South reported 2,834 lynchings and that "organized lawless mob attacks by whites on negroes usually go unpunished." He fails to say that lynchings are steadily decreasing; he fails to record the instances where Southern officials have sternly done their duty: he fails to tell us that intelligent white opinion in the South is set against lynchings, that the newspapers have steadily denounced it, or that it is increasingly on the wane. It will take a thousand years, if we are lucky, to work out the inter-racial problem; it may take more. But Nearing perforce wants white and black labor to organize and bring about an immediate millenium.

* * *

Nevertheless, the unpleasant facts in his treatise must be faced. Facts are facts and they are not changed by calling names. The fact is that the colored race does not feel that it is being justly treated, and Robert Moton's book shows exactly why the intelligent negro is growing doubtful about the white man's justice. His book takes up all the facts which the Nearing volume discusses, but approaches them in a spirit so fair and candid, that it must make a profound impression upon intelligent Southerners who read it—and we hope that every intelligent Southerner will read and ponder what this leader of his people has to say.

He begins by pointing out the fallacy of white men who glibly claim they "know the negro." They don't know the negro; and as segregation increases, they know him less and less. There are, it seems, currents of thought and feeling among the negro race which the white race must reckon with. The negro does not want, Moton says, "social equality." What he wants is justice. He wants better schools, better legal protection, better public facilities for his own people and apart from those used by the whites, better homes and better sanitation. This writer pays every tribute to the white friends of the negro, South and North, as Nearing does not. A fine patience and courtesy appear in his conclusions, from which we quote some representative sentences:

"What has surprised most of those who have come to know him is the moderation of the negro's desires. Many have discovered with surprise his very great patience in the presence of gross abuses. They have found that the negro loves the South and really wants to regard the white man of the South as his friend. They find too that the negro can be led by white politicians of the South as readily as by the white politicians of the North—Bound together by ties of a common suffering and sacrifice in times of national distress it is unthinkable that these two elements should be anything than allies in whatever undertaking they may face in the future—To this task thousands of the noblest spirits of our country are dedicated. It is such as these that make one, regardless of race, proud to be an American."

The better elements of both races are more likely to act wisely together than the ignorant elementsa truism in the situation that, practically, is ofen ignored. Th close sudy whic Elizabeth Lay Green has given "The Negro In Contemporary Literature" (The University of North Carolina Press, 50c) offers opportunity for white leaders to learn the negro from his own writings and from the writings of others. For the negro continues to write books.

The tone of these is very different from what it was 25 years ago, as the re-publication of Charles W, Chesnutt's "The Conjure Woman" (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.00) enables us to see. Here are stories of great charm about the "old-fashioned" plantation negroes. As a record, they are valuable, but they lack the newer attitudes.

So, curiously enough, does "This Side of Jordan" (Harper, $2.50), Roark Bradford's latest book. However, Mr. Bradford is a white author more interested in plantation types than in the Harlem movement. Vivid and interesting, often intensely dramatic, the story exhibits the sombre influence of the river—the "witch river"—and of superstition, wild dancing, and simple humor in the life of Didge, the spindy little heroine, who gets her way and her man, and sticks to him. Only slight suggestions of changing times and of the white man's influence appear. Bradford's people hardly realize themselves as "problems"—how could they?—and while there is much pleasure for the reader in his book one may wonder whether the white author who contents himself with the traditional manner may not be throwing the question of the negro altogether into the hands of the negro authors.

* * *

Certainly Walter Thurman in "The Blacker the Berry" (Macaulay, $2.50) and Jessie Redmon Fauset in "Plum Bun" (Stokes, $2.50) concern themselves more closely with the race question. Walter Thurman's heroine is a very black berry in a world of light-colored negroes. Her mother made the initial mistake of selecting a dark father and the second one of taunting the child with her color. A black girl in the center of a white graduating class, a black girl in a "yaller" college group in California, a black girl in a light-skinned Harlem crowd fighting the prejudice of her own people, this is the story. Overwritten in part, the novel is well built and worth reading. It confirms some of Moton's observations and is all the more valuable.

"Plum Bun" poses the "passing" problem convincingly enough, but is over long. Many of the incidents could have been omitted without weakening the theme. I liked best the authenticity of the heroine's background and the skillful handling of the denouement when the heroine, to her own consternation, chooses an inauspicious moment for "confession." All works out well in the end. What stands out most conspiciously in these "newer" negro books, however, is the number of new ways the race has of being hurt. The old slights are familiar. The new ones are the crueler because they are more subtle and because many of them spring from within the race itself.

"What the Negro Thinks"

"What the Negro Thinks", a recently published book by Dr. Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute is being received with wide acclaim by reviewers, North and South, as a valuable contribution to the literature of race relations. Many of the large papers of the country have devoted lengthy reviews of the volume.

"It deserves to be widely read," says Harry Hansen of the New York World. "It points to cooperation between whites and blacks for the good of both races and for America. But there is nothing truckling about it, nor will the white reader find the author bowing humbly before the pretensions of the white mind. Dr. Moton is sensitive to the sufferings of his people, eager for their advancement, and sure of their capabilities."

An editorial, a column and a half long, in The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser points out the helpful nature of the book. It states: "The thoughtful southern white reader will find himself sympathizing heartily with a great deal the author says. It is not possible to follow him all the way but we know of no contribution to the literature of 'racial proplems' which if widely read among whites would do so much to give them a fresh viewpoint. There is no ill-will in the book; there is no vituperation; there are no sneers."

Heywood Broun, famous columnist of the New York Telegram and the Scripps-Howard papers sees the volume as "an extraordinary and eloquent book." It is Mr Broun's opinion that "Dr. Robert Russa Moton is pursuing a logical course. He has framed for himself and his race a well rounded philosophy The terms of this philosophy are not unfamiliar, but if Dr. Moton and his men carry it out, as they seem to be doing, it will constitute one of the rare practical applications of a doctrine to which most of us give lip service. In essence his scheme for the emancpation of the Negro is nothing more than a literal adherence to Christian passivity."

In a review widely syndicated through the southern press Howard Mumford Jones of the University of North Carolina expresses the "hope that every intelligent southerner will read and ponder what this leader of his people has to say."

"It is Dr. Moton's humility," asserts John Chamberlain in The New York Times, "a humility that has no cowardliness, no cringing about it, that leads paradoxical force to his book. He is always a gentleman in the true sense of the word. He does not screech he merely observes, reflects and ventures his opinions firmly and dispassionately."

The Dallas (Texas) Morning News concludes a long review of 'What the Negro Thinks" with the following statement: "All such grounds of complaint set down in forceful arrangement, but temperate phrase, constitute an exposition so dignified and charitable that it should disarm the prejudiced and stir the sympathetic reader to a new evaluation of the elements of the difficult problem The book should contribute no little to better understanding of what the Negro thinks and should do much to remedy those factors in the situation which are demediable in the present human constitution of grace and frailty."

"In this book," states A. Borlages, a Texan reviewing the volume for The New York Telegram 'Dr. Moton deals with the Negro problem with a fairmindedness strange to controversy, without violent cerbiage, with laboratory coolness"

The Color Problem

PASSING. By Nella Larsen. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.

By NEWBELL NILES PUCKETT

Just as the protective coloration of lesser animals has been born of the need of protection, so on the higher human plane severe economic and social vicissitudes have caused occasional lighter colored negroes to "pass" for white. Of negro-white parentage, white educational contacts, and a persistently maintained negro identity, the author is well equipped to interpret this social phenomena. Her treatment, as with her first novel "Quicksand," is essentially concerned with thoughts and attitudes rather than with action. The physical plot shrinks to a mere chaste showcase for the display of more intricate mental wares. Clare Kenedy, light-colored and beautiful has married a color-prejudiced white man, concealing from him her racial identity. A chance meeting with an "almost white" friend Irene Redfield, who has chosen a darker husband and permanent negro ties, awakens in Clare deep-seated longings for the society of her "own people." Regardless of the danger of discoverey she courts negro friendships in Harlem, and in contact with Irene's husband awakens her jealously. Eventually Clare's husband discovers her and Felise Freeland's negro party and precipitates a climax as enigmatical as it is unexpected and dramatic

It is indicative of race advancement that the white reading public today accepts the cultured wealthy, sophisticated negro fictional character along with the clown and grotesque ignoramus When the negro was allowed to think at all in earlier novels his thinking was generally directed away from the unsafe channels of race opinions towards superstitious or sentimental oddities or towards innocuous folk-tales or songs. In modern fiction negro characters are not only allowed to think, but encouraged to blaze away with all the mental "whats" and "whys" at even the most intimate phases of racial adjustments. Few authors of twenty-five years ago would have pictured the mental anguish of a "passed" negro woman concerning the possible color of her unborn child, or the reaction of a successful negro physician when his young son asks, "Dad, why is it they only lynch colored people?"

A somewhat jump, twitchy, mosaic style seems inevitable where character is served in small psychic tid-bits without adequate blending of childhood impressions and other motivating forces behind these thoughts. But, with all its modernism, the book is delicately, interestingly and artistically done without the wrought-iron barbed-wire roughness and the overplay upon the brutal and sexual so frequently employed by modern writers on the negro in their bid for popular interest.

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies.

U. S. EX-SLAVES CLING TO OLD CUSTOMS

2,000 in San Domingo Who Prefer Church Service to Cock Fighting.

COLONY EXCLUSIVE

SAMANA, Dominican Republic—A little colony of 2,000 descendants of American Negroes here, have drawn the ire of natives by their stubborn clinging to the customs of their ancestors.

The latest flare-up is over the subject of Sunday cock-fighting. The colonists in protest against the laxity of morals in the natives wish to prevent the erection of a cockpit in the city limits. As cock-fighting is the national sport and the natives are inclined to be jealous of the "American" Negroes, it appears that nothing will come of the matter.

These colonists are the descendants of persons who were transported a century ago from Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey under an agreement between an American abolition society and the then emperor of the island.

Starting with only five acres of land each, they have by hard work won much of the business and agricultural control of San Juan Valley, the most fruitful of the rich lands of the republic.

They like to refer to their "American obstraction" and refuse to intermarry with their neighbors. The colonists have builded comfortable houses for themselves, which contrast singularly with the native huts. Schools have been erected at their own expense. In these schools there is a complete separation of the sexes, even to the teachers.

The colonists are the island's best agriculturists, and have recently begun with success the manufacture of soap and matches.

They have stirred native hostility by their industry and aloofness and are at a disadvantage numberically and politically.

Ten Blacks To Seven Whites In West Indies

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, Sept. 14.—(AP)—The population of the West Indies has recently been estimated at slightly more than 10,000,000, of which probably 7,000,000 are blacks or mulattos. Whites predominate in Cuba and Porto Rico, but in all the other islands the colored races outnumber the whites.

Some curious facts came to light concerning the origin of the natives of the Caribbeans. The native colored citizen of Bermuda, for example, is partly descended from the American Indian, 800 of whom were banished to the island during the early Indian wars in New England. In some of the islands are thousands of Hindus imported as coolie labor.

Among the millions of original Car populating the West Indies only a f hundred remain, the Spaniards hav destroyed them. African slaves w brought to the islands to take the p' f the aborigines.

AT THE REQUEST of the Government of Santo Domingo Ex-Vice-President Dawes will head a commission to revise the fiscal organization of that country and establish a modern budget system. It will be concerned only with expenditures. The commission is unofficial as far as the United States Government is concerned; its findings may conceivably be the basis for further American financing in Santo Domingo. In this respect, however, we hope the Dominican Republic can be depended upon to guard its independence as it did in 1924 when a loan of $25,000,000—provided for in a plan worked out by the American Receiver of Customs in Santo Domingo and the American Commissioner—was rejected by the republic on the ground that it would extend even further the American Receivership of Customs, established in 1907 to regulate repayment of loans. The Receivership, which is expected to end about 1947, constitutes the extent of official American control in Santo Domingo which was formally relinquished by the treaty of 1924. Our influence through economic penetration is much more difficult to gauge. The invitation is to do a fiscal and in no sense a political job. It would indicate that Santo Domingo no longer fears United States intervention. Incidentally, it is another evidence of the prestige which General Dawes and other American financial experts have achieved in foreign countries by their excellent work in this capacity.

CHICAGO, ILL
TRIBUNE

NOV 1 1929

TROUBLE IN THE DUTCH WEST INDIES.

A dispatch from Aruba, Dutch West Indies, reports that Americans employed by the Standard Oil Company of Indiana are in trouble with the Dutch authorities and are asking for protection by Washington. The complainants are building tanks, refineries, and docks. One injustice alleged is in the collection of income taxes. The Americans complain that they are excessively taxed and that natives are relieved from taxation, that they have been threatened by Negro policemen and that there have been injuries, if not deaths in fights.

These foreign possessions in the American region are anachronisms. They are carried over from restless days when the nations were in motion for exploration, discovery, and conquest. War and purchase have brought stabilized form out of this movement and have established the dominant interest which is that of the United States. There remain, however, vestiges of the unsettled days, islands and lands which were not brought in and consolidated. They have not been reconciled to the dominant fact, to the fact of America as it now exists. They are bits of inconsistency which have not been related to the real progress of events.

As in the case of these Americans employed in a development of American industry, this alien possession and administration can make trouble. As it is big or little trouble it can affect the stability of international relations. It causes friction between the alien possessor and the United States, within whose natural domain the foreign owned lands are governed. It is an offense against the peace of the world to permit such alien jurisdictions to exist. They can be eliminated by purchase, as many already have been. The persistence of European governments along the margin of the United States is contrary to the law of national development. Within the American domain government should be consolidated under the jurisdiction where it naturally and properly belongs.

Gazette
Trinidad Sat

MAR 26 1929

THE DECLINING "VIRGINS."

A summary in the New York Times of a report on the Virgin Islands by their governor, Captain Evans of the navy, gives space to the bay-rum industry but does not mention the former rum industry. The bay-rum of the islands is made chiefly from the oil of bay leaves. Before the extension of the Volstead law to our Caribbean possession the beverage called rum was made from sugar-cane. It has been frequently reported that the chief industry of the islands has been abolished by prohibition, with ruinous economic effect. Apparently this loss has been made up in a small measure by the growth of the bay-rum industry, the report showing that three times as much of it is now exported than before the American regime.

We learn further that, although "the prohibition situation" is "most satisfactory," the population of the Virgin Islands has steadily declined since the United States came into possession, the loss being 53.3, and the total now being 20,728—nearly all negroes. Although illiteracy "has practically disappeared" in consequence of improved educational methods, morality is still "at a very low ebb." In 1926 the percentage of illegitimacy was 59.2. For this reason the cost of court marriages has been reduced to $1.40. But, as most of the inhabitants are described as "wretchedly poor" and "conspicuously ragged," it would appear that even at the moderate cost of $1.40 marriage is regarded as too expensive by a heavy percentage of an economically unfortunate population.

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies.

Haiti.

HAITI

Last Friday according to reports from the Commander of the American Marines in Haiti a riotous demonstration was staged by a large body of discontented Haitians against the government and five were killed and twenty wounded by the marines in an effort to quell the disorder.

The uprising of the people against the Haitian government appears so serious that President Hoover deemed it necessary to dispatch a reinforcement of 500 more marines. Herald-Commonwealth

The disturbance began Nov. 30, with a so-called student strikes against the President of Haiti which has spread to the populace and has become formidable and menacing. 12/14/29

American marines have occupied Haiti since 1915, sent there at that time by President Wilson, under the terms of a treaty. Baltimore, Md.

They have been maintained there ever since and from their entrance upon the island the people of Haiti have been subjected to their domination, are no longer a free people and no longer have the right of self government.

With evident knowledge of the situation, President Hoover recommended in his annual message to Congress an appropriation for the expense of a commission to investigate conditions in Haiti and make recommendations so that the government could find a way to withdraw the armed forces of the United States from the island. The President in his message indicated disapproval of the quartering of American armed forces on a free and independent nation.

Mr. Hoover inherited the evil situation in Hayti it having been handed down from Administration to Administration from President Wilson who believed in "self determination" for all nations and races except those who are too weak to themselves enforce it.

In 1915 while the World War was raging, Haiti was torn by revolution. President Wilson sent American troops to quell the disorder. Peace was restored and a government installed through the power of the American forces. A treaty was afterwards signed surrendering to the American government the power and authority now exercised by it over the people of the island. Armed American forces with its commander as High Commissioner and the real governing power or dictator of Haiti has continued a constant irritation and has bred bitterness and hatred on the part of the people of Haiti toward the United States as would be the case in any country where foreign soldiers were placed in domination over a free people on their own soil.

More than 2,000 Haitians were killed by the American marines during the early years of their occupancy and the people of that unhappy land have been forced into subjection, a smothered tranquility that has been liable to turn into bloody resistance at any time and of which the outbreak just ended is but a forerunner.

Military domination of Haiti should come to an end and we believe that President Hoover is thoroughly sympathetic with that oppressed people and that when the commission to be appointed submit its report he will put an end to military rule in Haiti.

NEW YORK WORLD

DEC 8 1929

Millspaugh Lays Haitian Trouble to Military Rule

Ex-U. S. Financial Adviser Says Present Treaty Is Ineffective

Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, formerly Administrator General of the Finances of Persia, was sent to Haiti by the State Department as financial adviser and Receiver General in 1927. Last winter he resigned under mysterious circumstances. He kept silent as to the reasons, but it was charged that the State Department called for his resignation because he attacked our official extravagance there.

Asked by The World to clarify the present situation, Dr. Millspaugh sent the following statement.

By A. C. Millspaugh

KALAMAZOO, Mich., Dec. 7.—It is impossible to determine at this distance the precise cause of recent disturbances in Haiti, but they emphasize the wisdom and urgency of President Hoover's proposal for a commission to study the situation on the ground.

Since our intervention in 1915 we have maintained a military occupation in Haiti and have practically controlled the civil Government of that republic. This American tutelage of a nominally soverign foreign nation has been based on the treaty of 1915. The purpose of the treaty, as repeatedly announced by official spokesmen of the American Government, is to create conditions of stability in that country, and assurances have been given that when there are reasonable expectations of a stable government, American participation in Haitian affairs will be terminated.

The sincerity of these announcements and assurances cannot, in my opinion, be questioned. Furthermore numerous Americans directing the Hatian administration are unquestionably working for what they conceive to be the welfare of the Haitian people, and many American officials in Haiti are exceptionally efficient.

Since 1915 Haiti has made substantial material progress, and the American administration has to its credit much tangible constructive accomplishment, particularly along the line of policing, public health, financial reorganization and public works. After giving due weight to material progress and constructive accomplishment, however, it is evident that conditions essential to stable self-government have not been established in Haiti, and there is no reasonable ground for believing such conditions can be established before the expiration of the treaty in 1936.

On account of various circumstances due partly to original shortcomings of the treaty, American effort has not been intelligently planned, effectively organized, or vigorously directed. There has been no expert study such as President Hoover apparently contemplates, aimed at finding the solution of the difficult, complicated problem of insuring stable self-government to a poor, primitive, ignorant and politically inexperienced Negro population.

It is urgent that a sound administrative program should be adopted, but in view of the short time before the expiration of the treaty it is even more necessary that we should carefully reconsider the spirit and form of our relationship to Haiti. The direction of American reconstruction work by a High Commissioner who is a Brigadier General of marines, responsible to the State Department, has emphasized on one hand the element of force, and on the other hand the direct domination by the American Government over the internal affairs of Haiti.

Our treaty organization must have diplomatic or military pretection or support whenever needed, but the Haitian problem is one that should be no longer military unless we have made it so by blundering. The problem is almost exclusively civil—financial, economic, sociological, educational, political. We shall not solve the problem before 1936, and it is doubtful whether American public opinion will tolerate forced renewal of the treaty.

Nevertheless, the larger interests of the United States and the welfare of the Haitian people demand the continuance of American tutelage. Winning the friendship of Haiti may be difficult, but it is not even now impossible. Efficient administration alone will not do it, but the end may yet be attained by consistent, skilful diplomacy embodying understanding sympathy and close contact with the people and definite abandonment of policies which unnecessarily cause antagonism.



Photograph by U. & U

DR. A. C. MILLSPAUGH

Ex President Of Haiti Is Dead

Ex-Provisional President Was Bitterly Against

U. S. INTERVENTION

Left Island Republic For Patriotic Reasons

Paris, Dec. 2—Dr. Rosalvo Bobo, one time Provisional President and Revolutionary leader in Haiti died here today. He was 56.

Dr. Bobo was staying at the home of his brother-in-law, Henri Laraque Counsellor of the Haitian Legation.

Dr. Bobo played an important but brief part in the significant revolutionary times in 1914 and 1915, when the United States began armed intervention in Haitian affairs and the "black republic" developed into a close political and fiscal protectorate.

Violently anti-American, Bobo who held a degree of doctor of laws and medicine from a French university, was at one time Haitian Minister to the Dominican Republic and in 1914 was a Cabinet Minister under President Davilmar Theodore, one of the three military heads of the turbulant Government who followed each other in quick succession.

Dr. Bobo led the successful revolution against Theodore's successor Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, by the President's former soldiers and ordered the execution of 160 political prisoners. Then Sam took refuge in the French Legation. Bobo and his followers swept into Portau Prince, dragged the hapless ruler out of his hiding place and turned him over to a mob composed mostly of relatives of the political victims.

Bobo was proclaimed President of Haiti that afternoon and he set up his Government at once. A little while after the proclamation, one Gen. Oscar, Governor of Port-au-Prince, who had acted as jailer to the political prisoners, was taken out and lynched.

But Bobo's position never was sure. American marines took possession of Port au Prince soon after his and there was desultory fighting all over the little island for the next three years. Bobo was continuously attacked by the Government group, and although he controlled northern Haiti, there was a great deal of opposition to his election to the Presidency. Andre Dartiguenave was put forward as a more popular candidate.

Bobo resigned in 1918. He dismissed his Provisional Cabinet and told his generals to turn their arms over to the American authorities at Cape Haitien. The Haitian Congress met at once and elected Dartiguenave by an overwhelming vote. Bobo received three ballots.

Dr. Bobo left Port-au-Prince the day after Dartiguenave's election. He made this move purely for patriotic reasons to make the work of the American forces there easier, he said.

He was still a foe in principal to American intervention, however, and was quoted as saying, long afterward that Dartiguenave never would have attained nor held the Presidency but for American guns.

NATIVE OF HAITI WRITES A GUIDE CORRESPONDENT

Opposed Official Wants $48,000 To Leave

IS ALL POWERFUL

Uncensored Letter Reaches A Guide Correspondent

By James Waldo Ivy

The students in the Damien Agricultural School went out on strike last October to protest against a reduction in their "bonus" allowances ordered by an American named Freeman, who has charge of the Service Technique. Students in Jacmel, Gonaives, and Cap-Haitien walked out, the whole Haitian population found itself in sympathy with these revolting students and held mass demonstrations. The American authorities became alarmed and declared martial law. Blood was spilled in Aux Cayes and also it is said, in Port-au-Prince. Then all authentic details ceased, for Haitian news is rigidly censored.

Real News Scarce

The news that we now get is what trickles through in the private letters of Haitians addressed to their friends in America. Below is the letter of a prominent Haitian, a native of Cap-Haitian, and a professor in the College de Notre Dame of that city. To protect him, I shall not divulge his name; the American officials in Haiti have the very disagreeable habit of resorting to reprisals in order to silence critics and realistic reporters of their doings in that country.

A Haitian was once sent to jail for certain information which he wrote a relative in New York, which appeared in an American paper and was later espied by one of the officials. The most significant parts of the letter follow.

Money Squandered

"The American newspapers must have already informed you that the chief of the Occupation has decreed martial law in Haiti. In the cities of Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitian, citizens are not allowed to leave their homes after 9 p. m. The Marines move about the streets armed to the teeth, their rifles, machine guns, machine rifles, etc. Moreover, Marines and Haitian guards move about the streets with military steps in groups of five and six and with rifles on their shoulders. No doubt you are believeing that a revolt is anticipated? No! It is only a strike. . . . a student's strike. . . a strike of young schoolboys! All this disorder had its origin in the squandering of Haitian money by Dr. Freeman, chief of the Service Technique, which furnishes our country with American experts,—his favorites. These employees or experts as he calls them not only know nothing, but still draw their large salaries at the expense of some of the students of the Service Technique. The "bonus" allowances of some of these students have been reduced from $15.00 to a derisory $10.00 a month, which is the "bonus" allowance for those students who live far from their homes.

Refused Reduction

"They refused to accept this sum and went out on strike. This strike was quite a serious affair in the country. Like a powder train the strike quickly spread to all parts of the country and all the schools are today closed. The strikers, especially in Les Gonaives and Cap-Haitien, became quite bold. It seems that the strike began in Port-au-Prince about the end of October or the beginning of November. The Government tried in vain to settle the question, and things finally reached such a point that there were two or three wounded and one dead. The Collector of Customs in Port-au-Prince struck one of his employes and was shot. It is believed that he died. There is a censorship and the news is difficult to obtain. In a few words I am going to tell you what happened in Cap-Haitien.

Didn't Believe It

"Sunday evening, December 1st, I learned from my little brother that the pupils of the College de Notre Dame had decided on a strike for the next day. I didn't believe it, and simply smiled. But I was wrong. The following morning they assembled in the Parc Baptiste, not far from my home and cried: 'Down with Freeman!' From the College de Notre Dame the strike spread to the Lycee National and the two schools, or rather the pupils of these two schools, filed out into the streets of the city.

The strike then spread to the pupils of the Ecole Industrielle, and by evening the whole town was a partisan of the strike. Note that all these students had struck as a protest against Freeman and to uphold the students of Port-au-Prince. Monday evening about one thousand young people marched through the streets of the city. The next day, Tuesday, other schools joined the strike and it grew in strength. About 9 o'clock Tuesday morning the march began. It was very imposing; young boys and girls numbering about 3,000 went about the city crying: 'Down with Freeman! Long live the strike! Down with poverty! Tuesday afternoon, the entire city took part in the strike. There was a dfile of from 5,000 to 6,000 persons crying with all their strength: 'Down with Freeman!' Wherever one passed there were frenzied acclamations and one felt the strength of patriotism stirring to action all Haitian hearts. Here the authorities became frightened.

Children Frightened

'The netx day, Wednesday, December 4th, they tried to stop all demonstrations. The chief of police drew his revolver to frighten a crowd of children; they scattered or a moment but started again with renewed ardor. Young men joined in, and soon the city was topsy-turvy. Many shots were fired but the crowd contineud to cry: 'Down with Freeman! Long live the strike!' About 5 o'clock came the news that martial law had been declared. A proclamation was issued which stated that any agitator would be fired on and that all citizens had to be in their homes by 7 p. m., and which they could not leave until the morning. If we had had arms there would have been a revolt; but there are no arms in the country and we must submit to the American 'til he has no arms more mfwy theuuuu uu has no more good to do us'.

"How are we going to settle this story about Freeman? I know nothing about it. The students of Port-au-Prince are still on strike. I have just learned that the Minister of Public instruction has commanded all pupils to return to their classes, by Monday, December 9th. Will they return? I think so; the primary pupil, at least since primary instruction is compulsory. The people coldly consider the American as more than ever the masters of the destiny of our country and there is nothing that we can do to shake them off. Perhaps our future president will find a solution.

Americans Hated

"The remarkable thing is that Borno was disatisfied with the declaration of martial law. And we note that the ill-will was aimed especially at Freeman and the Americans in general. Not once was the name of Borno mentioned in these demonstrations. But the situation is very complicated. If we get after Freeman we must perforce get after Borno who emloys Freeman. But Freeman is all powerul. He is one of the leading officials of the country, since he receives the largest salary, $10,000 a year. And then he is bound by contract with the Haitian Government. 'Give me $48,000, which is the rest of my salary,' he says 'and I'll go.'"

HOOVER FREES 36 HAITI PROTESTORS

Communists Stage Demonstration Against Murder of Haitians by U.S. Marines

NEGROES PICKET

Party Leaders 'Plan to Continue Fight on Oppression.

WASHINGTON. — President Herbert Hoover suddenly ordered the release of 36 members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League arrested Saturday afternoon during a demonstration against the oppression of Haiti, staged before the White House and the State and War Departments.

Rufus Coker, 17 years old, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Wilbur Upshaw, 65 years of age, of Chester, Pennsylvania, were among the party.

The chief executive declared that the "misguided youth," who were first held on $100 bail, charged with the violation of "parading on government reservation without a permit," be released and sent to their parents."

Mr. Hoover's act followed a successful picketing of the government house by one hundred workers, many from Baltimore.

Many from Baltimore

Led by Paul Crouch, 26 years old and Sylvia Langdon, both white, of New York City, they went to the executive mansion carrying placards with the legends reading "Down With Hoover," "Defend the Revolting Haitians Against Wall Street Imperialism," "Hands Off Haiti," and "We Demand Full Social, Political, Economic and Racial Equality for Negros."

Upshaw was about the oldest person in the party. He was seen in the front rank bearing the placard 'Hands Off Haiti."

None of the party entered the White House grounds. They were arrested at the gates, and charged with parading without a permit. All of the group were later released at the request of the President in order not to give them "the favor of cheap martyrdom."

Race Problem —1929

West Indies.

Haiti.

A JIM CROW SITUATION IN HAITI

By E. W. HUTTER

(From "Plain Talk", March, 1929)

In the West Indies the finest aristocracy bears considerable Negro blood, and this Negro strain enjoys a culture certainly not surpassed by that of the Boston Brahmins. But does this impress the gallant boys in our Marine Corps? Not at all. They established the color-line in Haiti and set up Nordic supremacy. Mr. Hutter is a native of Lynchburg, Virginia ,and a graduate of the University of Virginia.

When the American marines descended on Haiti in 1915 they brought more with them than their guns. Practically every uniform was stuffed from the tasselcrowned hat to the tip of the toe with Jim-Crowism. During the twelve years of intervention a figure of the black man that is half humorous and half threatening his colored brethren made by Americans there, not only the marines but virtually the entire force of the American occupation. Every visitor to Haiti is struck with one curious fact. The marine's swaggering boisterousness is vocalized in unmistakable accents that is from the South. It might be presumed that southerners were chosen for the work of colonizing because of their familiarity with Negroes and their idea that a nigger is a nigger whether in Georgia or in Haiti.

The Negro has received better treatment in parts of the South (though assuredly not in the jungles of Georgia and Mississippi) than in the North, it is true, but the classse who have dealt out a modicum of humaneness are not the kind who join the marines. Those who have been humane are from the upper and the middle classes. The marines have no particular social standing.

So we have the surprising spectacle of a country free, black, and 112 years old saddled with a uniformed constabulary recruited from another country and class whose hatred of the blacks is accentuated by an economic fear. These lowly ones, scarcely above the social status of the Negro in the South, now have the power, gun in hand and the United States behind them, to lay down the law to his brother in the Tropics.

The Haitians were entirely unprepared for the attitude of the Americans. Theirs was a French civilization, and Latins do not draw the color line. But there has been a social line in Haiti since the first slaves were imported from Africa. Although the French consorted freely with the blacks, and the children of these unions were recognized and sent to Europe for culture and polish, the French remained the landowners until they were driven from the island in 1804. The bloodshed of the French Revolution and the cruelty of their own masters inflamed the slaves into a rebellion that was ultimately successful. The victors declared their independence and proclaimed their country a democracy. In place of the slaughtered and departed French, the natives soon found new masters in the descendants of the French and the blacks.

Until the Americans were called in 1915 it was the mulattoes who controlled the destinies of Haiti. This aristocracy tended to become lighter and lighter, for the dowries of the dusky belles were a bait strong enough to draw other Frenchmen from the homeland. But no family attained to such whiteness as totally to obscure an occasional coal-black grandmother in the background. These darker-hued forebears were treated in much the same way by the family as poor and uncouth cousins from the country are handled by rich social climbers in America. They were unfashionable; their color and features did not off set the imported Paris gowns to the best advantage. Therefore they were relegated to back seats, and the families called themselves French.

The aristocracy would not and the peasantry could not run the shops, and so the middle class was drawn from foreigners, mostly Syrians. When we speak of the Haitian attitude to the Americans we mean the upper-class Haitians; the lowest class has no more attitude toward its environment than so many cattle. And until 1915 the aristocrats knew little about Americans. They were not interested in America. They considered her civilization too new; they preferred to go to the original source, Europe for theirs. It came as somewhat of a shock to them in 1915 to discover that they were not the social equals of the contemptuous Nordics from the north.

When President Sam butchered the 167 political prisoners he held as hostages and was himself butchered in turn, his body hacked to bits, and even his hair cut up to make pieces for the rabble to dance around, the majority of Haitians were much relieved to see the American battleship that had been hovering conveniently near in the harbor at Port au Prince steam in and disgorge its cargo of marines. They were tired of the endless revolution and bloodshed, and were grateful to these policemen for putting an end to it. They showed their gratitude by inviting the Americans into their homes, where they opened up cases of champagne and barrels of the only perfect drink ever distilled, Haitian rum. They got them drunk, they feasted them, they let them dance with their daughters and wives; in short, they did everything to warm a marine heart. The marine responded to this soothing treatment, and everything went along well with the marines and their hosts until Haiti was judged safe for white women. This meant that wives of marines were shipped down and the married ones would have to foreswear the pleasures of native comradship. It would never do to carry their wives to a nigger party; but life in the tropics was unbearable without recreation, so they had their own parties and very soon organized the American Club, the first rule of which was that no Haitian was to darken its doors. The Haitians were incensed by the changed attitude and retaliated by withholding the hospitality of the Cercle Bellevue from the Americans. Such were the relations between the two at the end of the first year.

Perhaps the Haitian disparages the results of the occupation, but to an unbiased visitor his judgements come much nearer the truth than the contemptuous claims of the Americans. Granting that the Americans have done everything they boast of—stabilized the government, improved sanitary conditions, taught the natives improved methods of agriculture, opened up the country by roads and bridges. and enlightened Haiti in general—granting all this, Haiti still has an excellent case against American intervention. America has no great respect for constutional rights, as she has shown the world by scrapping her own Bill of Rights in an attempted regulation of the diet of her citizens; but in Haiti she has surpassed herself.

The Americans place a dummy in the President's chair; he (or they—it is all the same) appoints his Council of State; the Council, in turn, reelects him at the expirations of his terms of office, where he remains until death removes him. One puppet is as good as another in the eyes of the Americans, and the present one, Louis Borno, seems due for a long life if his bodyguard of marines keeps up its watchful protection. According to the Haitian constitution the literate populace elects the Senate and the Senate elects the President, who must be the son of a native-born Haitian. Louis Borno's father was a naturalized citizen, a Venezuelan, and, accordingly, Borno is not eligible for any high office. But that does not prevent the occupation from placing him in the chair and keeping him President, with the help of God and a few marines, for as long as the marines see fit. Borno and his fellow tools are scorned by the Haitians; but they have a glistening white palace, exhorbitant salaries with no work attached, white aides in attendance, and marines for protection.

It seems strange at first to see the upper-class Haitian defending the peasantry against its oppressors when we consider that the Haitian has always been heartless in the exploitation of his lowly brothers in the bush, but he was evidently in the position of a man beating his wife. Often the mistreated wife shares her husband's views on the subject, and in this case the Haitian peasantry bears out the analogy. The bush Haitian is without doubt better off by far than ever before in his history. He is less the slave. He is not herded into political armies. The little money he receives for his bag of rice and load of sugar-cane is not going to drop to one fifth its value before he spends it, which was usual in the days of Haitian control of the treasury. He is free from the excessive tax today on imported articles, as everything he uses is raised on the island. What if he does receive an occasional well-aimed American boot on the seat of his raged trousers? His black master's lashings are still remembered. Now, all of these reasons should make him appreciative of changed conditions, but he is not. The peasantry of Haiti hates the Americans as much as the aristocracy does; but, as the peasant is inarticulate, his only means of expression is a grim unceasingly sullen air. There is nothing to fear in his attitude toward the whites. He regards them with a superb disdain, worthy of the aristocracy itself, the while he works as yard-boy or cook at double the wages he would get from members of his own race.

It is the American who is afraid of the Haitian. Having been under the thumbs of Baptist and Methodist witch doctors in the mental steppes of Georgia all of his life, the marine's ears are nicely attuned to ghost-stories. Voodooism is his dish. The fantastic tales of sorceries forever discussed by his companions keep him in a perpetual states of nervous terror. Nothing he hears is too improbable, and sometimes he adds to the fund of data himstlf.

On the Champ de Mars by the President's palace is a bronze statue of Dessalines the liberator. In his upraised arm he holds a sword pointing to the sea, and when this sword drops it is a signal for the blacks to massacre the whites and become masters of their country once more. One night the neighborhood was awakened by a succession of shots. The palace, aroused from its fitful dreams, remembered the old days when it was under almost constant repair from the frequent bombings of the Outs, opened its doors in alarm, and poured forth its frightened guard. They discovered a marine frantically emptying his revolver at the awesome statue. His explanation was simple. He had been walking peacefully by when Dessalines stepped off his pedestal and pricked him sharply in the rear with the sword. The shooting he had done was merely for self-protection. The man was not drunk, and when he was placed in an observation ward he was declared sane. Voodoo had another victory to its credit.

In the principal cemetery of Port au Prince is a large wooden cross with its base scarred from thousands of candles burned on it by grieved relatives. A lieutenant's wife, as ignorant of Catholic rites as she was eager for verification of Voodoo, asked me what had been burnd there. It would have been shameful to disillusion her so I whispered "babies." A priest entered the cemetery at this time and she rushed to him for further details. She wanted to know how often they burned babies there and when would the next ceremony be held. Luckily the priest could not understand her Carolina English and she did not know a word of French, even though she had lived in Haiti for over a year. She interpreted the priest's lack of English as an admission of guilt and lost no time spreading the news over the American colony.

The same lady was kind enough to give me a lift when she saw me one day on the street waiting for a cab. There are no sidewalk in Port au Prince, and the narrow street are crowded with barefooted pedestrians. Whenever the crowd became particularly dense my temporary hostess stepped on the gas, blew the horn, laughed deliriously

at the crowd hurrying to safety and bowled over a market woman with her heavily filled basket.

The Americans, however, have other amusements besides sideswiping plodding natives with their cars. The most popular sport, indoor and out, is drinking. Any gathering, a table of bridge or a polo match, is a suitable excuse, and very few seem able to estimate correctly their capacity. The American Club on Saturday nights resembles a shambles, for when the average American gets drunk he longs for a fight. The American Club is well filled with drunken average Americans. The women keep up with their men in these frequent bouts. Late one Saturday night I saw a car draw up to a small villa and as I came closer recognized a marine captain lifting the limp body of his wife from the back seat. Blood was smeared all over the front of her white evening dress. When I offered my assistance and inquired about the accident he laughed. She hadn't been run over by an automobile or stabbed; she had just passed out at the club while a couple of fellows were fighting near, so she got covered with blood. She'd come to and be all right after a cold dip.

The Haitians are very moderate drinkers, and the wholesale drunkenness exhibited by the Americans disgusts them heartily. They refuse to consider themselves the social inferiors of people capable of such swinishness.

SICKNESS OF HERO RECALLS HAITIAN CHAOS

Exiled After Fight for Freedom

Port-au-Prince, Haiti.—Jose Yolibois, delegate to the Union Patriotique d'Haia for the United States, was recently reported to be in South America suffering from a mental breakdown. 10-19-29

The legal authority, merchant and editor, born 37 years ago of a poor family, an excellent student, arriving at the age of manhood was appointed assistant district attorney at Petit Goave. At the beginning of the U. S. Marine occupation under Dartiguenave he was employed by the Haitian finance department. Discovering grave irregularities during the fiscal years of 1918 and 1919 in the imports of flour made by the government of Haiti under orders from the U. S. military occupation, he resigned and joined in the struggle against the United States control of his homeland.

SENT TO JAIL FOURTEEN TIMES

The newspaper Courier Haitien was founded in 1921 and Yolibois joined the group, exposing with energy and courage the crimes of the U. S. marines. He was arrested after a series of articles denouncing the alleged atrocious crimes committed by Colonel Hooker and frauds by high officials in flour imports. The editor was lodged in jail, court martialed by U. S. army officers, sentenced to six months at hard labor, with a $300 fine.

He remained in jail until the day after the arrival here of the American senatorial commission of inquiry. President Borno after his coup d'etat, is alleged to have sent Leon Dejean, one of his ministers, with money and offer of a position. The liberated man refused indignantly. He was horribly persecuted. Fourteen times under hypocritical and ridiculous pretexts, Mr. Borno had him sent to jail.

A too talkative Frenchman, said to be an ex-convict, alleged head of the American espionage system, Adolphe Bente, arranged to kill Yolibois under pretext of "resisting arrest." Friends informed the hunted man, who secretely crossed the Haitian-Dominican border, going to Santo Domingo, where he received aid. He has since been traveling and giving lectures throughout South America.

Haitians Protest to to President Hoover

New York.—About three weeks ago a group of prominent citizens of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, requested the American charge d'affaires, Mr. Grummon, to receive and forward to President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson the appeal for freedom and deliverance from bondage, according to officials of the Save Haiti league of this city. Mr. Grummon is charged with refusing to receive the appeal, stating that he had instructions not to receive such appeals addressed to the president or secretary of state.

The appeal, however, was brought to the United States by a ship passenger and by the good offices of Morris Lewis, secretary to Congressman Oscar DePriest, was delivered to the United States government chiefs. The appeal dealt with the regime of President Luis Borno of Haiti, which controls the nation, even to deny citizens their rights of franchise.

Charlemagne, Haitian Patriot, Slain By U. S. Marine

Jean Lamonte, Secretary General Union Patriotique d'Haiti, Tells of His Death

By Jean Lamonthe, Secy.-General Union Patriotique d'Haiti)

New York, Oct. 21 (CNS)—While many people in the United States know of the heroic struggle of Haitian patriots, very few know of the astonishing exploits of Charlemagne Peralte, the Haitain leader, patriot, who, until he was captured in his camp by United States marine, disguised as a native, and murdered in cold blood, was one of the greatest fighters for Haitian liberty against United States imperialism.

Charlemagne was slandered as a bandit, but if Charlemagne was a bandit for resisting foreign rule, so was George Washington whom Americans revere as "the father of his country," its liberator from oppression of British imperialism. Charlemagne was a Caco, a Spanish word meaning "bad," but translated "bandit" for American consumption, in order to mislead the American people as to the real character of the Haitain patriot and fighter. The "Cacos," were simply black peasants who suffering from the cruelty and barbarity of the American occupation, had taken the field against the puppet Haitian government, headed by the servile tool of American capitalist interests, the most successful leaders against the forces of the puppet government and the United States marine who were the real power behind the throne.

Born at Hinch, October 7, 1885, Charlemagne had won many honors and was the military governor of the district of Leogane. Returning to his native town he was immediately put in jail, shortly thereafter being sent to the chain gang in Cape Haiti. The townspeople became indignant at his treatment by the U. S. Occupation and managed his escape. Charlemagne then joined the revolutionaries and soon became a terror to the United States marines. He several times lead gronps of revolutionairies in successful attacks against the marines, once capturing a United States tank and bringing down two aeroplanes during a major engagement with the oppressors of Haiti. The marines then seized his aged mother as a hostage, cruelly ill-treating her, but Charlemagne stifled his love for his mother and fought all the fiercer for Haitian liberation.

His tactics perplexed the Occupation, and a price was put on his head, "dead or alive." To a relative, Jean Coze, the sum of six thousand dollars was promised for the betrayal of Charlemagne. This traitor consequently joined the ranks of the revolutionaries and informed the United States marines of the whereabouts of Charlemagne. A strong detachment was sent against him, but such was the terror inspired by his exploits that they dared not attack him, but resorted to strategy instead.

On the stormy night of October 31, 1919, two members of marines, Hanneken, promoted to a captaincy for his part in this outrage, and Button, blackened their faces with a number of gendarmes disguised as citizens, and lead by the traitor Conze, they penetrated the outposts of the terror of the marines and entered Charlemagne's camp. Approaching Charlemagne who was sleeping at the time, Captain Hannecken opened fire at close range, thus cowardly assassinating the Negro leader whom they had never been able to best in battle.

Did Charlemagne die in vain? The fight for Haitain liberation must be waged with increasing intensity, and in the face of the terror of the United States Occupation and its puppet Borno government. The Negro and white workers of the United States must rally to the cause of Haitian independence, must rally to the support of the Haitain struggle for liberation.

NEW YORK WORLD

DEC 8 1929

AMERICA MISRULES HAITI, SAY NEGROES

Thoby's Charges Cited by Association to Prove Abuses

BORNO ELECTION A "FARCE"

40 Journalists Imprisoned for Criticising Regime

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People yesterday issued a statement, according to the Associated Press, asserting that "detailed and specific charges concerning American misrule" in the Republic of Haiti had been submitted to the United States Department of State by Perceval Thoby, former Charge d'Affaires of the Haitian Legation at Washington.

Thoby charged, the statement said, that fourteen years of American occupation had resulted in "the greatest misery ever known in Haitian history."

The association quoted Thoby as saying the election of Louis Borno as President of the republic on April 10, 1922, by fourteen members of the Council of State, was "in contemptuous contravention of the Constitution," since the council was not empowered to elect a President and Borno himself was not a native born Haitian.

"Through a farcical re-election on April 12, 1926," the statement quotes Thoby's Memorandum, "by members of the so-called Council of State, appointed by himself, Mr. Louis Borno has remained in power. This has been possible only through the support of the United States High Commissioner.

* * * The real and sole rule of Haiti is Gen Russell, special representative of the President of the United States."

The statement says that Thoby further charged that freedom of speech and of the press had become "a hollow mockery" and that the free exercise of political suffrage had been forcibly denied.

"The old and liberal Haitian laws," the association's statement quoted Thoby, "have been abrogated. A new law was enacted in 1922 'to guarantee,' it is said 'the independence and security of our press.' Under this law, undemocratic and medieval and modified four times in six years, more than forty journalists have already suffered imprisonment. Several of these have remained for months, without trial, in the penitentiary."

The association recommended an impartial commission of United States citizens, including Negro members, to investigate the situation.

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies.

Haiti

TAKE THE HATE OUT OF HAITI

Student revolts and labor disturbances, followed by the murder of five unarmed Haitian workers by United States Marines at Aux Cayes, has resulted in the declaration of martial law by General Russell, American High Commissioner in Haiti, and a request by President Hoover to Congress that $50,000 be appropriated immediately for the expenses of a commission to go to that unhappy republic "to review and study the matter." The N.A.A.C.P. has issued to the press a series of charges against the American occupation and prominent Negroes are demanding that the President's commission contain at least one Negro member. Courier

It is our belief that no such commission is needed to ascertain the facts about the American occupation in Haiti. The facts are already known in great detail. This government is there illegally and without the consent of the American or the Haitian peoples. It has violated the laws of nations in its dealings with the black republic, and is still doing so. It has interfered with internal affairs to a shocking extent and the Republic of Haiti is worse off economically than it was before the United States intervened in its affairs. A handpicked commission will only whitewash the illegal war and wholesale depression of which the Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations have been guilty. Pittsburgh Pa.

Let us review the situation for the sake of those who are unfamiliar with the facts. In July, 1914, the United States, fearing French or German intervention in Haitian affairs because of revolutionary disturbances, asked Haiti to accept American customs control. Haiti refused, as she should have. On December 17, 1914, at the request of the National Bank of Haiti, a French corporation with American minority interest, the American warship Machias removed $500,000 in gold coin from the bank. The bank, being the treasury of the Haitian government, stopped the payment of funds to the Haitian government, with the result that no President could stay in office due to lack of finances to carry on an administration. This was the direct cause of the disturbances which led to the massacre of 200 political prisoners at Port au Prince on August 27, 1915, which, following the assassination of President Sam, led to the landing of Marines by Admiral Caperton. Keep in mind that no foreigners, American or otherwise, had been killed and no default had been made on any foreign debt. Haiti had done nothing to the United States or any other country. 12/21/29

Since the American occupation, the successive Washington administrations, whether Democratic or Republican, have committed the following crimes against the defenseless Haitians:

1. Forced Haiti to give the United States the right to nominate a financial adviser, a general receiver, "sanitary" engineers and American officers for the Haitian National Guard. September 16, 1915.
2. Forced the amendment of the Haitian Constitution so that foreigners could acquire land in the Republic. June, 1918.
3. Forced the dissolution of the Haitian National Assembly and established a Council of State of 21 members appointed by the President and which in turn elected the President. June, 1918.
4. Forced compulsory labor of Haitian citizens at building roads under the old corvee law. July, 1916.
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> "Our representatives in Haiti have shown great ability and devotion and have accomplished signal results in improvement of the material condition of that people."

Let us again consult the facts: To the credit of the United States are:

1. The organization of the efficient Haitian National Guard, supplanting the old Haitian army, but having 62 per cent white American officers and only 38 per cent Haitian officers, and all of them subalterns.
2. Construction of the College of Damien, the Haitian General Hospital, the Palace of Justice, some schools and dispensaries and about 800 miles of new roads (largely for the exercise of American-owned automobiles and the easier oppression of the Haitians).
3. Establishment of a public health service and the development of rural clinics, which last year treated 867,000 cases. Also a medical school for the training of Haitian doctors.
4. Reorganization of Haitian finances, revision of tariff imposition of new internal revenues on alcohol and tobacco and establishment of a system of accounts; balancing of the budget, obliteration of the floating debt reduction of the public debt, production of unobligated cash balance, stabilization of currency and regular payment of Haitian officials.

To the discredit of the American Occupation are:

a) Decline in 1913 export values of 12 per cent.

(b) Causing an unfavorable balance of trade totaling $12,000,000.

(c) During the last 15 years Haitian exports have failed to increase in the same ratio as exports of other Caribbean countries.

(d) In the past year a number of Haitian firms have failed and the exports of coffee have fallen from 41,417,000 kilograms to 28,557,000 kilograms.

(e) Haitian emigration to Cuba and elsewhere in search of work has increased annually from 117 in 1914 to 21,619 in 1927 and 14,098 in 1928. It is said that one-fourth of the Haitian male adult papulation has emigrated in search of work, which they cannot get at home. Even the American Financial Adviser stated in his 1927 report that: "The government is rich and the people poor."

(f) The Americans have declined to increase appropriations for Haitian-controlled public schools and the teachers therein are only paid $5 and $6 a month. The public school appropriation is less today than it was in 1914.

(g) The Americans have inaugurated the "Tuskegee System" of education and there is more money appropriated for these "service schools," enrolling 10, 000 pupils, than for the Haitian-controlled public schools, enrolling 95,000 pupils. Three-fourths of all Haitian children are not in school and 30 per cent more per capita per annum is expended for education in Porto Rico than in Haiti, though both are under the heel of Uncle Sam.

(h) The American administration has prevented all legislative elections since 1917.

(i) The American-controlled Haitian "government" of President Borno has arrested speakers, politicians and journalists and suppressed critical newspapers.

We believe that an impartial survey of the facts presented above will convince all whose are fair-minded that the American Occupation is a menace to the Haitian people. It has enslaved them, deprived them of their land, kept them ignorant, made them poorer and rendered them less capable of self-government. Under the circumstances, the only sensible conclusion at which honest men can arrive is that the present administration at Washington should order immediate withdrawal of all Americans from the black republic at once. The American officials to a man believe that the Haitians are mentally and morally inferior to them, and make no bones about showing how they feel. They have carried all their color prejudices to the unhappy island and made it a place of hatred. The American Government can never make amends for the crimes it has committed against the Haitian people, but it can at least take the Hate out of Haiti by immediately withdrawing and leaving these black folk to work out their own destiny.

Haiti

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies.

TAKE THE HATE OUT OF HAITI

Student revolts and labor disturbances, followed by the murder of five unarmed Haitian workers by United States Marines at Aux Cayes, has resulted in the declaration of martial law by General Russell, American High Commissioner in Haiti, and a request by President Hoover to Congress that $50,000 be appropriated immediately for the expenses of a commission to go to that unhappy republic "to review and study the matter." The N.A.A.C.P. has issued to the press a series of charges against the American occupation and prominent Negroes are demanding that the President's commission contain at least one Negro member. Courier

It is our belief that no such commission is needed to ascertain the facts about the American occupation in Haiti. The facts are already known in great detail. This government is there illegally and without the consent of the American or the Haitian peoples. It has violated the laws of nations in its dealings with the black republic, and is still doing so. It has interfered with internal affairs to a shocking extent and the Republic of Haiti is worse off economically than it was before the United States intervened in its affairs. A handpicked commission will only whitewash the illegal war and wholesale depression of which the Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations have been guilty. Pittsburgh Pa

Let us review the situation for the sake of those who are unfamiliar with the facts. In July, 1914, the United States, fearing French or German intervention in Haitian affairs because of revolutionary disturbances, asked Haiti to accept American customs control. Haiti refused, as she should have. On December 17, 1914, at the request of the National Bank of Haiti, a French corporation with American minority interest, the American warship Machias removed $500,000 in gold coin from the bank. The bank, being the treasury of the Haitian government, stopped the payment of funds to the Haitian government, with the result that no President could stay in office due to lack of finances to carry on an administration. This was the direct cause of the disturbances which led to the massacre of 200 political prisoners at Port au Prince on August 27, 1915, which, following the assassination of President Sam, led to the landing of Marines by Admiral Caperton. Keep in mind that no foreigners, American or otherwise, had been killed and no default had been made on any foreign debt. Haiti had done nothing to the United States or any other country. 12/21/29

Since the American occupation, the successive Washington administrations, whether Democratic or Republican, have committed the following crimes against the defenseless Haitians:

1. Forced Haiti to give the United States the right to nominate a financial adviser, a general receiver, "sanitary" engineers and American officers for the Haitian National Guard. September 16, 1915.
2. Forced the amendment of the Haitian Constitution so that foreigners could acquire land in the Republic. June, 1918.
3. Forced the dissolution of the Haitian National Assembly and established a Council of State of 21 members appointed by the President and which in turn elected the President. June, 1918.
4. Forced compulsory labor of Haitian citizens at building roads under the old corvee law. July, 1916.
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Race Problem - 1929

West Indies

Haiti

Haitians Want Highly Paid U.S. White Profs. Sent Home

Natives Insist English Speaking Teachers be Supplanted by those Who Can Talk French

WASHINGTON, D.C. — (CNS.)— Since the present Haitian troubles, leading to martial law and the firing on the people at Aux Cayes, originated with a strike at the Damien school, the American inquiry suggested by President Hoover, probably will center at the school in the Service Technique.

It is charged that nearly a dozen instructors of the Damien Agricultural School for practical extension work administered by the Service Technique are drawing good salaries and expense money from Haitian taxpayers while unable to speak French, and are otherwise unfitted for their work among the natives.

The usual practice of the incompetent instructors is not to appear at classes at all, but to write out their lectures and have them translated for the students by assistants.

Draw $4,000 Salaries

The white professors accused of being unable to speak the students' language include Dr. Hawk, an expert on professional instruction, salary $5000; Dr. Kingman, horse and cattle breeding, $5000; Mackinon, agriculturist, $4000; Dunbar, assistant chemist, $4000; Scarborough, expert on rural teaching, $4000; Stadmiller, forestry expert, $4000; Scott, general farming expert, $4500; Arndt, coffee specialist, $5000; Leonard, agriculturist, $4000.

Another half dozen instructors, all drawing salaries of about $4000, arrived just as the school was closed by the strike.

The strikers originally tried to oust Georges Fouche Freeman, white, U.S. head of the school, whose salary is $10,000 a year, but when shown a clause in his contract that he would continue to receive his salary for five years if ousted, the students dropped their demand. They stoned his house, however.

Boughton, veterinarian; Martin, marketing expert; Vision, chemist; Dosier, entomologist, and several others are praised for their work in the school.

Want Haitians

"Some of the inefficient men can be replaced by Haitians," said Schiller Nicolas, president of the committee of employees. "We have been five years now preparing men capable of working into their places, but we haven't obtained a change."

Quiet Prevails Over Haiti As Riots Held Up

Cruiser Bearing Marine Detachment Arrives On Scene

Gardes In Control

U. S. Is Moving 500 Soldiers Southward

PORT-A-PRINCE, Dec. 8.—(AP)—Quiet prevailed today throughout Haiti. Threatened demonstrations scheduled for last night and this morning at three points failed to materialize. Wire communications were open to all points.

The cruiser Galveston with its regular marine detachment of 50 men arrived at Jacmel at 8 a.m. and found the city quiet. The inhabitants plainly showed relief that fears of attack had been dispelled.

News of the action taken so promptly by President Hoover and the dispatch of marine reinforcements from the United States was published as a bulletin by the newspaper La Presse and this contributed to the feeling of stability.

Gardes In Control

Outposts which had been threatened at Chantal, Torbeck and Port-A-Priment in the Cayes district reported today that all was quiet with a handful of gardes in control. Intelligence agents of the garde were circulating through the disaffected area to restore confidence and tranquility.

Under the martial law there has been established no censorship in any form on the press and the usual flexible censorship of cable and telephone communications has not been added to. Three opposition papers have voluntarily suspended publication although encouraged by Brigade Com. Cutts to continue. The reason given by the papers was that no news could be printed but it was said by the authorities that the actual reason was that they were facing bankruptcy.

Little Censorship

Under Haitian law only cable messages of plainly seditious nature are referred to the minister of the interior for censorship. Cable business has been brisk and telephone lines have shown a largely increased volume of business so that any censorship necessarily would have been ineffective.

Despite this freedom of circulation of real information alarmist reports have circulated. One was that airplanes had bombed Aux Cayes without warning and had inflicted heavy losses. Another was that a marine patrol had ambushed peasants without warning and taken a severe toll in killed and wounded.

Firing Was Short

As evidence that the marines in their brush with natives who tried to force their way into Aux Sayes on Friday had been in full control of their fire and had unusually fine discipline the brigade commander today released an official report showing that the ammunition in the machine gun belt used to drive off the attackers was not exhausted. This was said to show that the marines had fired only as long as the attacking band had pressed forward.

There have been three arrests here and one at Cape Haitien in the past 24 hours with the prisoners charged with being strike agitators.

"SERIOUS" CONDITIONS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8.—(AP)—Reports of serious conditions in Haiti continued to reach Washington tonight as 500 United States marines were moved toward the island republic to assist the 700 already there in maintaining peace.

The cruiser Galveston which was requested by Brig. Gen. John H. Russell the American high commissioner in Haiti to assist the marines arrived today in Jacmel, 20 miles from Port-Au-Prince the capital, to evacuate American women and children.

A gathering of the largest body of malcontents yet reported to the State Department was indicated in a telegram received late today from Gen. Russell who said that yesterday morning a crowd of about 2,000 surrounded the outpost building at Chantel crying "Down with Borno, down with Freeman."

The "Borno" referred to by the crowd is the president of the republic. The State Department said it was unable to identify the person referred to as "Freeman" who was decried by the gathering.

The Aux Cayes district was the scene of the first bloodshed in the situation which grew out of a strike in October of college students who objected to a decrease in the school's appropriations to care for other needs of the institution.

The State Department's report on the incident was as follows:

"On the morning of Dec. 7 a crowd of about 2,000 surrounded the outpost building shouting "Down with Borno, down with Freeman." The garde assisted by the French priest held the crowd off. Chantel is in the Aux Cayes district and has a garde outpost of three men.

"At Torbek, near Aux Cayes, where there is another outpost, a crowd estimated at 1,000 gathered on the morning of Dec. 7 and threatened to kill the corporal of the garde who was alleged to have telephoned into Aux Cayes the approach of the mob that descended on Aux Cayes on the afternoon of Dec. 6. The crowd had been shouting "Down with Borno, down with Freeman," but had not attacked the garde. Directions have been issued to call in the above two small outposts to Aux Cayes in order to prevent rushing the outpost at night and the capture of rifles and ammunition.

"The telephone line between Aux Cayes and Port-Piment was being destroyed.

"American women and children at Aux Cayes embarked on the steamer Martinique of the Columbian Line, for Port-Au-Prince. The Martinique was to stop at Jeremie and pick up about five American women and children at that port."

HAITIANS PETITION CONTROLLED VOTES

Leaders Charge Borno With Attempts To Enslave Citizenry

PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI, Dec. 15.—(AP)—Petitions signed by the presidents of seven Haitian political organizations asking United States supervision of the presidential elections next April were sent by air mail today to President Hoover.

The signatories of the petitions claim they have more than 100,000 followers in the interior. The petitions state that only through American supervision of the elections will the Haitians receive fair and impartial treatment. They charge President Louis Borno with attempts to enslave the citizenry, with denying freedom of the press and with violating the personal liberty clauses of the republic's constitution.

The signers state that unless the United States takes immedate and decisive steps to clear the Haitian political situation through the medium of controlled elections, the island will remain "in its present state of incipient revolution."

They charge that free and impartial elections cannot exist under the French electoral system which places electoral rights within the power of a committee of 21. They allege that this committee always has been bought by the administration.

The petition says: "The subscribed presidents of Haitian associations, established in Port-Au-Prince and aided by numerous outlying districts of the Republic, take advantage of the presence in Hait of special correspondents of the press of the United States to make known to the people and Government of the United States the opinion of the Haitian nation.

"Believing that the Government of Haiti is essentially Democratic and being furthermore assured by the formal promises of the United States Department of State that American intervention in 1915 was only to aid the Haitian people, we ask the United States to supervise elections in 1930.

"The signers, presidents of leading associations, recall the solemn promises of the United States Government and demand the carrying out of these promises in their spirit and the letter of the law. We ask that in April, 1930, the new president be elected through the loyalty of the people in sncerie electons instead of through the council of state committee of 21 which heretofore has been empowered to name the new president and which has always been subject to the intervention of the president and other political powers already in office."

Those who signed the petitions were Perceval Thoby of the Patriotic Union; Seymour Tradel of the National Constitutional League; Antonio Viex, Jr., Patriotic League; J. P. Mexile of the League of Rights and Citizenships; L. C. Herisson of the Public Instruction Association D. Bellegarde of the Haitian Association of the League of Nations, and E. M. Rampy of the Haitian Masonic Order.

The Republic was quiet over the week-end. Martial law, established last week has been relaxed and the curfew hour gradually extended. Officers of the Marine Corps said they expected martial law to be entirely removed early this week.

News dispatches of the demonstrations in New York, Washington and other American cities have been kept from the ...ic by Gen. Russell, the high com...oner.

ELMIRA, N. Y.
STAR-GAZETTE

DEC 11 1929

THE BLACK REPUBLIC

There is trouble in Haiti. There always is trouble in Haiti. An additional force of United States Marines has been sent to prevent the bloodshed that has been threatened.

The population of Haiti is about 2,500,000 and it is mostly negro, or French and negro half-breeds. It is a densely ignorant population, only a small percentage of the population having had any educational training. The moral standing of the people is very low indeed, and honesty is at so low an ebb that it has been necessary for the United States to keep a hand upon the finances of the government and to exercise a system of protec-

tion, which has been exercised since 1916. Horrible massacres occurred in 1915, at which time 200 political prisoners who had been lodged in jail were killed and the Haitien president, who had taken refuge in the French legation, was dragged out and killed with clubs in a street. A United States cruiser arrived two hours later and the marines soon restored order. Since that time this country has exercised a protectorate over Haiti.

But every little while something bobs up in the United States Congress to the effect that this country is not giving liberty of thought and action to the Black Republic, and then some of the vigilance is relaxed for a time until agitators, working upon the ignorant and superstitious blacks, start an "uprising;" and then there is more trouble.

President Hoover would like to settle affairs in Haiti. To that end he has asked for the appointment of an investigating commission, non-partisan in character, for immediate inquiry as to conditions and to make recommendation as to what should be this country's course.

It is undeniable that the blacks in Haiti are incapable of governing themselves. Some adequate power must exercise control and be supported by a military force. Left to themselves, without a masterful hand to hold them in check, they would plunge into anarchy or utter savagery within a few weeks —or months at the furthest.

It would not be reasonable to leave this duty to any European nation; it is a business that this country must perform—and it is one that is neither excessively dangerous nor costly if we take it up with promptness and follow it with wisdom.

SUPPORT HAITI WORKER PEASANT REVOLT IN WASH

Demonstration Held Before White House

By E. GARDOS.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14.—Led by Wilbur T. Upshaw, Negro longshoreman of Chester, Pa.; Sylvia Langdon, Gastonia, N. C., textile worker, and Paul Crouch, of the Young Communist League, one hundred members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League and sympathizers, mostly from Washington, Philadelphia and Baltimore, demonstrated this afternoon at the very heart of American imperialism. They carried banners with the slogans of "Fight Against Imperialist War," "Defend the Soviet Union," protesting against the murder of the Haitian peasants by United States marines, eposiné the A. F. of L. and socialist party as agents of American imperialism, demanding full social and political equality for Negroes, calling upon the soldiers and marines to unite with their brothers in the factories, mills, mines, and farms, exposing Stimson's "Peace Pact" Note as a war maneuver against the U.S.S.R. and Hoover's conferences as a step towards fascism.

These militant workers picketed the White House and State and War Departments.

The demonstration started shortly after 2 P. M. For 15 minutes the picket line marched up and down until the White House police with the help of City police reserves, rushing in patrol wagons, broke up the demonstration, tore up several banners, and arrested 36 workers. Two were Negro workers.

The prisoners were led to the police headquarters singing the International and shouting the Party slogans. Resisting arrest, a number of them were able to get away.

The comrades who were taken to the police headquarters are being charged with the violation of Article 8, Section 4, U. S. Park Regulations of "parading on government reservation without a permit."

Six young workers were taken to Juvenile Court. The bail was set at $100 each. The prisoners' decision that they all stay in prison until they are bailed out and the refusal of Negro comrades to get out first before the other comrades, shows the militancy of these workers.

The demonstration of the Communist Party before the White House against the U. S. war maneuvers against the Soviet Union and the invasion of Haiti by the U. S. warships and marines, created a great sair in the capital city. The headlines of the capitalist newspapers with pictures are devoted to the demonstration. The presence of Negro workers and the militant slogans of the Party, such as "Only proletarina revolution will stop imperialist war" and "Workers in uniform, join with us to fight the common enemy" together with the slogans against the war danger and rationalization will certainly have a great effect upon the workers.

In spite of the refusal of the police department to grant a permit for the open air demonstration at Seventh and Pennsylvania Ave. 7:30 P. M., we will go ahead with the meeting. Special efforts are being made to reach the Negro workers and Negro students of the Howard University.

* * *

The Communist Party, District 3 and the Young Communist League issued a statement after the demonstration in Washington in which they said, in part:

"Simultoneously with the attack upon the Haitian masses, war ships and troops of the imperialist powers are being rushed to China, in order to support the fight of the various mercenary clique against each other and to prevent the Chinese masses to overthrow the bloody rule of the imperialists and their lackeys. The "peaceful" Messrs. Hoover and Stimson are out to maintain the rule of agent Chiang Kai Sheck and the Nanking government, the butcher of the Chinese workers. The very support of the Chinese bandit generals by the various imperialist powers expose the differences between the imperialists, that cannot be hidden with fake "disarmament" conferences and the "peace" trips of the yellow McDanolds that rapidly lead to war.

"At the same time all the imperialist powers are united to attack the Soviet Union, the only country that liberated the workers and peasants from Czarist oppression, where the five-year plan of Socialist Construction will lead to a trebling of production, to an enormous improvement in the standard of living of the workers and peasants, while the masses in the capitalist countries are suffering more and more from the evils of capitalist rationalization. Regardless of the differences existing between themselves, the imperialists are out to destroy the Workers Fatherland, the inspiring and leading force behind the struggles of the oppressed masses the world over. The hypocritical note of Mr. Stimson—who is rushing marines to Haiti to enforce the Kellogg Peace Pact of Dollar Diplomacy is a smoke screen to cover up the imperialist war preparations againt the Soviet Union."

Mobile, Ala., Register
Sunday, December 8, 1929

Commission Must Decide As to Future Protectorate

By JAMES L. WEST.
(Associated Press Staff Writer.)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—The special commission with President Hoover proposes to send to Haiti will have the task of recommending whether the American government should continue its semi-protectorate for a generation or withdraw entirely from participation in the affairs of the republic.

A long range study of the situation has brought administration officials to the view that one course or the other must be determined upon well in advance of the expiration in 1936 of the present treaty under which the United States is maintaining its forces in the West Indian island.

The policy is one which in the last analysis must be fixed by congress. For that reason both houses of congress will have representation on the commission which will be charged with an exhaustive study of conditions as they now exist in Haiti.

Problem Difficult.

The problem confronting the American government is regarded by officials as an extremely difficult one. In its solution must be taken into consideration effects which are likely to carry far beyond the borders of the little republic and have a bearing upon relations between the United States and other countries.

The policy of continued occupation during the past ten years has been subjected to attack both in the United States and in some of the Latin-American republics. The subject often has been debated in congress and many resolutions declaring for withdrawal of the marines have been presented.

Those who have opposed occupation have charged that whereas the 1915 treaty with Haiti merely called for American officials to serve as "advisers" to the Haitian government, those officials have in fact taken complete control of the government. The charge also has been made that during American occupation popular control over the Haitien president has been abolished, and the Haitien legislature replaced by a council of state appointed by the president with authority to legislate and to elect a chief executive.

Oppression Alleged.

There also have been allegations of oppression by those in power as well as of the exploitation of the population, the great mass of which consists of illiterate negro inhabiting rural sections almost exclusively.

Because such a great proportion of the population is illiterate, the argument has been advanced from time to time that if occupation is to be the policy it must be continued until the majority of the people can be educated to self-government, a process requiring at least a generation.

Those who have favored occupation have from time to time set up the argument that if the United States withdraws from the republic 95 per cent of the population will be ruled by the five per cent of educated natives or half breeds with the ever present menace of revolt and bloodshed such as mark the pages of the history of the little republic.

Dates Back to 1915

American occupation of Haiti dates back to 1915, in which year the republic had its last and most terrible revolution, one worse even than in the days of Nord Alexis.

As adherents of Dr. Rosalvo Bobo revolutionary leader seeking the presidency after twice being expelled from the country, arose in Port au Prince, 160 political prisoners were executed, some shot against the prison walls, others killed in their cells and still others mutilated as they sought to escape. Among them was former President Orestes Zamor.

The inflamed populace stormed the presidential palace, partially destroying it. General Oscar, governo of Port au Prince, who had ordered the executions, sought refuge in the Dominican legation, but the mob dragged him forth and executed him.

President Vilbrun Guillaume took refuge in the French legation, which was violated. The president sought to escape through a back stairway but was captured and rendered by the mob, which later paraded his head around the city streets.

A French warship, then at Port au Prince as a result of trouble in the north and interior, landed marines. American warships immediately were dispatched to the Haitian capital and their marine guards took control of the situation under Rear Admiral Caperton.

Marines Are Sent

Several thousand marines later were sent to Haiti and revolutionary bands over the country were induced to lay down their arms. However there were sporadic brushes between marines and natives for many months and a clean-up campaign was inaugurated.

Testifying before a naval commission in 1920, marine officers disclosed that 1,132 Haitians had been killed in 298 engagements since the "intensive" campaign of the marines had been started in 1918. They said that at various times since American operation 17,000 "bandits" had been in the field and that since October, 1919, 7,608 had surrendered.

Marine officers organized and trained a national guard of the country and as this guard increased in size and efficiency, the marine force has been gradually withdrawn until now only 700 officers and men, many of them engaged in training the guard remain.

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies

Haiti.

Portsmouth, Va. Star
Thursday, December 5, 1929

Haitian Misrule Charges Handed State Department

NEW YORK, Dec. 7 (AP.)—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today issued a statement asserting that "detailed and specific charges concerning American misrule" in the Republic of Haiti had been submitted to the United States Department of State by Percival Thoby, former charge de'affaires of the Haitian legation at Washington.

Thoby charged, the statement said, that fourteen years of American occupation had resulted in "the greatest misery ever known in Haitian history."

The association quoted Thoby as saying the election of Louis Borno as president of the republic on April 10, 1922, by 14 members of the council of state, was "in contemptuous contravention of the constitution," since the council was not empowered to elect a president and Borno himself was not a native born Haitian.

"Through a farcical re-election on April 12, 1926," the statement quotes Thoby's memorandum, "by members of the so-called council of state appointed by himself, Dr. Louis Borno has remained in power. This has been possible only through the support of the United States High Commissioner—the real and sole ruler of Haiti is General Russel, special representative of the President of the United States."

The statement says that Thoby further charged that freedom of speech and of the press had become "a hollow mockery" and that the free exercise of political suffrage had been forcibly denied.

"The old and liberal Haitian laws," the association's statement quoted Thoby "have been abrogated. A new law was enacted in 1922 'to guarantee,' it is said, 'independence and security of our press.' Under the law, undemcoratic and medieval and modified four times in six years, more than 40 journalists have already suffered imprisonment. Several of these have remained for months, without trial, in the penitentiary."

The association recommended an impartial commission of United States investigate the situation.

HITS RIFT ON NEGRO ISLAND

Calls on League of Nation to Take a Hand in Situation

NEW YORK, Dec. 12.— Cable grams from Paris France to the New York Times tells of close atten tion being paid in the French Capi tal to the situation in Haiti and the action of Washington.

Is League Member

Haiti is a member of the League of Nations and is a signatory of the Kellogg pact. The republic is de jure independent, and whether justifie or not, the current belief here is that the present revolt is aimed directly at American interference with domestic rule.

The French attempt when Napoleon was Consul to reduce the island is recalled by the events of the past few days. For in Haiti Napoleon's brother-inlaw, General Leclerc, with an army of 35,000 men, suffered one of the most terrible disasters in French colonial history.

All comment in the Paris press is inclined to be critical of the situation, which has been created by the continued maintenance of United States marines in what is recognized as an independent country.

What Papers Say

The Soir, Left newspaper of Paris says:

"It would be deplorable for the prestige of the League and would treat the covenant as a scrap of paper if the nations who sit there and who are also signatories of the pact of Paris and who claim to be working for the consolidation of peace do not take the necessary action to secure an equitable solution of the present situation.' "

Liberte, which rarely is in agreement with the Soir, in reviewing the history of the last thirteen years says:

"What has happened in this island to the right of the self-determination of peoples? It is possible that American occupation has been continued for the good of the Haitians But they apparently do not want their finances kept in good order. They do not want factories or skyscrapers. What they want is independence

"We are told a commission is to be sent to study the situation. But soldiers and ships are being sent first."

The Journal des Debats, in an explanatory note, says:

"It is incontestable that American occupation, which has lasted thirteen years, irritates the islanders, who realize that the independence of their country, which is a member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Kellogg pact, has become fictitious."

HAITI STIRS SOVIET GIBES.

Cartoonists of Moscow Papers Picture a Ruthless Uncle Sam.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 10.—Today's newspapers devote considerable front page space to the Haitian situation with characteristic headlines about 'American imperialism,' and the Soviet cartoonists wax their wittiest at the expense of the United States.

Pravda pictures an enormous Uncle Sam swatting a tiny negro on a table like a fly with the words, "We let no one infringe on the Kellogg peace pact."

The cartoon's title is "Righteous Wrath."

Izvestia presents a cartoon of a bound negro with a hand, above which waves the American flag, putting an automatic pistol at his head. The title of the cartoon is "Stimson Varies His Note."

Red Star, the army's paper, follows the same line but here a negro, bound to the mouth of a cannon, holds the Kellogg pact and looks reproachfully at Uncle Sam. The title is: "The Kellogg Pact Does Not Apply."

COME BACK FROM HAITI!

Again the "leatherneck" marines of the United States are engaged in suppressing insurrection and maintaining order in the so-called Republic of Haiti. Among the things which President Wilson and the senate did, which subsequent events show they might happily have omitted to do, was to ratify a treaty with Haiti by which we agreed to assist its people to organize "a stable and responsible government."

That was in 1916 and now, after nearly 14 years of practical American occupation and control, that sort of government in Haiti is still lacking. The Haitians won their independence in an orgy of bloody massacres 125 years ago. Ever since they have been periodically offsetting the birthrate by killing each other in wholesale lots. Between 1910 and 1915 they had seven governmental upsets and seven presidents. It was largely because of those performances that international interests demanded the American-Haitian treaty of 1916, or the leaving of the island republic to be licked into subjection and good behavior by a foreign creditor nation.

Just now the main question recurs to President Hoover and our congress: "What shall we do about Haiti?" The most acceptable answer they could get to the temple of the United States is to abrogate the pending treaty and order our high commissioner and his marines to quit Haiti and come home. If those semi-barbarians down there wish to annihilate each other, that should be their business solely. We can never stabilize them. They are less fit to run a republic than Satan is to run a House of Mercy.

PRESIDENT DIVERTS MARINES FROM HAIT

Orders the Aircraft Tende Wright, With 500 Aboard, to Guantanamo Instead.

DISORDER BELIEVED PAST

Washington Holds French Criticism Does Not Reflect Official View— 100 Seek Haitian Presidency.

Special to The New York Times.

VASHINGTON, Dec. 10.—Upon re ceipt of advices from Haiti that the situation was quiet President Hoover today ordered the aircraft tender Wright, with 500 marine reinforcements aboard, which was due at Port au Prince from Hampton Roads today, diverted to Guantanamo. The action was also taken upon the recommendation of Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, American high Commissioner at Port au Prince, who said there was no present need for the reinforcements.

At Guantanamo the marines will be within easy striking distance of Haiti, but all reports lead to confidence that the condition of disorder has passed and that attention can now be given unreservedly to an investigation of American policy toward the West Indian republic through the commission that President Hoover proposes to appoint with the approval of Congress.

Demands in the French press for an investigation of the Haitian situation by the League of Nations, of which Haiti is a member, and references to the Kellogg anti-war treaty, of which Haiti is an adherent, are not regarded here as accurately reflecting French official opinion.

Pact Held Not to Apply.

As for the Kellogg pact, it was pointed out today that the convention has to do only with disputes between nations, and there is no dispute between Haiti and another nation. The American military occupation is by virtue of the treaty of 1916 with Haiti, and the recent steps taken by the American military forces to preserve order are covered by Article XIV of that treaty, which says in part:

"* * * and, should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty."

With President Borno eliminated as a candidate for re-election, according to State Department officials, more than a hundred persons have announced themselves as candidates for President of Haiti in the April elections. Of these, however, none is regarded as particularly outstanding and at least a dozen are believed to have equally good claims to the office. Officials decline to speculate as to who apparently has the best chance of election.

The cities where trouble developed, such as Aux Cayes, at latest reports had returned to normal and measures are being taken to prevent a recurrence of rioting. Active steps in particular are being taken to stop the importation of arms.

Report From Commissioner.

A report filed at 11 A. M. yesterday by General Russell and received by the State Department said that agitators from Port au Prince and Jacmel were responsible for the trouble. This report, as summarized by the State Department, was as follows:

"All is quiet throughout Haiti.

"Reports from Cape Haitien were that the declaration regarding President Borno's not being a candidate for the Presidency had a most telling effect on the situation in the North. The Garde commander of the North reported that he was of the conviction that it had averted bloodshed.

"Telephone communication has been restored.

"Efforts were being made to have a few prominent Haitiens of Aux Cayes who have influence with the country youth to go out into the country with a view to quieting them

"A majority of the third and fourth year medical students have expressed a desire to return to the school, but fear to do so on account of threats of violence from other students. Public health officers are

hopeful that by the end of thi
a majority of the students will be i
school. Many school children a
Cape Haitien returned to school, ex
cept the service technique school
Every effort is being made to plac
the service technique educationa
system again in operation.

"There have been rumors of th
importation of arms and ammunitio
and steps have been taken to prevent
the same.

"American women and children
from Aux Cayes and Jéremie have
arrived at Port au Prince.

"The Collector of Customs at St.
Marc reports that agitators from
Port au Prince and Jacmel were re
sponsible for stirring up the coun
try.

"Agitators have been working in a
cul de sac, endeavoring to stir up
the people against the governmen
for the imposition of the alcohol anc
tobacco taxes."

The State Department also received
the text of the proclamation issuec
yesterday by President Borno call
ing for law and order.

Haitian Lawyers Protest.

The State Department tonight re
ceived a further reassuring repor
from Brig. Gen. Russell, filed at 1
o'clock this morning, saying:

"All quiet. Reports indicate condi
tions throughout Haiti are steadil
improving. There is no present evi
dence of unrest in Central Haiti."

It also tells of a resolution by th
lawyers of Port au Prince to abstai
from pleading before the courts unti
a new order is established. The reso
lution reads:

"In view of the deployment of th
armed forces which has thrown int
agitation the city of Port au Prince

"Considering that this brutal inter
vention in the presence of the pacifi
and justified claims of the Haitian
people is of a nature to disturb it
serenity;

"In consideration of the fact tha
machine guns are trained on the Pal
ace of Justice from the barracks;

"Believing in addition that the
state of agitation existing in the re
public cannot permit it to live in law
fulness and peace;

"The association of the attorneys o
the Bar of Port au Prince has de
cided, until a new order is estab
lished, to abstain from pleading be
fore the courts.

"Port au Prince, Dec. 5, 1929.

"(Signed) Lespinasse, Steni O. Vin
cent, Pierre Hudicourt, Morel, T.
Laleau."

General Russell adds:

"Every one of the points brought
out in the above statement is directly
contrary to facts and farcical. One of
the signers was Minister of the In
terior under Guillaume Sam when
167 political prisoners were murdered
in the prison."

ARGENTINA CRITICAL ON HAITIAN POLICY

Buenos Aires Papers Devote Three to Five Columns to News and Criticisms.

QUOTA ALSO IS ASSAILED

Manchurian Intervention Is Called Failure and Independence Move of Filipinos Is Noted.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 10.—The situation in Haiti, the renewal of the Philippines independence campaign the failure, as it is considered here of the Kellogg pact in the Manchurian dispute and the possibility of Latin-American immigrants being put on a quota basis have combined to give unusual prominence to news and editorials prejudicial to the prestige of the United States in Argentina.

The leading newspapers are printing from three to five columns daily on developments, of these five questions, accompanied by daily editorials vigorously denouncing the American foreign policy. La Prensa, as always is most outspoken, saying that in view of President Hoover's recent message to Congress, the last thing Latin-Americans expected was an increase in the military forces in Haiti.

"The present labor troubles [in Haiti]," says La Prensa, "are nothing more than what takes place in any country which is progressing and would not even have been noticed in the United States.

"On the other hand, they have given rise to a display of military force which no State in the Union would tolerate for a moment. The police mission which Washington is exercising in Haiti is contrary to international law, is a violation of another country's sovereignty and is contrary to recent promises. The military occupation of Haiti must cease at once."

La Nacion is less vigorous in its editorial condemnation of the American occupation of Haiti, but says that Haiti is practically an American protectorate.

La Razon says the reasons for sending American reinforcements to Haiti are not clear, but that "this is not important, since there is no justification for the presence of any American troops in Haiti, which is a sovereign country in spite of the fact that it is a small country."

In a column beside its remarks on Haiti La Prensa devotes a column editorial to the question of limiting Latin-American immigration to the United States. The editorial says the quota proposal "is incompatible with the frequent official messages proclaiming a desire to strengthen inter-American relations."

DR. BOBO, FOE OF AMERICANS IN HAITI, DEAD

End Comes in Paris at Brother's Home

(Photo on Picture Page)

Paris, France, Dec. 13.—The one-time provisional president and famous revolutionary leader of Haiti, Dr. Rosalvo Bobo, died here Dec. 2 at the home of his brother, Henri Laraque, counselor at the Haitian legation. He was 56 years old.

Dr. Bobo played an important but brief part in the significant revolutionary times in 1914 and 1915, when the United States began armed intervention in Haitian affairs and the "black republic" developed into a close political and fiscal protectorate.

Violently anti-American, Bobo, who held a degree of doctor of laws and held a degree of doctor of laws and medicine from a French university, was at one time Haitian minister to the Dominican republic and in 1914 was a cabinet minister under President Davilmar Theodore, one of the three military heads of the turbulent Government who followed each other in quick succession.

Dr. Bobo led the successful revolution against Theodore's successor, Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, by the President's former soldiers and ordered the execution of 160 political prisoners. Then Sam took refuge in the French legation. Bobo and his followers swept into Port-au-Prince, dragged the hapless ruler out of his hiding place and turned him over to a mob composed mostly of relatives of the political victims.

Bobo was proclaimed President of Haiti that afternoon and he set up his government at once. A little while after the proclamation, one Gen. Oscar, governor of Port-au-Prince, who had acted as jailer to the political prisoners, was taken out and lynched.

But Bobo's position never was secure. American marines took possession of Port-au-Prince soon after this and there was desultory fighting all over the little island for the next three years. Bobo was continuously attacked by the government group and although he controlled northern Haiti, there was a great deal of opposition to his election to the presidency. Gen. Sudre Dartiguenave was put forward as a more popular candidate.

Bobo resigned in 1913. He dismissed his provisional cabinet and told his generals to turn their arms over to the American authorities at Cape Haitien. The Haitian congress met at once and elected Dartiguenave by an overwhelming vote. Bobo received three ballots.

Dr. Bobo left Port-au-Prince the day after Partiguenave's election. He made this move purely for patriotic reasons and to make the work of the American forces there easier, he said.

He was still a foe in principal to American intervention, however, and was quoted as saying, long afterward, that Dartiguenave never would have attained nor held the presidency but for American guns.

CALM CONTINUES RULE IN HATIAN UPRISING

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Dec. 10.—(AP)—The U. S. S. Galveston, which reached Jacmel several days ago with a small body of reinforcements, will leave port tomorrow for Port-au-Prince, stopping at Aux Cayes, Jeremie and Miragoane en route.

The 108 outposts of the nacional garde, which have been in constant communication with headquarters, today reported everything was quiet and that conditions were reassuring.

The policy of High Commissioner Russell and the brigade commander has been to have the garde function under the command of its own commandant and to assume control of things with the marines held in support at Port au Prince and Cape Haitien. It is felt that this responsibility has increased the prestige of the garde.

Major Harold B. Pratty, of the marine corps, who is on service with the Garde de Haiti, returned from a round trip to Aux Cayes and reported he had found conditions there good. He reported Aquin, Petit Goave and Miragoane quiet with the countryside functioning as usual. He said that Hatian officials at Aux Cayes had told him that agitators had stirred up the peasants with reports of excessive taxation on alcohol and tobacco and that the repulse of the band on Friday night by fire was the only action that could have saved the city.

Hatian government officials and officers of the United States marine corps joined this afternoon in declaring that the recent strike disorders apparently had been crushed and that the backbone of any movement that may have been planned by the political opposition had been broken.

Down in Haiti.

American marines have been in Haiti for 14 years. A fresh detachment has just arrived to restore law and order and protect American property and lives. According to the reports, the marines have the situation well in hand.

President Hoover wants a commission to go down and see what the trouble is in Haiti. It is strange that the State Department cannot inform the president on this subject after a military occupation of 14 years.

The Haitians resent the presence of American soldiers in their country. They resent the censorship of the press, the control of customs, the domination of internal politics, and the training of guns on the law courts and legislative assemblies. From time to time their resentment breaks out in riots.

The marines were sent in the first place because there was danger to American investments from the political instability of the country. Whatever commission President Hoover sends to Haiti will probably report back to Washington that the military occupation is beneficial to the Haitians themselves and that force will be withdrawn whenever "practicable."

Why are the president and the State Department so sensitive in handling a problem which is plainly one of imperial policy? Haiti is a dependency of the United States, whether the people of this country like to admit it or not. A definite statement from Washington that this is the case would do more to clarify the air than any number of commissions.

Any state that takes orders year in and year out from another state at the point of a gun is a vassal state, a part of the empire of the state powerful enough to enforce its will.

Toussaint Louverture once lived on the island Haiti abolished slavery two generations before the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted.

Race Problems - 1929

West Indies.

United States Forces Stationed in Island Republic Scored by Former Attache

Capt. Napoleon Marshall, Home From Six Years' Duty Sees Occupation Benefits Only in Sanitation and Policing—Liberties Shorn

With every vestige of public control save the direction of the judiciary and the department of education wrested completely from the citizens by the American occupational forces, Haiti is headed for political and economic ruin unless public opinion in the United States is sufficiently aroused to remedy the situation, Capt. Napoleon Marshall, recently attached to the American Legation at Port au Prince, told The Amsterdam News Friday.

A former practicing attorney here and a veteran officer of the old Fifteenth Regiment, Capt. Marshall's resignation was offered to the State Department and took effect January 1. He arrived here four weeks later and gave his first interview last week.

Capt. Marshall and his wife spent six years in the Haitian capital, where he was the only American Negro officer or public official in the force maintained by Brig.-Gen. John H. Russell, high commissioner.

The army man's estimate of the worth of the American occupation was not a wholly harsh one, however. The former native gendarmie, or police force, officered in the main by U. S. Marines, is doing excellent work, he said. Recently the name was changed to the Haitian National Guard and the organization made a purely military body, though continuing its function of policing the republic.

The change has made its appeal to the higher-class Haitians, who were wont to look aloof from a police force. Natives are being advanced in command gradually, though the Americans hold the highest posts, he said. Sanitation has also penetrated the interior, it was learned.

Little Economic Progress

Capt. Marshall declared that the American occupation has accomplished practically nothing in advancing the economic life of the republic. Coffee, the main crop of the Haitians, has shown no increase in production, he contended. The Department of Agriculture, headed by Mr. John Freeman, an Alabama man, failing to increase the main crop, has done little toward the promotion of cotton or other products.

The Department maintains a large botanical garden at Dannien, a school of agriculture and an experimental station. Thousands of dollars are being spent for imported cattle, horses and poultry. With frequent losses of stock, due to improper methods, the whole efforts are a failure, Capt. Marshall stated.

Agricultural schools are maintained by the Department, but these are located along the coasts and give practically no aid to the vast population of the interior, the former attache said. All other education is in the hands of the Haitians and a deplorable state exists in most of the schools, according to the observer. Primary teachers are paid $6 a month, have little or no equipment and inadequate buildings throughout the hinterland.

This situation can be traced, he contended, to the Council of State, composed of the two legislative houses. Appointed and removable at the will of President Borno, the legislators will appropriate no sum sufficient to pay the cost of public education. Money is available, the captain said, through excessive taxes levied upon the people. This money is largely invested abroad, partly in Wall street, he said.

With the pressure exerted upon Borno by the American officials, who, he former attache charges, are seeking to industrialize all Haitian education as soon as they get complete control, little can be done to relieve the situation. The Government was described as relatively rich, while the people grovel in poverty.

Liberties Restricted

Haiti.

Capt. Marshall's picture of the impositions, restrictions and curtailments of civil and social liberties was his harshest. By successive laws the press has been completely muzzled, he said. Newspapers have been forbade to speak in slighting terms of the President and high public officials. Harsh criticism of the Government is at once suppressed, he said.

When an editor is arrested for a violation, publication of his paper is immediately stopped until he is freed of the charges. A recent law makes it a crime to reprint articles from the foreign press criticising the Government. Publication of criticism in a foreign country results in a trial while the accused party is absent. He is jailed upon return to his country, Capt. Marshall related.

Another of the curtailments described was a ban upon political campaigns by the opposition party. Public meetings and parades are halted, he asserted, thus effectively cutting short the hopes of persons ambitious to oppose the Government party.

Much of the progress in the cities of the coast is a gesture for tourist trade, according to the former attache. During the present season twenty-seven tourist ships have called at Port au Prince. These boats never stay overnight, however. Hotel accommodations are inferior and large investments must be made before travellers are attracted in numbers to the island, Capt. Marshall holds.

With the power of the people gradually usurped and higher education discouraged by officials, the Haitians, he contends, are securing little training which will make them fit to administer their own affairs if the Americans leave the country in 1936, according to the treaty. The only relief for the situation, in his opinion, is the awakening of American public to the high-handed methods of its representatives abroad.

Will Practice Here

Capt. Marshall was graduated from Harvard University in 1897 and from Harvard Law School in 1900. He was quarter-mile track champion at that time. The captain practiced law here in the firm of Marshall, Garrett and Wheaton. He served as attorney of record to Brig. Gen. A. S. Daggett, retired, at the Washington court of inquiry of the Brownsville soldiers' riot.

When the United States entered the late war he served as recruiting officer and did service with the Fifteenth Regiment as captain. He was wounded at Metz in 1918.

Capt. Marshall is making his home here at 229 West 135th street and will resume his law practice. He is writing a book of memoirs and a romantic history of Haiti.

HAITI LOOKS TO U.S. RACE GROUP FOR INDUSTRY

Would Welcome Engineers And Business Men Lizaire Tells Afro-American

DEVELOPMENT IN COMMERCE NEEDED

Have Plenty Of Politicians, Lawyers And Professionals, Says Charge d' Affair

That Haiti looks to the American Negro for industrial development was voiced in an interview given an Afro-American reporter by Raoul Lizaire, Charge d' Affaires of that country, recently.

Pointing out that business men, manufacturers, skilled laborers, architects, engineers and other artisans, make up the backbone of a healthy nation, he says Haiti needs such a backbone and would gladly welcome any surplus material we have to develop her natural resources.

Two Classes

"Haiti has at present two classes—the laborers and humble farmers or the peasant class and the doctors, lawyers, and politicians or the upper class. The former group naturally comprises the great bulk of the population and allows itself to be ruled by the latter group, which is what be called the elite group of the island.

"The college graduate or the educated Haitian invariably goes into the government service for a living unless he is a doctor or maybe an independent lawyer. Other forms of work are not favorably regarded by the elite as being suited for the educated man. This was, of course, before the American occupation in 1915. Since the occupation, however, American Marines have held down many of the high governmental jobs and thereby pushed many of the upperclass out of work, with the result that some of them have been forced to break into other fields to save their pride and their pride as well as their purses," said Mr. Lizaire.

"Out of a population of 2,500,000 people about 5,000 are engaged in tending the sick and handling the affairs of the government. The rest of the population is content to engage in agriculture in the old rude method, long since obsolete in this country. It is this field particularly that the American Negro is welcome—to teach and introduce up-to-date methods of farming to my people.

Abundant Natural Supplies

"We have untold supplies of coal, and copper and iron, and oil that is laying idle, waiting for energetic people to bring them into use. Any Negro project, company, or what-not that desires to exploit any of these untouched resources is welcomed to Haiti. I am sure that the Haitians will be only too glad to cooperate with, and promote any efforts at a comparatively low wage. Why, do you know — you can hire a servant in Haiti for $5 a month! That's just an idea of how cheap labor is there.

3,000 Autos

"We were short of roads just before the Americans occupied Haiti, and there were not many over a dozen motor cars on the Island. Now there are well over 3,000 cars there with splendid roads alnog the seacoast. However, the interior is badly in need of engineering work.

"If colored engineers would only see their possibilities there I'm sure that they would be the least bit hesitant about investing their time and effort toward gaining great wealth.

Valuable Forests

"In my country we have some of the most expensive furniture material in the world — some of the best hardwood, but all of our furniture is imported. There is an overwhelming demand for furniture there. But that is just one of the many trades that is badly in need of establishment.

"There is, too, the oil business, the lumber business, coal business, and iron business, to say nothing of the many branches of retail trade such as grocery stores cheap commodity stores like the five and ten-cent stores here, furnishing stores and many others."

Mr. Lizaire smiled good-naturedly as he continued: "But there's one thing about Haiti that is very different from the United States and which we are very slow to imitate and that is the American notion of women working. All of the advantages that I have cited are for men. Even school teaching is for men. You see, we are old-fashioned or rather more like the European in that way. Our women don't work, but we want most of all men that are not afraid of work. We need school-teachers.

"In Haiti a teacher makes from $150 to $200 per month. Not a big wage, but then it doesn't take much to live on there. By comparison he makes more than the American teacher makes and he can afford luxuries cheaply.

"Of our total population of over 2,500,000 people 200,000 of them live in cities, so you see that the vast majority of Haitians are country dwellers and rude farmers. By intensive cultivation with the use of modern methods, any farmer could make his fortune in short order. All

any man has to do is use his ingenuity and work. Cheap labor and high prices on exports will do the rest.

"We are not pleading for college graduates, necessarily, but we want men that are energetic and striving to get ahead.

U. S. Marines

"The American Marines and Haitians do not mix socially, so that there need be no fear of friction between the races even if there was much rebelling when the Americans first took charge.

"And further, I would like to say that the Americans have done much to relieve the sanitary conditions in Haiti; malaria has been stamped out and other diseases have been reduced to a minimum. The Haitian man no longer regards the white doctor hostilly, but as a friend of rare powers.

"Though we justly protested against the United States sending prejudiced poor-white officers to Haiti, and though they have striven for personal wealth in some cases and were atrocious in others, we are thankful for the marvelous improvement in sanitation and order that have been brought about during the occupation of the Marines.

HAITI RAISES BARRIERS

HAITI has enacted a law restricting the immigration of undesirables to that country and obliging foreigners residing there for more than 30 days to secure a passport from the Haitian government.

Haiti now has an opportunity to expel the American army of occupation, its officers and administrators serving there, and return them to the United States where they may be used to police the police the southern states and make democracy safe for the natives.

The American soldiers went to the Philppines some years ago to free the natives from the tyranny of Spanish rule. They forgot the color line long enough to enslave the dusky Fillipino women. As a result the Association for the support of the illegitimate children of white American soldiers and civilians collects its annual budget in the United States and the proceeds are sent to the Islands to educate and suppor the cast off heirs of our white friends.

It is said that the same things are true in Haiti. If the government there want to save their women subjects future humiliation, shame and degregation, they might use this new policy to first ship out the undesirable Americans, steeped in prejudice at home but who neglect no opportunity to embrace dusky women at home and abroad.

Leaving It to the Marines



Race Problem - 1929

Haiti

West Indies.

MARTIAL LAW IN HAITI.

Matters in Haiti during the past week seemed to be approaching a crisis, which produced a situation quickening the President's intention of bringing about a change in the policy of this government towards the subjugated Haitians. The proclamation of martial law by the commandant of the American marines, and the sending of five hundred reinforcements to quell the disturbances reported, do not indicate any great change in the policy of the American occupation. Martial law has prevailed all over the island since the first landing of marines under the Wilson administration, upon the pretext of protecting the lives and property of American citizens.

The killing of President Guillaume Sam by a mob in 1915 was uesd as the excuse for American interference, although no American citizens wee molested nor their property rights endangered. The killing of the President was provoked by his ordering the wholesale execution of some two hundred political prisoners, which was followed by a revolt of the populace putting an end to his rule. The killing of President Sam by the infuriated Haitians has been termed a lynching by some American news writers, and used as a justification for the American occupation and the crushing of Haitian independence by the force of marines and machine guns.

But, even if it was a lynching, it seems a trifle inconsistent for the American government to take such strong measures to punish lynching in an island of the Caribbean, when similar crimes are suffered to go unpunished in various parts of the United States. Even the Senate of the United States has repeatedly refused to pass an anti-lynching bill whch would make such a crime as mob murder a penal offence punishable in the Federal courts. And yet the American government and the press of this country justify the invasion of Haitian soi and the suppression of self-government on the ground that the killing of a tyrannical and cruel ruler in a popular uprising of the citizenry was "a lynching."

The whole course of the American occupation of Haiti, together with the abolition of home rule, the maintenance in power of a puppet President to do the bidding of the American High Commissioner, the suppression of the native independent press and the throwing of its editors in jail, the coercing of the native judiciary and the abolishing of elections to establish a self-governing legislature all of these acts have been equally inconsistent with the principles of democracy and real Americanism.

President Hoover, in his message to Congress concerning the future policies to be pursued in Haiti, stated that there were about seven hundred marines stationed there besides the five hundred more ordered to embark. The presence of these hostile forces in a country with which the United States is ostensibly on terms of peace may well constitute "a difficult problem, the solution of which is still obscure." The President stated that, with the approval of Congress, he would dispatch a commission to Haiti to review and study the matter, to endeavor to arrive at some more definite policy than at present.

The statement that our representatives in Haiti have shown great ability and devotion and have accomplished signal results in the improvement of the material condition of the people is debatable The forcing of an alien civilization upon an unwilling and subjugated people, by unsympathetic and overbearing rulers has been accomplished at the cost of thousands of lives and the brutalization of the invaders who undertook so ungrateful a task. The selection of white Southerners for such an enterprise, with all their inheritance of color and caste prejudices, was a serious blunder at the outset. Disinherited American observers like Herbert Seligman and W. B. Seabrook testify to the evil results of sending such agents to perform so delicate a duty, if duty it may be termed.

Should a commission be sent to investigate present conditions, it is to be hoped that this blunder may not be repeated At the same time, the membership of such a commission should include a representative of the racial group who are allied with the majority of its inhabitants. The importation of racial prejudices and racial intolerance has aggravated the friction inseparable from contact between a subjugated people and their oppressors, no matter how fair may be the guise under which that oppression is practiced.

URGE DR. HALL FOR COMMISSION

Petition Hoover to Use Him on Haiti Investigating Body

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 12. — (ANP) Simultaneous with the report that President Hoover had requested a commission be appointed to investigate the Haitian situation, a country-wide appeal was made for the appointment of a Negro on this commission.

Among those urged for the post is Dr. George Cleveland Hall, prominent physcian and surgeon and civic leader of Chicago. Dr. Hall has long been a workeer for the advancement of the Negro. He has been a member of the Chicago Library Board of Directors and the trustee board of Lincoln University.

In urging the appointment of a Negro on the commission, the petitioners declare that any all-white commission will be looked upon with suspicion by the Haitians due to the white-washed report made by the "McCormick Commission." The presence of a Negro on the commission, and especially one whom the leaders already know and respect will serve to dispel this attitude on the part of the natives.

PROTESTS TO PRESIDENT IN KILLING OF HAYTIANS

Committee of United American Countries Society Backs Plan for Inquiry.

A telegram to President Hoover, signed by Albert Martinez as president of the society, protesting against the killing and wounding of natives of Haiti on Saturday, was made public yesterday by the permanent committee on International Cooperation of the Society of the United American Countries. The telegram contained the text of five resolutions adopted by the society.

The first two resolutions voice approval of President Hoover's proposal for the appointment of an investigating commission and urge that the commission's investigation will be thorough and impartial. Part of the text of the telegram follows:

"Deploring the heartless slaughter today, apparently by order of the High Commissioner, by a merciless Gatling-gun fire, of those five poor Haitians and the severely wounding of a score of more, who were armed according to The Associated Press only with machetes, clubs and stones

"Appealing to your sense of humanity, your Quaker love of peace and the divine right of your fellowman to live, to give immediate imperative orders to those in power in Haiti, representing you and your country, that not another drop of Haitian blood is to be spilled by your men and in your name, and under your command.

"Sympathizing with the horror, profound regret and shame we and all Latin-Americans believe you and your countrymen felt today when that easily avoidable tragedy was brought to your and their attention."

MARINE RULE IN HAITI

United States Marine rule in the black republic of Haiti is becoming more objectionable to the Haitians. And rightly so, we think.

This fact was very recently made plain when Perceval Thoby, former charge D' Affairs of the Haitian legation at Washington gave the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a withering expose of what he termed American maladministration in the Negro republic.

Mr. Thoby charges, among other things "that the election of President Louis Borno of Haiti was in contemptuous contravention of the constitution of the nation.

That more than forty journalists have

suffered imprisonment under a law enacted in 1922 some without trial for months." Borno's expose points out also that "Corrupt practices are charged in the dissolution of municipal councils and the substitution of appointed commissioners for fraudulent registration of voters, thirteen amendments to the constitution having been submitted to the people last January. Eye witnesses have testified, says Mr. Thoby, concerning the repeated voting of street cleaners and other government employes who were being transported in trucks and who voted as frequently as they were ordered.

All of which goes to show that something is definitely and outrageously wrong with the system of administering the affairs of the Negro republic.

If things claimed in Mr. Thoby's expose are true the Haitian affairs are in a deplorable state.

From the standpoint of the former charge D' Affairs' report, graft, insincerity, dishonesty and hypocricy are literally unleashed in the conduct of things governmental in the Negro state.

Too much could not be said in condemnation of so objectionable a state of things if true. And because they are un-American in character and therefore grossly wrong, such circumstances we are confident, are entirely out of place under the American government.

The Haitians, like all other peoples, are entitled to the relief which is theirs in their own right.

The United States is big and broad enough to give this vexatious but legitimate question its evenly weighed consideration.

Our Contemporaries Say

FAILURE IN HAITI

The strikes that almost culminated in a rebellion, the riots in the customs houses, the affair at Aux Cayes where a marine patrol killed five Haitians and wounded twenty more, and General Russell's urgent appeal for more marines— these events are the final demonstration that the fourteen years of Yankee rule in Haiti have been an ignoble failure. We began by destroying the parliamentary basis of the old governmental system and installed in its place a military depotism operating through the flimsy mask of a native dictatorship; we have taken over control of the finances and of the economic life of the island, but, as the export figures show, we have not much improved the economic situation of the republic;" we have boasted that we have built roads, created a constabulary, and "maintained law and order" — and look at the law and order now!

Mr. Hoover has asked Congress to authorize a commission to investigate conditions in Haiti. What they need is exposure rather than more investigation, and it will be a disgrace to the United States if the commission sent to Haiti feels that "patriotism" requires it to whitewash Gen. Russell and his associates in the administration of the island. 'Our representatives in Haiti," Mr. Hoover says, in his message to Congress, "have shown great ability and devotion and have accomplished signal results in improvement of the material condition of the people." Devotion General Russell undoubtedly has shown, but the fact that he is at odds with American business men and with Haitians, and that he has permitted the puppet government which the marines installed in office to accumulate such a high tide of resentment as has just manifested itself speaks ill for his ability. It was an error, from every point of view, to name a military officer as High Commissioner. General Russell made the mistake of regarding effcient, rather than Haitian administration as his objective.

We shall undoubtedly be deluged in the next few months with the usual Marine Corps propaganda about the backwardness and incompetence of the Haitians. Doubtless they have not attained the high level of civilization of Mr. Vare's Philadelphia or Big Bill the Builder's and Scarface Al Capone's Chicago. But the propaganda obscures certain facts. The Haitians, unassisted, drove their French masters out of the island, and maintained their independence for more than a century — until Admiral Caperton landed the marines, with the quaint aim and ambition, as he put it, "to enrure, establish and help to maintain Haitian independence." In that period Haiti had revolutions and bloodshed. So did we. She had no civil war as destructive of life and property as our own, and she lost by assassination precisely the same number of presidents as we — no more, depite the legends. She maintained the stability of her finances, and gave no occasion for foreign intervention. On the whole, she managed a better level of government than several of her neighbors on the mainland of Central and South America. And she can do it again. There is voodooism in Haiti, even more of it than of hexing in Pennsylvania; an upper-class oligarchy dominates the countryside, possibly even more effectively than in Mississippi and Arkansas. The population is largely illiterate, as are Brazil's and China's; and it is also economically backward. But there is nothing in Haiti's history or present situation to indicate that she cannot, if left alone by the marines, maintain an adequate government.

Smedley Butler, pistol in hand, dissolved the last Haitian senate, thirteen years ago, because, though it had been bullied into accepting a Haitian-American treaty drawn up in Washington, it refused to accept a constitution for its own country, drafted in the same foreign capital. Since then, there have been no elections in Haiti; and General Russell permitted President Borno to announce that there would be no parliamentary elections in 1930. It is this utter failure to provide a parliamentary outlet to the opposition which has finally led Haitians into the heroic but desperate folly of armed opposition to the marines. President Borno, just before the uprising, was forced to declare that he would not himself be a candidate for reelection as President in 1930; but that means little, for, in the absence of any constitutional parliament, the new President will be elected by a council of state of twenty-one members, all of whom President Borno has himself appointed. It was General Russell's excuse that elections would have brought into power a bitter anti-American party, but what a confession of failure that is!

In 1920 the dissidents took to armed revolt against the Yankee invasion, and in the course of battle some 2,000 Haitians were killed—the bloodiest engagements in a century of Haitian history. There will be no such general revolt this year—for one reason because the marine officered Garde d'Haiti has built ten airports and installed 293 miles of military telephone lines, and has the advantage of the new roads. That will mean less bloodshed; it will not mean less bitterness. We have no doubt, that the marines will reestablish order rapidly, ruthlessly, and efficiently. The good name and fame of the United States, in Latin America and in Europe, will largely depend upon what we do next. President Hoover's commission should act energetically on of Haiti, where they have never belonged.

—THE NATION

MARINES RESTORE ORDER IN HAITI

Martial Law Quickly Quells Disturbances Starting in Customs House; Two Americans Hurt.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Dec. 5 (AP)—Colonel Richard Cutts, brigade commander of United States marine corps forces here, issued a proclamation last night declaring martial law in Port-au-Prince and Cape Haitien. A strike in the customs office, which threatened serious complications, was the cause.

The strike broke out at 9:30 a. m. yesterday after the dismissal of a Haitian customs employe for fraudulent entries.

Collector D. P. Johnson and another American were struck by clubs while trying to calm the disorder in the customs house. Some of the clerks smashed their typewriters and forced an entrance into government buildings to oblige other employes to join them.

This demonstration was broken up but the clerks returned again and had to be checked once more.

Twenty-eight leaders and members of the crowd, who defied the gardes, were arrested.

Patrols of marines and gardes had the city quiet within an hour and a half.

Captain George O'Shea, son of the fire department chief of Brooklyn, was attacked while making an arrest single-handed; his clothing was badly torn before a patrol of gardes came to rescue him. They were stoned by the crowd.

With the exception of two customs officials, who were slightly injured, no Americans were hurt. The military authorities acted swiftly.

The news of the proclamation and the sight of patrols of marines in the streets had an immediate effect on the population here. Stores were opened and business, which had stopped for a short time, was renewed. The American colony was calm and felt no apprehension for its safety.

All points outside the capital were quiet this morning except Dayes, where the situation was reported to be tense. Reinforcements were sent there, and later reports said the situation had quieted. The capital itself was quiet, but an undercurrent of unrest was noticeable.

Race Problem - 1929

West Indies.

Haiti.

FIVE NATIVES DIE AS TROOPS REPEL ATTACK ON TOWN

Official Circles on Isle and at Washington Regard Situation as "Most Serious."

PROBLEM WILL GO TO COMMISSION

Authorities Puzzled by Sudden Flaring of Revolt in South of Island Republic.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Dec. 7 (AP)—With dramatic swiftness the apparently tranquil situation throughout the republic of Haiti was shattered yesterday afternoon by first bloodshed in the repulse of a band of 1,500 Haitians from the interior who clashed with a marine patrol on the outskirts of the city of Aux Cayes.

In the encounter five Haitians were killed and 20 wounded. There were no American casualties except one marine who was hurt in a hand-to-hand encounter with the leader of the band.

Aux Cayes was reported quiet today but in great fear of a further attempt at an invasion. The local magistrate asserted that the repulse of the band probably had saved the city from looting as an old enmity still exists between the cities and the peasants in the outlying districts.

In addition to the clash near Aux Cayes it was discovered that there was evidence in the city of Jacmel, indicating an extensive smuggling in arms was in progress. The remainder of the country was reported quiet.

Reports received by Captain Roy Swink, district commander, said the countryside was in open revolt and that a band estimated at 150 was marching on Aux Cayes. A marine patrol, with the nacional garde, protecting the barracks and city, moved out but returned without making contact.

Arms Found.

A search yesterday unearthed a large number of papers in French, Spanish and German, apparently orders for pistols and rifles at Hamburg, Germany. Several names were contained in the papers, but much of them were indecipherable.

Airplanes brought the papers immediately to Port-Au-Prince and reinforcements of two garde officers and 52 men were sent by truck to Jacmel, which they reached at 2:30 a. m.

The authorities at Jacmel have been ordered to make wholesale arrests if conditions warrant it.

Reports have been received there that the peasants may attack the town, which is at present under effective control.

It was thought here that the swift and decisive manner in which the marines handled the mob at Aux Cayes might quiet any other budding uprisings in the south. News in Haiti travels with remarkable swiftness by native "wireless."

A total of 50 persons were under arrest here and at various other points. The cases will be brought to speedy trial in the provost courts of the garde administration. First offenders under the curfew ruling which is part of the martial law were released this morning with a warning that a second offense would bring them before a provost court.

Wires Out.

A plane was sent to Jeremie in the south when telegraph communication was lost, and the wires were also out between Gonaives and Port-de-Paix.

In this city tourists from the Cunard cruise ship Franconia strolled about the streets today and found little evidence of the martial law that is in effect.

The attacks on Aux Cayes were considered the result of active anti-government propaganda which began in the south five months ago. Agents were reported to have circulated rumors that the government would forbid cultivation and sale of coffee, tobacco and other crops and would impose heavy taxes.

This report gained such headway that in authenticated instances the peasants stopped planting or destroyed already growing coffee bushes and tobacco plants and appeared even afraid to smoke in public for fear of arrest. Government agencies took prompt steps to reassure the country side and the situation improved materially.

The agitation was again renewed with alarmist reports based on the passage of new alcohol and tobacco tax bills following passage of a coffee standardization law designed to improve the quality and cleanliness of coffee shipments.

The south is in the center of the coffee trade, which constitutes 75 per cent of Haitian revenues.

South Leads Revolt.

Residents here were somewhat surprised that the uneasiness appeared greatest in the south. Throughout the revolution against France and in the early days as an independent country the south showed a minimum of revolutionary activities. The peasants were notably hospitable and the cities prided themselves on their freedom from control by the capital. Until a few days ago officials traveled freely in all parts without arms.

Three general factors appear to lie behind the agitation which began with the student strike of November 30 and have now culminated in widespread disturbances. The campaign seemed to be first directed toward inducing President Borno to eall general legislative elections in February. His failure to do so led to a drive to prevent his re-election to a third term as unconstitutional. His declaration two weeks ago that he was not a candidate was not accepted without equivocation.

The third factor was apparently a desire to force an American congressional investigation with the object of compelling withdrawal of American forces before the expiration of the treaty in 1936.

The United States state department message to President Borno, congratulating him on his decision not to be a candidate, arrived on the day following the strike by the customs employes and the attempted riots here. It is possible if the message had arrived a few days before it might have reassured the public.

HOOVER TAKES STEPS TO RESTORE ORDER.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—President Hoover dispatched more marines to Haiti today to quell widespread disturbances and asked congress for authority to send a commission there to obtain facts upon which to base the future policy of the American government with respect to the island republic.

Orders for the departure of 500 marines from Norfolk today to augment the force of 700 now in Haiti were issued on the recommendation of Brigadier-General John H. Russell, American high commissioner at Port-Au-Prince, who has been apprehensive for the safety of Americans in the country.

Dispatches from the Haitian capital that 20 marines had been able to defend Americans from 1,500 Haitians at Aux Cayes were scanned closely by President Hoover, who already had confidential reports from the American authorities indicating that the situation had become serious. Some of these arrived before he prepared his message to congress yesterday, but the more serious news of the situation at Aux Cayes was received subsequently.

While the disturbance in Haiti had its inception in a strike of students, official information from the island indicated that some political leaders have seized upon the situation to start a widespread revolt aimed at least in part at Americans.

In his message to congress, which was delivered only to the house as the senate was in recess, the chief executive reported his action in ordering marines to Haiti and asked authorization fo immediate sending the commission of nquiry which would include one or two members from the house and the senate.

Prompt co-operation with the president in sending a commission was promised by Chairman Borah, of the senate foreign relations committee, and Chairman Porter, of the house foreign affairs committee, but they expressed divergent views as to the situation.

Press telegrams concerning the favorable comment of the state department on the declaration of President Borno that he would not be a candidate for re-election in April had an "excellent effect" in Haiti, Russell reported.

Members of the Haitian press on December 5 said they had no feeling or complaint against the United States forces, he added, and that they realized that one incident had led to another and the strike had rapidly developed a situation, the gravity of which had not been foreseen.

MARINES EMBARK FROM NORFOLK.

NORFOLK, Va., Dec. 7.—(AP)—A battalion of 490 marines in command of Major Louis F. Fagan II, sailed from the Hampton Roads naval operating base today at noon for Port Au Prince, Haiti, to act as reinforcements for the 700 marines already on duty in the little West Indian republic.

The U. S. S. Wright, flagship of the aircraft squadrons of the scouting fleet, is serving as marine transport to carry the marines to Haiti.

The battalion is composed of approximately 125 officers and enlisted men from Parris Island, S. C., who arrived by special train at 7:30 o'clock this morning over Atlantic Coast Line tracks; a detachment of approximately 300 officers and enlisted men, arriving shortly afterward by special steamer from Quantico and 75 officers and enlisted men from the marine barracks at the Norfolk navy yard.

Under good weather conditions, the Wright should arrive at Port Au Prince Tuesday night or Wednesday morning.

U. S. RULE PROTESTED.

NEW YORK, Dec. 7.—(AP)—The National Association for Advancement of Colored People today issued a statement asserting that "detailed and specific charges concerning American misrule" in the republic of Haiti had been submitted to the United States department of state by Perceval Thoby, former charge d'affaires of the Haitian legation at Washington.

Thoby charged, the statement said that 14 years of American occupation had resulted in "the greatest misery ever known in Haitian history."

The association quoted Thoby as saying the election of Louis Borno as president of the republic on April 10, 1922, by 14 members of the council of state, was "in contemptuous contravention of the constitution" since the council was not empowered to elect a president and Borno himself was not a native-born Haitian.

HAITIAN QUESTION UP TO COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—The special commission which President Hoover proposes to send to Haiti will have the task of recommending whether the American government should continue its semi-protectorate for a generation or withdraw entirely from participation in the affairs of the republic.

A long range study of the situation has brought administration officials to the view that one course or the other must be determined upon well in advance of the expiration in 1936 of the present treaty under which the United States is maintaining its forces in the West Indian island.

The policy is one which in the last analysis must be fixed by congress. For that reason both houses of congress will have representation on the commission which will be charged with an exhaustive study of conditions as they now exist in Haiti.

PLANES DISPATCHED TO SCENE OF DISORDERS.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—Two marine Loening amphibian planes tonight were en route to Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to reinforce the squadron of 10 planes already operating under the command of marines in the island where disorders in the last few days have brought about a serious situation.

The planes departed from Quantico, Va., early today under orders from the navy department and tonight were at Fort Screven, Ga., where they were forced down this afternoon by fog. Marine officers commanding the planes were waiting for the fog to lift to continue their flight via Jacksonville, Miami, Fla., and Cuba following the Pan-American Airways route. The officers were under instructions to reach Port-au-Prince as soon as possible.

The officers were instructed to deliver the planes to the marine force now in Haiti. About 90 men and officers compose the air forces now stationed in Haiti, with 10 planes which are normally used in transporting mail.

Political Situation Holds Possibility of Renewed Strife in Black Republic

Crisis Caused by Strike Is Now Past, But Haiti Is Discontented With Officials.

BY ARTHUR POWELL.
Associated Press Correspondent.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Dec. 19. (AP)—The political problem of Haiti has definitely supplanted the strike strife of two weeks ago. Government officials and United States marine officers consider the strike episode closed but the political situation opened containing possible elements of national discord.

With the presidential elections three months removed the opposition party has opened its usual attack upon United States occupation while liberals have centered activities upon recent petitions to President Hoover for supervised presidential elections and retention of American marines in a supervisory capacity.

A martial law continues and the seeming peace is being discounted by many as temporary and sustained only by the attitude Washington may take after the congressional investigation of Haitian affairs. Possible compliance with requests that April presidential elections be supervised by the United States marines also is a factor.

Representations recently made by the heads of seven Haitian political and civic organizations claiming to represent more than 200,000 voters, that permanent peace throughout the island can be restored only through the definite removal of President Borno has resulted in a renewed attack by the black party for the removal at the same time of the old French system of elections through the 21 members of the council of state. Instead they would have a popular vote under the scrutiny of United States officials in much the same manner as the supervised elections were conducted in Nicaragua and Santo Domingo.

Ernest Chauvet, publisher of the newspaper Nouveliste and the principal in the anti-American group, told the Associated Press that restoration of peace in the recent students' and customs house employes' strikes constituted "an empty victory for armed forces over unarmed and innocent people.

"Permanent peace can never be restored in Haiti as long as United States occupation exists," Chauvet said. "Recent disorders did not justify the Aux Cayes killings by marines any more than it did the establishment of martial law here in Port Au Prince. It is ridiculous to entertain the thought that we can create any widespread disturbances for we are without guns and without money. Our only manifestations of displeasure is by pacific resistance and strikes. We can hold no meetings, cannot express ourselves in print under penalty of jail.

"Recent troubles were not based on the students' and professors' discord with President Borno, but were founded on national economics. The present abnormal taxes on coffee and tobacco formed the underlying cause of the trouble, coupled with the fact that Borno sought a third term in office.

"Haiti appreciates what the United States has done for her, but there are thousands of us who feel that we are now capable of conducting our own affairs."

The more liberal parties are headed by Semour Pradel, attorney, and Andre Chevallier, former postmaster general.

Race Problem - 1929
West Indies

Haiti

Haitian Case Goes to President Hoover

Washington, D. C., Nov. 29.—Inquiries regarding the probability that President Hoover would appoint a commission to study conditions in Haiti were referred to the White House by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson last Monday. Mr. Stimson added that if President Hoover does anything it is likely he will announce it himself.

Ample precedent for the appointment of such a commission exists, Secretary Stimson said. He pointed out that several commissions of investigation had been sent to the Philippines including the Schurman, Taft and Wood-Forbes commissions.

National elections have not been held in Haiti since August, 1915. After the military seizure and occupation of Haiti by the United States on July 28, 1915, the admiral in charge of the American forces of occupation, declared martial law and took control of the Haitian government, interfering in the election of the president of Haiti in August, 1915, and exerting military pressure and other influence, which resulted in the election of Dartiguenave as president of Haiti.

A new national assembly of Haiti was elected in 1916. Upon its convening the United States presented to it a proposed new constitution for Haiti, whereby the provisions of the then Haitian constitution which forbade foreigners and foreign corporations from owning Haitian lands were substituted by provisions which authorized the holding of Haitian lands by foreigners and foreign corporations, and made other changes in the constitution which were not acceptable to the national assembly.

The national assembly refused to accept the new constitution, and the military forces of the United States dissolved the national assembly, took possession of the legislative chambers, locked the doors against members of the assembly, and when the houses of the assembly undertook to meet in other places they were dispersed by American military power.

Upon the dissolution of the national assembly Dartiguenave set up a council of state, appointing all of its members, and this council of state usurped the legislative powers of the national assembly.

The term of office of Dartiguenave expired Aug. 12, 1922. It is claimed that the United States selected Louis Borno as his successor. According to a resolution introduced in the senate by Senator William H. King, Democrat, of Utah, April 16, 1926, the council of state had no power or authority to elect a president, but the members of that body, "with the support and under the direction of the American military occupation," pretended to elect Borno, although he was not eligible because he is not a son of a Haitian citizen as prescribed in the constitution of Haiti.

Under the terms of the new constitution a president of Haiti was to have been chosen on April 12, 1926, but the assembly having been abolished, Borno had himself re-elected by the council of state, which he had himself appointed.

In 1928 President Borno assured the Haitian people that national elections would be held in 1930 and he would then retire. He has just announced, however, that no elections will be held in that year either, which seems to indicate that he will continue as president until the United States' treaty with Haiti ends in 1936.

Haiti attained its independence in 1804, following the revolution headed by Toussaint L'Ouverture in 1791. It had been a French colony from 1677. Revolutions and bloodshed characterized its early political history. From 1910 to 1915 there were seven presidents. The last of them, General Sam, assumed office March 4, 1915, took refuge in the French legation July 26, 1915, after 200 political prisoners had been massacred in jail, and at the funeral of the victims he was dragged out and killed. Two hours later a United States cruiser landed marines at Port au Prince and the American occupation began.

HAITIAN FINANCES ARE CALLED DEPLORABLE

French Writer Says American Occupation Has Burdened Country.

CITES ATROCITIES

Military Stores are Freezing Out Native Merchants.

PARISI.—All assertions that the finances of Haiti are in a better condition than they were prior to American occupation are false, according to Jacques Dizier, who deals at length with the subject of the Americans in Haiti in La Depeche Coloniale, Paris daily. He says:

"The financial situation of the country is deplorable, in spite of the magnificent financial reports published annually. The budget of the republic is heavily laden by the large salaries paid in gold to Americans, as for example certain works said to be in the public good, show a deficit. Business is bad; it is necessary to renew incessantly the stocks of commerce for hear of a general bankruptcy."

The writer also charges that the business of the local merchants has been badly hurt. "To the great detriment of local commerce, the military stores sell directly to the public, shoes, clothing, canned goods, utensils, etc."

Atrocities

Speaking on the subject of atrocities, M. Dizier asserts that the body of Charlemagne Peralte, leading insurgent, was hung on a cross in the public square of the city of Cap Haitien. "After a long guerilla war in which the Americans suffered important losses, the superiority of American arms, won. Peralte was killed, and his corpse was borne triumphantly by the conquerors through the city and the village almost nude under the folds of the insurgent flag.

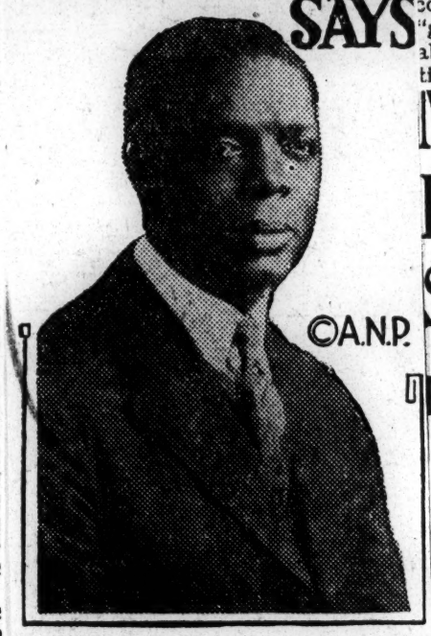
"We may add this detail: the Americans circulated in profusion photographs of the corps, which they attempted to destroy later when public opinion in the United States protested against this act of savagery.

"We may also relate the following incident: The body, crucified, was exposed in the chief square of Cap Haitien, second city of the republic. A French merchant, passing in front of this shameful exhibition lifted his hat, an dan American officer started to arrest him. 'In our country,' replied our compatriot, indignantly, 'we consider it a duty to salute the dead.'"

The sole good to the country, the writer finds, are the roads made by the Americans, in order to assure their rapid transport of troops in case of insurrection. He concludes:

"With the exception of a little clan which lives off politics, the population has no contact with the Americans. This clan is turn is ostracised by the classes who formerly directed the country. But the Yankees pay no attention to this. They have come into Haiti, not to make themselves beloved, but to assure themselves of new markets for their products and their capital. They have found there a colony of exploitation, par excellence, and why they are profiting to the fullest from the windfall."

William Pickens SAYS



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Did you ferret out "from between the lines" the reason why five Haitians, perhaps more, were killed and many others wounded by armed American marines? The cause was indicated, but it was not meant to be so clearly indicated; you had to interpret it. This is it.

A marine told a Haitian to move on; the Haitian did not move so fast; the marine thereupon knocked the Haitian down with the butt of his rifle and then began to kick and trample the prostrate man. Whereupon the Haitian, in natural animal self-defense, used the only weapon he had—his teeth—and bit the marine on the leg.

For this there is slaughter and repression of the hapless Haitian people.

Of course, the American papers do not tell it in this way; they say that the marine "struck" the Haitian leader with his automatic rifle. The papers do not inform you that the man was knocked down and trampled; but the papers unwittingly let you in on that fact by adding that the Haitian "bit the marine on the leg. Right there is whe're our own brain begins to work for a man just "struck" and left standing does not bit his assailant "in the leg" and a man downed cannot bite a leg unless that leg is brought near to him.

You will have to use your brains to appreciate this Haitian situation. There is an American terror in Haiti. The people, some of the finest people in the western world, are at the savage mercy of 2-penny-headed marines from Minnesota and Alabama.

Of course, President Hoover should send a commission, an inter-racial commission, and a commission with "guts" to find and speak the truth about our 15 years of Roman occupation in that unfortunate island.

Marines Await Final Order To Sail For Haiti

Hoover, Disturbed Over Unrest, Sends Special Note To Congress

Troops Stand By

And It Is All A Secret In Washington Circles

QUANTICO, VA., Dec. 6.—(AP)—Four officers and 273 men left here tonight by boat for Norfolk, presumably en route to Haiti.

The Marines left on the Norfolk and Washington Steamship Company boat Southland at 9:35 p.m., and were due to arrive in Norfolk about 7 a.m.

Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler, commander of the Quantico barracks, declined to give the final destination of the Marines.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6.—(AP)—Additional Marines are being assembled for dispatch to Haiti because of the seriousness with which the administration views the disturbed situation there.

President Hoover is so concerned over the events which have required establishment of martial law there that today he sent a special message to Congress, believed to contain an explanation of his reasons for sending more Marines. The Senate and House had adjourned, however, and the contents of the message consequently were withheld from the public.

Both the White House and the Navy Department tonight carefully refrained from divulging any information as to the plans.

Word from Norfolk, Va., that the U. S. S. Flagship Wright had received "secret orders to sail sometime tomorrow with a detachment of Marines for "duty beyond the sea" elicited no comment.

At Quantico, the Marine base near Washington, leave was denied to all

troops and preparations were pushed for any early departure of a detachment which probably will consist of 300 officers and men. 12/7/29

Others were said to be ready at Parris Island, S. C., and Norfolk. They will reenforce the 700 Marines already on duty in Haiti, who are in barracks at Port-Au-Prince and Cape Haitien. A 950-ton Navy mine sweeper is stationed there.

These forces are regularly stationed on the island, the United States never having removed all Marines since it cooperated with Haitian leaders in setting up a Government in 1915.

An indication of the gravity of the Haitian unsettlement was given by Secretary Stimson, who said the American high commissioner, Brig. Gen. John H Russell, fears that a "serious situation" may result at Haitian ports after the disturbance which arose at Aux Cayes yesterday morning.

The immediate cause for the trouble was said in his public statement to have been a strike instituted by students at the agricultural school at Damion Oct. 31. The students went on strike as a protest against a rearrangement of appropriations for scholarships, the State Department made known.

The department said that President Borno appointed a commission of prominent citizens to settle the difficulty, but that "certain political elements inspired apparently by the approaching presidential election" took advantage of the situation to disseminate propaganda considered detrimental to the Haitian administration.

Subsequently there were demonstrations in the customs house at Port-Au-Prince in which two American officials were slightly injured, the department said.

That conditions in Haiti have been somewhat alarming to American officials for some time was indicated in the annual message of President Hoover to Congress earlier this week. He said the problem of American relations with the Republic demanded a solution which still was obscure.

HAITI QUIETS DOWN

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, Dec. 6. —(AP)—After two days of popular unrest which was ended with the proclamation of martial law by Marine Corps authorities, Haiti was tranquil today.

The occasional conflicts between certain sections of the populace and detachments from the Marine Corps and the Haitian guard that occurred yesterday and the day before were absent today.

Press dispatches reporting that the Washington State Department had advised President Borno of the receipt of his declaration that he will not be a candidate for reelection helped to calm the unrest in opposition circles.

Leaders in the agitation admitted that the situation had gotten beyond their control when the Marine Corps intervened and said they regretted the incidents, which had gone far beyond their plans.

The provisions of martial law have not been extended beyond Port-Au-Prince and Cape Haitien. The rest of the country is under the administration of the native garde and the local courts are operating.

The customs house, where the trouble first broke out after an employe had been discharged for fraudulent entries, was functioning normally. There were more applicants for work than there were jobs.

2,000 MORE U. S. MARINES SENT TO HAITI

Pro-American

Students Strike, Editors Jailed as Patriots Protest. 12-7-29

Baltimore, Md.

NEWS BELATED

Advices to AFRO Held Up at Postoffice.

Recent advices to the AFRO from the U. S. Marine-controlled Republic of Haiti state that a very noticeable unrest has been created by the October announcement of President Borno, in effect that no presidential election would be held in April, 1930, notwithstanding that his second term as chief executive will be concluded at that time.

This arbitrary pronouncement, supported by U. S. bayonets, was in contemptuous violation of the original Haitian constitution as well as of all its American devised successors.

2,000 More Marines

The augmenting of the U.S. military forces by two thousand troops with the usual accompaniment of machine guns, et cetera, as recently as two months ago, may now be readily understood; although at the time of their embarkation there appeared no reason for a military movement of such proportions.

Dissatisfaction with American tyranny in education has manifested itself significantly in a general strike by more than two thousand students of the Damien Central School of Agriculture, the School of Applied Sciences, the College of Medicine, and of Law and the Girls' Normal School.

Parade

On Sunday, November 10, a parade was staged at Port-au-Prince by the various striking groups bearing banners with such inscriptions as "Les Estudiants Unis Reclament Leurs Droits." (Striking students seek their rights.)

These demonstrations are an outgrowth of protests against the extravagant expenditure of funds drawn from the Haitian treasury for salaries, etc., of American experts and others connected with the faculty primarily of the School of Agriculture the educational welfare of the students being of secondary consideration. An American, Mr. Freeman is, of course, the director of this institution.

War on Editors

At Cape Haitian a renewal of the war on journalists has been inaugurated. Five editors, Messieurs Kemy Despeignes, Vauges, Ricourt and Albert, have been arrested and imprisoned, along with the manager of the printing plant and two printers. The plant itself was illegally seized and destroyed by order of a government attorney.

Patriots Jailed

At Port-au-Prince, Victor Cauvin Secretary of the Union Patriotique and three members of that organization, namely, Messieurs Pierre-Paul, Jacques Roumain and Georges Petit have been placed in the penitentiary. The two former were released after nine days of solitary confinement.

Roumain, president of the League of Young Haitian Patriots, whose trial on another charge a few months ago was the occasion of a riot in the court room, is still a prisoner as is also Georges Petit of the Journal L'Action.

The newly organized League of Constitutional Actions is added evidence of the increasing acuteness of anti-American sentiment.

AFRO Advices Held Up

(Note: Advices to the AFRO-AMERICAN are not infrequently intercepted and destroyed at the U.S. Marine Administrative Post Offices in Haiti. For the evasion of the just at present very rigid censorship, the resort to circuitous routes of communication results in a somewhat delayed publication. But from time to time an authentic portrayal of the conditions under U.S. domination of the Island Republic will be given by a former Charge d'Affaires d'Haiti at Washington.)

Borno Changes Front

President Borno will not be a candidate at the presidential election to be held in April, 1930, he announced in his recent presidential message.

"I want," he said, "on the threshold of the session to dissipate all possible equivocation and to renew here the declaration which I have repeatedly made; namely, that I am not a candidate at the presidential election of April, 1930."

DAWES 'BUYING' OPPOSITION IN SANTO DOMINGO

Press Now in Line; U. S. Has Finance Records

SANTO DOMINGO, April 7.— Moves are already on the way to buy over the opposition in Santo Domingo, and it is believed that this is part of the instructions of the Dawes commission of industrialists and military men now here to "reorganize the finances" of the country. Daily Worker

The commissioners are especially making advances to J. B. Vicini Burgos, former provisional president, a sugar grower of great wealth, who is known as a business man before everything else. It is probable that he will take a leading part in following out the instructions of the American imperialists when the commissioners themselves have left the island. 4-8-29

The opposition press has also been taught its line and the attacks on the commission, which appeared the day preceding its arrival, have been completely dropped and, in some cases, declared unfounded less. Dawes had a talk with newspapermen here recently and told them what they were to say.

Meanwhile all the government financial records, books and tax lists have been turned over to the American commissioners, so that after being on shore three days the entire financial system of the country is virtually in their hands.

Several of the commissioners are traveling through the island, looking over the various local councils and their finances. It is said that there is much drinking indulged in by some of the Americans.

House Okehs Haitian Probe

DePriest Joins Demand For Negroes On Board

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18.—(AP)—Approval of President Hoover's recommendation that a commission investigate conditions in Haiti was given today by the House.

Action on the proposal moved to the Senate, where a vote is not expected until after the Christmas holidays due to the absence of many senators from the city. Advertiser

The House accepted the resolution sponsored by Representative Porter, (R), Pennsylvania, without a record vote. It also adopted an amendment by Representative Bankhead, (D), Alabama, to provide that the commission of seven, to be appointed by the President, report to Congress as well as to the chief executive, within six months. 12/18/29

Action was taken on the measure at almost the time a report was received that the 500 marines ordered by President Hoover to Haiti to reinforce the 700 stationed there during recent disorders were being returned to this country without having gone farther than Cuba.

Opposition to the measure was led by Representative Huddleston, (D), Alabama. The racial question was injected into the three-hour debate by Representative Fish, (R), New York, who suggested that two negroes be appointed to the commission. This suggestion was approved by Representative De Priest, negro (R), Illinois, who made his first speech from the well of the chamber.

"I was very pleased at the suggestion made by the gentleman from New York," De Priest said, "when he recommended that one or two members of the commission should be from the racial group that I am identified with, and I am not surprised to hear other gentlemen object to it." Montgomery

Representative O'Connor, (R), Oklahoma, asked Huddleston his reaction to Fish's proposal. The Alabamian said he was sorry the "racial problem had been injected" into the consideration of the resolution but expressed the opinion that it would not be fair to the negroes to appoint one or two on the commission even though there were many qualified to act. ala.

De Priest said he appreciated the benefit of appointing a commission to investigate conditions in Haiti which will have the utmost respect and confidence of that island.

"I know of nothing that will instill more confidence in these black people down there," De Priest said, "than for them to know that they have at least one who can sympathize with them through bonds of blood and kin."

Expressing "utmost confidence in the present executive in the White House," De Priest said he considered him one of the "best qualified presidents this country has ever had and I am perfectly satisfied that he simply wants to give the people of Haiti the best that this administration is capable of giving them and he wants the enlightenment, that such a commission can bring to him."

The Illinois representative said he was glad to see "the gentlemen of the minority side of this House so very solicitious about the condition of the black people of Haiti."

"I wish to God," De Priest said, "they were equally solicitious about the black people of America. We in America would like in some of the states of the country to have the right to self-determination also."

De Priest said he was glad the "gentlemen of the minority" had been "converted to the right way of thinking for once in their lives, because I appreciate the conditions of the black Americans, where they are denied the right of self-determination in almost every state south of the Mason and Dixon Line."

Race Problem - 1929
West Indies.

Haiti.

MORE TROUBLE IN NEGRO REPUBLIC

The daily newspapers are "playing up" the alleged "uprising" or "riot" in Haiti, the Negro republic over which the United States rules with armed forces, and whose imperialistic reign, intervention and meddling have been potent factors in formenting civil strife and insurrection in this insular nation.

It seems that a strike of students, who are tired of the rule of the present president of Haiti, who was never elected to his office by popular vote, but who was placed there and has retained office mainly through American bayonets, precipitated the trouble; and when it appeared that the disorder was becoming anti-American, Uncle Sam rushed additional troops down there to "put and keep the Haitians in their places."

That the United States has made a bungling job of trying to supervise the governmental administration of Haiti, goes without saying; and this program of misrule and maladministration has been going on merrily since President Wilson first dispatched the marines to this Negro republic during 1914.

In the wake of the latest domestic "uprising," President Hoover has recommended that congress authorize the appropriation of $50,000 to finance a commission to study the Haiti situation and submit its findings, with a view of determining definitely America's policy toward this black country.

Much of this trouble could be obviated if the United States would permit the Haitians to function as untrammeled citizens, to hold a national election in keeping with their constitution and elect their own chief executive, rather than continue to submit to superimposed leadership of the American brand.

The Haitians claim that their present chief is simply the willing and pliable tool of the United States, and particularly the vested interests of this country, who are using Borneo as a human instrumentality for the exploitation of the black subjects of this republic.

Without ascribing the main cause for these repeated disturbances under the reign of President Borneo, present titular head of the republic, the American press endeavors to create the impression that the Haitians, being black, are nothing but "hell raisers" and unworthy of self-government, self-determination and self-improvability.

PARIS PRESS ASSAILS SITUATION IN HAITI

The Soir Calls on the League to Act, Citing the Island as Member and Pact Signer.

By P. J. PHILIP.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Dec. 9.—Close attention is being paid here to the situation in Haiti and the action of Washington is being watched with keen interest. Haiti is a member of the League of Nations and is a signatory of the Kellogg pact. The republic is de jure ...endent, and, whether justified or not, the current belief here is that the present revolt is aimed directly at American interference with domestic rule.

The French attempt when Napoleon was Consul to reduce the island is recalled by the events of the past few days. For in Haiti Napoleon's brother-in-law, General Leclerc, with an army of 35,000 men, suffered one of the most terrible disasters in French colonial history.

All comment in the Paris press is inclined to be critical of the situation, which has been created by the continued maintenance of United States marines in what is recognized as an independent country. The Soir, Left newspaper of Paris, says:

"It would be deplorable for the prestige of the League and would treat the covenant as a scrap of paper if the nations who sit there and who are also signatories of the pact of Paris and who claim to be working for the consolidation of peace do not take the necessary action to secure an equitable solution of the present situation."

Liberté, which rarely is in agreement with the Soir, in reviewing the history of the last thirteen years, says:

"What has happened in this island to the right of the self-determination of peoples? It is possible that American occupation has been continued for the good of the Haitians. But they apparently do not want their finances kept in good order. They do not want factories or skyscrapers. What they want is independence.

"We are told a commission is to be sent to study the situation. But soldiers and ships are being sent first."

The Journal des Débats, in an explanatory note, says:

"It is incontestable that American occupation, which has lasted thirteen years, irritates the islanders, who realize that the independence of their country, which is a member of the League of Nations and a signatory of the Kellogg pact, has become fictitious."

SITUATION IN HAITI CONTINUES 'IN HAND'

Native Casualties Reported as Ten in Fighting at Aux Cayes.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, Dec. 11.—(AP)—Conditions throughout Haiti were unchanged today, with no report of any conflict anywhere in the interior.

Colonel Frank Evans, commanding the marine gendarmes here, said he expected the curfew law to continue in effect until early next week. Fifteen persons were picked up last night for failing to return to their homes before 9 o'clock. Of 30 persons earlier taken by the provost guard, 26 have been released with orders to leave the capital.

President Louis Borno this morning received a detailed report of the clash last week at Aux Cayes between marines and natives from Judge Leon of that city, who was a witness. The judge said six Haitians were killed outright by machine gun fire of the marines and that four died later in the hospital from wounds. He gave the total number of wounded as 30 and said that many houses in the street where the clash occurred had been riddled by bullets.

Borno Seen as "Tool" of U.S.

(Picture on Page 2)

Washington, D. C., Dec. 13.—The state department issued a statement this week in which it expressed approval at the manner in which General Russell and his marines "met the situation" in Haiti. The job was done as well as could be expected under the circumstances, declared a member of the state department.

President Hoover, who heretofore has shown little interest in the true situation in Haiti, has suddenly decided that another "fact-finding" commission will help the situation and consequently has asked congress to appropriate $50,000 for that purpose. Although he had mentioned Haiti in his speech to congress, which was read just a few days before the outbreak last week, it has been evident that the present administration was no more committed to removing the marines from Haiti than have been other administrations. Even now that phase of the question is being studiously avoided by those in high places in Washington, although it is admitted that the United States occupation is the direct cause of all the trouble.

President Louis Borno, freely dubbed the "tool of America," recently announced that there would not be a general election of his successor next year. He declared that the next president would be elected by a council which he would appoint. This information caused more unrest because it was predicted that Borno would violate the constitution and have himself re-elected. This trouble was averted somewhat when Borno announced late in November that he would not be a candidate. It was known, however, that since he appoints the council it is certain that his regime would be continued, no matter who is elected.

Senator William E. Borah, chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, in commenting on the Haitian situation, said:

The immediate disturbance in Haiti is only symptomatic of widespread and bitter unrest. The oppression and cruelty of the present government of Haiti is something beyong the power of language to describe, something you would not suppose could take place anywhere in this day and age.

Senator William King of Utah, who was refused admission to Haiti by President Borno a year ago, stated: "The Haitian people resent American occupation, and no matter how long we maintain marine and military forces there will be smoldering resentments which will prevent the desired development of Haiti. The United States ought some time ago to have indicated its purpose to withdraw and permit the people of Haiti to set up a government of their choice."

NEGRO GROUP CHARGES OPPRESSION IN HAITI

Association for Advancement of Colored People Calls Freedom of Press There "Mockery."

A series of charges against the American administration of Haiti, which was characterized as "fourteen years of incompetence, misrule and oppression of the natives by the American occupation," were issued yesterday by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

These were based on a survey by Perceval Thoby, former Chargé d'Affaires of the Haitian delegation at Washington, who is said to have submitted his findings to the Department of State about a month ago.

The association charges that Louis Borno, President of Haiti, was elected in 1922 "in contemptuous contravention of the Constitution," and that his continuance in office "has been possible only through the support of the United States High Commissioner."

Freedom of the press is termed "a hollow mockery," and forty journalists are said by the association to have been imprisoned, "several of these having remained for months without trial, in the penitentiary."

The present Constitution was forced upon the country, Mr. Thoby charged, and he added that repeated voting of government employes was used to pass a new series of amendments.

"Commercially, Haiti is in a state of rapid decline," Mr. Thoby reported. "The people, impoverished, have lost their purchasing power. In the leading banks of Port au Prince drafts amounting to approximately $1,000,000 remain unpaid. The Haitian budget system has been destroyed. There are no longer detailed accounts either of estimates or expenditures, the allocations being presented in lump sums."

An impartial commission of United States citizens, including negroes, to investigate and report publicly on the conditions in Haiti was urged by the association.

ASSAILS REQUEST FOR HAITI INQUIRY

Huddleston Charges in House Hoover Would "Unload Problem on Congress."

"POLICY WAS INHERITED"

Johnson, in Reply, Says It Was Begun by Woodrow Wilson and Praises Marines.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—President Hoover's request for a commission to investigate conditions in Haiti was assailed from the minority side of the House of Representatives today as "another chapter in American rule" in the little republic. And in its stead was suggested a "publicity commission to let the world know what we have done, why we are there and what we propose to doy."

The attack was made by Representative Huddleston of Alabama, minority raider on the administration's insular policy, wehn the House convened at noon to take up again consideration of the Interior Department supply bill.

The bringing up of the subject was a bit of a surprise, and when the minority floor leader announced he had yielded thirty minutes to the gentleman from Alabama a general whisper around the cloakrooms brought Representatives to their seats on the floor.

"I wouldn't give the life of a single American marine for everybody in Haiti, and the whole country thrown in," Mr. Huddleston said. "There has been no battle there. There can never be a battle. It can be only a massacre at best, and it is only a question of how many Haitians the marines can get to. It's merely a footrace.

"Not a Problem of Congress."

"We are simply writing another chapter in the history of American rule in Haiti," he continued. "For fourteen long years Haitians have been at the mercy of American military forces. It is not a problem of Congress. Congress did not authorize any forces being sent there. They were sent without the sanction of Congress and the people, and now we reap the fruits of this 'beneficent' rule.

"The result is open insurrection, belching machine guns and funerals. Where will it end?

"This is not all. I am reliably informed that in a previous uprising more than 2,000 people were killed. I do not hold the present Executive wholly responsible for present conditions. He inherited much of it. Nevertheless, he was an important member in the two former administrations.

"President Hoover went into office March 4 and now, eight months later, there is an open outbreak. Certainly he has not bettered the situation. That which he found March 4 has grown into that we have now. He now at last takes Congress into his confidence. He wants a commission.

"This naval officer who has been the real ruler in Haiti all the time is merely a tool of the President. Borno (President Borno of Haiti) couldn't live for one hour without American bayonets. Within the wink of an eye they'd slice him up into pieces not big enough to fry.

Attitude One of Imperialism.

"Commissions are an invasion of the legislative branch of the government. Having made a mess of this situation, he wants now to unload it on us. I'd certainly agree to a publicity commission. I'd like the world to know what we have done, why we are there and what we propose to do.

"We're not there to defend our country or protect Haiti. Our attitude toward Latin-American countries, generally, and the weaker ones, particularly, is that of an imperialism."

Only one representative tried to interrupt while Mr. Huddleston was speaking and it was thought for a time that the administration forces would let him go unanswered, confident that the resolution authorizing the President's commission will easily pass the House. As he sat down, however, Representative Royal Johnson of South Dakota, who was chairman of the Veterans' Committee in the House in the last Congress, in reply said, "The only thing you have to do is to know the Marine Corps to know that they are not oppressive."

Mr. Johnson said that the policy toward Haiti had been inherited by the present and two previous administrations from the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

"I am surprised that the gentleman would attack that policy on the floor of this house," he declared.

Mr. Johnson said that much criticism was directed against Major Gen. Smedley Butler when he was in charge of the military forces in Haiti but, he added, the first good roads in the island were built under his direction.

"The policy of the administration in Haiti needs no defence," said Mr. Johnson.

The authorization for President Hoover's investigating committee is expected to be given, as far as the House is concerned, late this week. No delays are expected in the committee. The Foreign Affairs Committee has not been constituted yet and will not be before Thursday or Friday. The resolution is expected to take a swift course, with little more than the formality of a committee hearing and with limited debate on the floor.

PRESIDENT HOOVER AND HAYTI

The part of President Hoover's message which opposes our occupation of foreign countries, rings with sincerity. He suggests a commission to study conditions in Hayti, the one shameful spot in our foreign relations since the days of William Jennings Bryan and his "deserving democrats" hungry for office anywhere. Americans careful of the feelings of Haytians, respecting their property rights, and safeguarding their lives, would be an extension of our government's activities which might be excused temporarily. But there is nothing but shame for us in seizing Hayti on the pretext that if we do not, some European country will. There is all the more shame when our occupancy is accompanied with disregard for the rights of the governed.

The struggle between contending parties in Hayti cannot be an excuse for what we have done. If that was urged in good faith, then the federal government ought first to take over the functions of states within its borders, states like Pennsylvania where according to the majority of the Senate, popular government is subverted by a vicious machine.

President Hoover's proposal of a commission to study Haytian conditions pleases us far more than the usual sop of presidential messages, which either praise "our Negro citizens", or beg the mobs to stop lynching us. International courtesy and inter-racial good will are fostered every time simple justice is done by our country to any of the colored nations, and we believe that in time it will come to treat its colored citizens as it does foreigners.

MARINE RULE IN HAITI

The recent serious upheaval in the Republic of Haiti, is an inescapable evidence of the fact that something is radically wrong in the system of things in that government.

To maintain order, President Hoover has seen fit to dispatch 490 marines together with five airplanes to join the marine detatchment and air forces already in that country. That at the bottom of Haiti's present troubles is down right misrule and much uncovered underhand official manipulation, we are firmly of the belief. If this is the case, then the quicker the affairs of the little republic in the West Indies are given enough of the proper sort of airing and overhauling the better it will be for all concerned.

Evidently President Borno, together with the drastic absurdities for which his administration is noted, have become too burdensome to the patience of his countrymen.

Haitians for some reasons, have stood by and allowed the greatest office in the gift their hard earned country, to be monopolized since 1917 by one man. A rather non-democratic if not preposterous blunder for any free people to be guilty of.

What does the average American citizen suppose would happen in the United States if any one of its presidents should be crafty enough to make a virtual scrap of paper out of the constitution and remain in office for three straight terms. At least the consequences of such a happening would be such as to put the recent Haitian uprising in the category of just a little insignificant next door neighbor flurry.

The Haitians have as much right as any other bonafide people with administration of their own to rebel against a manner of government, that in their estimation is rotten to the core.

As we see it, President Borno is wearing his fellow citizens out with his system of autocratic ownership of the Republic of Haiti.

What is needed to facilitate the solving of Haiti's delicate problem is less of Borno and more of the people of Haiti.

It remains to be seen whether the decendants of the liberators of their country are impressed with the latter necessity.

President Hooevr's request for an investigating commission and funds to defray its espenses in Haiti is before congress. The suggestion that the commission include an American Negro is as logical as it is timely.

It is on record that the American occupation of the little Republic has initiated public works and organized health activities. It is claimed never-the-less that incident to the American occupation, the Haitian government was being maintained on a lower level of democracy than that of Porto Rico and the Philippines. Why, may we ask, is such the case?

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What does the average American citizen suppose would happen in the United States if any one of its presidents should be crafty enough to make a virtual scrap of paper out of the constitution and remain in office for three straight terms. At least the consequences of such a happening would be such as to put the recent Haitian uprising in the category of just a little insignificant next door neighbor flurry.

The Haitians have as much right as any other bonafide people with administration of their own to rebel against a manner of government, that in their estimation is rotten to the core.

As we see it, President Borno is wearing his fellow citizens out with his system of autocratic ownership of the Republic of Haiti.

What is needed to facilitate the solving of Haiti's delicate problem is less of Borno and more of the people of Haiti.

It remains to be seen whether the decendants of the liberators of their country are impressed with the latter necessity.

President Hooevr's request for an investigating commission and funds to defray its espenses in Haiti is before congress. The suggestion that the commission include an American Negro is as logical as it is timely.

It is on record that the American occupation of the little Republic has initiated public works and organized health activities.

It is claimed never-the-less that incident to the American occupation, the Haitian government was being maintained on a lower level of democracy than that of Porto Rico and the Philippines. Why, may we ask, is such the case?

Race Problem - 1929
West Indies

Haiti.

"How Can I Hear What You Say When What You Are Kings In My Ears"



Courier 12/21/29 Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE HAITIAN COMMISSION

President Hoover in his Annual Message to Congress recommended an appropriation for the expense of a Commission to investigate conditions in Haiti and make recommendations thereon.

The revolt which took place a week later had not then occurred and his recommendation was evidently prompted by a desire to remedy the then existing conditions in Haiti which apparently were not in thorough accord with his views. Herald-Commonwealth

We are absolutely sure that the President is anxious to extend to the weak and defenceless people of Haiti that same measure of justice that he would demand and compel for the United States from any and every government in any and every eventuality. 12/21/29

What is necessary in order that the confidence of the Haitian people shall be restored in the government of the United States and an approach to a friendly accord shall be established will be the formation of a commission whose personnel will recommend them as sympathetic, unprejudiced and loyal to their own government and to the cause of justice as well. Baltimore, Md.

A commission composed of men not a single one of whom would be identified in race with the Haitians would fail to inspire them with the good intentions of the American government and the sincerity and fairness of the commission. We therefore devoutly hope that President Hoover will in making up his commission include at least one outstanding Negro.

And among those whose names have been mentioned in connection with the commission, none is better fitted than Dr. Emmett J. Scott.

Dr. Scott is a trained diplomat; he is absolutely loyal and faithful to his government, is loyal to the cause of justice, is able to think clearly and directly, possesses firmness, insistency, and cannot be swerved from a cause when convinced that it is right and just.

What the President wants concerning Haiti is the truth; Emmett Scott can be depended upon to exercise his best endeavors to secure it and to see that it is transmitted to the President.

American Workers Help Haitian Fight Against Imperialism!

The demonstrations carried through by the Communist Party against the murders of Haitian workers by the U. S. Marines, for the immediate and unconditional independence of Haiti and all the colonies, and for defense of the Soviet Union, were an essential and most important contribution to the world struggle against imperialism.

All those thousands of workers who participated in the demonstrations, and the hundreds of thousands who sympathized with them, will be glad to learn that these actions were immediately effective in strengthening the fighting front of the oppressed peoples. Our testimony to this effect comes from that bloodthirsty organ of U. S. imperialism, the Chicago Tribune. In its Dec. 16 issue, this paper carries a story from its special correspondent, William Lawson, from Port Au Prince, Haiti, which contains the following paragraph:

Daily Worker

"Martial law continues here and the hopes that it would be lifted in a day or two were blasted by reports of demonstrations by radicals in New York. These reports encouraged the agitators to new extremes, with the result that the martial law is being kept tighter. Efforts by the American legation officials to keep the reports of sympathetic outbursts in the United States quiet failed, and almost as soon as the news was received leaders of the opposition to the American occupation were carrying the word through the country." 12/20/29

In the light of this news from the capitalist press, we can judge at its true value the attempts of Hoover and the press to put the soft pedal on the demonstrations, to release the arrested comrades, and to promote their slogans against "cheap martyrdom" of the Communists. These gentlemen do not hesitate a moment to provide us with martyrs, as the 20-year sentences in Gastonia prove, or the 10-year sentences of young girls in California for the crime of displaying a red flag, or to 5 and 10-year sentences in Ohio and Pennsylvania for "seditious speeches." They are busy making martyrs by the hundreds. But in this particular case, the "martyrdom" would not be so "cheap" for American imperialism, but very costly indeed, because it would further rouse the fighting spirit of the oppressed Haitians, who are struggling for the liberation of their country.

Bloodthirstiness and hypocricy are two inevitable characteristics of imperialism. We are getting more demonstrations of both from the imperialism of the United States.

Further light on the true opinions of the imperialists about the demonstrations is shed by an editorial note in the Washington Star which said:

"This ridiculous performance of the youngsters is not, however, to be dismissed altogether as insignificant. Small though the numbers of the Saturday delegation may be, it is known that there are rather long ranks of young Communists in the industrial centers and the larger areas of population in this country. There are schools of Communism, at which the boys and girls are being trained, taught the pernicious principles of this dangerous political cult, instructed in ways and means of harmful propaganda."

Let the workers have as keen a realization of the effectiveness of their protests and political demonstrations, as the capitalist imperialists show themselves to have. Every political demonstration of the workers is a blow against imperialism. Sufficient accumulation of such blows, and their proper organization, will undermine imperialism and prepare for its overthrow. The workers—and certainly the Communists—must not be flattered into self-satisfaction, however, by these "appreciations" from the enemy. So far there is only the meagrest beginning and the demonstrations were far too small and none too well organized. Before the class conscious workers and their leader, the Communist Party, can indulge in self-congratulations, there must be at least tens of thousands, and then hundreds of thousands, of workers participating in such demonstrations in support of the struggles of their brothers in Wall Street's colonies. The members of whole trade unions must be brought en masse into them and the consciousness of the whole working class must be aroused.

To work! Renewed energies must be thrown into the struggle for independence of the colonial peoples, as an integral part of the whole struggle of the working class against capitalism!

The Haitian Masses in Motion

By HARRISON GEORGE.

(The First of Two Articles.)

THE Haitian newspaper, the "La Presse" of Port-au-Prince, in its issue of November 25, publishes a letter (which space forbids be here reprinted in full) from the officials of the newly formed National Workers Party of Haiti, addressed to Antoine Pierre Paul, revealing the formation of this party and appointing him to act as its spokesman before the American imperialist government. Paul was one of those first arrested in the strike and martial law which took place after the publication of the letter, which reveals, in the formation of this new party, one of the most significant turning points in the history of the Haitian people.

Every worker conscious of his class and its historic mission to destroy capitalist imperialism, every worker who is an internationalist, will give deep and responsive welcome to the first steps, however faltering and errant, of the oppressed workers and peasants of Haiti on the path of class struggle. Every worker who sees mirrored in the miseries of the Haitian workers, his own class sufferings and his own complaints, will feel a tug at his heartstrings as he reads such simple tragedy as the following paragraph on the sufferings of the Negro toilers of Haiti:

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12/21/29

Every American worker must, moreover feel a sense of responsiblity for tearing away the hand of American imperialism which is choking the life out of the Haitian worker. American imperialism, which under the hypocritical pretense of bringing "progress, culture and peace" to the Haitian people, is robbing, cheating and murdering them.

D. Y.

The revolutionary workers of America fully acknowledge this responsibility and, led by the Communist Party, only a few days ago turned out by thousands in the streets of New York to protest the crimes of the American government, proving, when they met the same sort of brutal attacks as are visited upon the Haitian workers, that they stand ready to sacrifice their blood and freedom for the oppressed toilers of Haiti, for the fighting solidarity of the international proletariat of which they are a part.

Every revolutionary worker of the United States, therefore, will be glad to know that the toilers of Haiti, isolated from international contact by the watchdogs of imperialism and its vile native lackeys led by Borno, have been touched by the tremendous tide of history and have awakened to their interests as a class of political importance in society, as a class distinct from other classes.

True, the realization of distinct class interests, in the case of the signers of the letter (the officials of the National Workers Party), is grievously inadequate to carry through the ideas which it sets forth. Because a class distinct from other classes must also have a program distinct from other classes, and from this basic division must foreswear organic dependence upon other classes, must forge from its own blood and sinew the only leadership upon which it can and must depend to direct its struggles.

Hence it is a serious error for the Haitian Workers Party to have limited its program perspective to the same demand as that the bourgeois opposition, a mere "restoration" of imperialist capitalist government by native capitalist government. Thus the letter speaks for "the restoration of our institutions," the mere turning over "little by little as the American element leaves the place, in the different branches of public administration, to the Haitian elements which will have been trained to assume the functions now occupied by American officials."

The function of American officials is to rob and oppress the Haitian workers and peasants, whose interests cannot be advanced by "restoration of" present governmental institutions, but by their destruction and replacement by a government of workers and peasants only. The formation of a Workers' Party is the symbol of an historic advance, hence by a program of historic retrogression it does not answer the demands placed upon it.

Again, the letter speaks in a way which shows this party of workers distrustful of their own abilities and power. Though they are "the life force of the nation" they turn to "good Haitians," people evidently outside their own ranks, from which "to choose a leader," and confusing the ability to lead a struggle with the ability to write petitions and orate in scholarly language, they invite intellectuals not only to share leadership with them, which is natural and correct so long as such intellectuals subordinate themselves to the common cause, but to "be our leaders," apparently without even the slightest direction or control by workers, since they address Pierre Paul as one "in whom to confide the elaboration of our program," to—"make such declarations as you will find necessary."

One might well wonder why workers form an organization at all, if they turn over, carte blanche, the entire function of their organization, which should consider and decide collectively, to one man, however loyal to their interests he might be.

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Race Problem - 1929

Alabama

Improvement of

AN EDITORIAL ON THE DEATH OF A NEGRO

Southerners everywhere will appreciate the feeling expressed in the following editorial from The Charlotte Observer:

Many white folks yesterday paid tribute to the worth of a negro man who had won their confidence and esteem through long years of domestic service in their households. It was William Lincoln, a man who bowed his way through life in politeness and respect and one who held to the best traditions of the negroes of the old school. He was one of the sort who was at all times to be depended upon to keep a promise and no householder was ever disappointed in an engagement with William. A shining characteristic was his honesty and integrity, those traits being firmly established and at all times lived up to. William Lincoln was held in high respect by all the people who knew him, and this embraces the larger part of Charlotte's old-time population, and the esteem manifested for a departed colored man was in eloquent evidence by the flowers that heaped his grave and the number of white people who sorrowed in the last service. In his sphere no better citizen lived in Charlotte. Advertiser

All Southerners will appreciate this sentiment, because there is no Southern city that has not known and respected such characters as this Negro. In every Southern community there are such Negroes who, although their station in life may be humble and their careers may not have embraced anything that would give them any claim to fame, yet become known throughout the community as exemplary characters. They are respected by the white people as good men and good citizens, and they become known as community characters. Montgomery,

It is not unusual in the South for the white people of a community to go in numbers to pay their last respects at the funeral of such a Negro, and to send floral tributes, as in this Charlotte instance. And frequently Southern newspapers have editorials on the passing of such community characters. We have seen many editorials of the kind in our time. 12/7/29.

People in other sections, with distorted ideas of the relations of white and colored people in the South, may not understand such instances as this. But Southern people understand.

Race Problem - 1929

General

Improvement of

FOR NORTHERN READERS

CERTAIN sectional and self-appointed vigilantes for the public conscience who believe that the white Southerner spends most of his time in shooing the Negro into a corner and keeping him there may learn something to the contrary from the following appreciative editorial written by a white Southerner of a Negro preacher. The tribute appears in *The Western Recorder* (Baptist), of Louisville, Kentucky, and it is to Richard Carroll, a Negro Baptist minister who was well liked throughout South Carolina:

Vol. 103 No. 13 Literary Digest

D.J.

"Southern Negroes and their white friends understand each other in a way beyond the easy comprehension of outsiders. Yet our Negro friends are aware how difficult it is for them to approach whites with friendly confidence where the least possible implication of social relationship arises. The tact and understanding heart of Richard Carroll, who himself was a mulatto, in such circumstances were a constant wonder. He knew each several tabu forward and backward. And he let sleeping tabus lie. Should one happen to open its eye, behold the object of its suspicion had disappeared! 12/28/29

"Never did Richard Carroll in any single instance fail in his approach to his white friends, even when perhaps contact with their women was involved, to present himself in a way at once winsome and respectful, and yet natural and without any suggestion of apologizing for his racial identity or skin-color.

"Love can do that. Richard Carroll loved the people of God, regardless of color, and he loved the Southern white man, and understood him. Nothing else than love can do that. Richard Carroll deliberately and firmly refused to take up with any of those misguided ideas that have been fostered by some of his own race leaders, to the effect that Negroes must place a chip on their shoulders and demand 'their rights' of the white man. Yet he was the most potent and influential Negro we ever knew in putting it on the consciences of Southern whites that they should treat the blacks about them or in their service with equity and kindness and consideration."

Observing that "this tribute was written by a white Southerner concerning a black man who was a welcome speaker in white Baptist churches and associations throughout South Carolina," *The Baptist* (Chicago) exclaims: "Imagine a Negro speaker touring the white Baptist associations of Ohio, Indiana, or Massachusetts!"

Race Problem-1929

North Carolina.

Improvement of

N. C. BAPTISTS APPOINT RACE RELATION BODY

Commission Named To Co-operate With Interracial Movement

SHELBY, N. C., Nov. 21.—The State Baptist Convention, white, in session here last week, put the stamp of approval upon the interracial movement and provided for cooperation with it by the election of a Commission on Race Relations, consisting of fourteen of its prominent members. This action, it is understood, was brought about through the efforts of Dr. W. C. Jackson, vice-president of the State College for Women and chairman of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

The Commission named by the Baptists is headed by Dr. W. L. Poteat, for many years president of Wake Forest College, and associated with him are the following members: W. H. Williams, Charlotte; Ira D. S. Knight, Durham; W. C. Jackson, Greensboro; J. W. Incheloe, Rocky Mount; Zeno Wall, Shelby; I. G. Greer, Boone; E. McK. Goodwin, Morganton; C. E. Brewer, Raleigh; J. B. Huff, Wingate; Mrs. J. T. Alderman, Henderson; Mrs. D. L. Probert, Charlotte; Mrs. Edna R. Harris, Raleigh; Mrs. W. S. Johnson, Charlotte.

Race Problem—1929

Improvement of

New York

WORLD-WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF RACE RELATIONS

Herald Communwealth

New York, Nov. 29.—The United Press, one of the chief news gathering and distributing services of the country, is sending to all parts of the world a 1200-word essay upon the present status of the Negro in America, written by Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Herald-Commonwealth

In his summary, Mr. White balances the evils of lynching, segregation and disfranchisement against the progress achieved in twenty years, particularly through legal action and individual achievement in the arts. 12-7-29

"If one does not look at the immediate status of the race question," writes Mr. White, "but views it through a perspective of twenty years the comparison of conditions today with those of two decades ago shows an almost unbelievable amount of progress. For example, twenty years ago the average number of victims of lynching mobs was well over a hundred. Few persons dared speak out against lynching, while public officials newspaper editors and even ministers of the gospel in parts of America defended lynching, and in some instances actually participated in the hanging or burning alive of human beings. Chiefly through the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the situation has been changed so that today no person, North or South, white or colored, who makes even the slightest pretentions to intelligence, dare any longer defend this barbaric custom."

Mr. White lists the victories won in the Negro's' behalf in the United States Supreme Court, mentions the work done in the South by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the work of musicians, poets and prose writers. His conclusion is as follows:

"The race problem is far from being solved. but no one can deny that great strides have been taken toward greater interracial amity, justice and understanding."

CORNELL UNIV. HOLDING "NEGRO WEEK."

New York, Dec. 16.—Cornell University is holding "Negro Week," arranged for and sponsored by the University's United Religious Work Committee, and among the speakers are Walter White, acting secretary N.A.A.C.P., and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis. Louisville Herald

On his visit to Ithica, Mr White spoke at a luncheon given by the Religious Work Committee, led a group discussion of the race problem; met with the editorial staff of the Cornell Sun; spoke at a tea and read from poems of Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson and other Negro poets; spoke at a dinner of one of the large fraternities; and addressed the Liberal Club. 12/22/29

Other features of "Negro Week" were the singing on Dec. 9 of the Utica Jubilee Singers; and an address on December 11, by Dr. DuBois on the culture of Africa, being one of the Jacob Schiff Foundation lectures.

Commenting on his reception at the University, Mr. White said:

"I found an extraordinary interest among the students in the Negro Question and a willingness to hear the facts even though some of them are unpleasant. I regard this as a most hopeful sign."

Interracial Party Names Darrow for President

Negroes Would be Candidates for Governors and Congressmen

NEW YORK. — Resolutions endorsing Clarence Darrow, white criminal lawyer of Chicago, as presidential nominee in 1932 on the National Inter-racial Party Ticket, were adopted Thursday at a joint meeting of the party heads and the National Ministers Evangelistic Alliance of America. Afro-American

Among other topics discussed was the advisability of placing Negroes on municipal, state and national tickets. Persons suggested as nominees were: for governor of New York, William M. Kelley, Amsterdam News; Rep. Fernand Q. Morton, Dem.; for Pennsylvania, Robert Vann, the Courier, Pittsburgh; for Massachusetts, William M. Trotter of the Boston Guardian; for Connecticut, Howard Drew of Hartford, Conn.; for Rhode Island, C. C. Creasy of Providence; for Illinois, Robert Abbott of Chicago; for Ohio, Harry Smith of Cleveland.